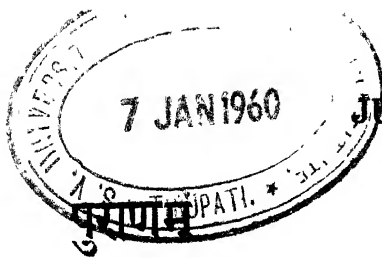


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OF

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ALL INDIA KĀSIRĀJA TRUST

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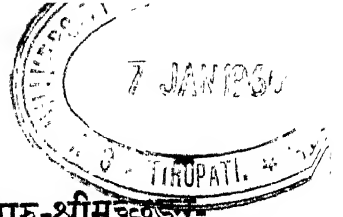
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सम्पादक-समिति:—

१. सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्र शास्त्ररत्नाकर पण्डितराज श्रीराजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड,
अध्यक्ष, साङ्गवेदविद्यालय, रामघाट, वाराणसी
२. डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, एम० ए०, डी० लिट्,
प्राध्यापक, इंडोलोजी कालेज, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय,
वाराणसी
३. डा० वे० राघवन्, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी०,
अध्यक्ष, संस्कृतविभाग, मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय, मद्रास
(प्रधान सम्पादक)

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Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Dept. Madras
University, Madras.
(Editor-in-Chief).



॥ श्रीमुखम् ॥

श्रीमत्परमहंस-परिव्राजकाचार्यवर्य-श्रीजगद्गुरु-श्रीमच्छङ्कर-

भगवत्पादप्रतिष्ठित-श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधीश्वर-

श्रीमच्चन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रसरस्वतीश्रीपादैः

क्रियते नारायणस्मृतिः

काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणप्रकाशनसमित्या “पुराणम्” इति नाम्ना समारम्भेयं षाण्मासिकी पत्रिका वेदोपबृंहणाय पाराशर्यप्रणीतानां पुराणानां प्रकाशनस्य पूर्वाङ्गत्वेन, पौराणिकेषु विषयेषु जिज्ञासां पुष्यन्ती समुल्लसतितराम् । एतदारभ्य सर्वेष्वपि पुराणप्रकाशनसमित्याः कार्यकलापेषु आर्षसंस्कारप्रेमवतां समेषां सहकारेण सर्वथा विजयप्रदान-विषये पुराणप्रतिपाद्यो भगवान् प्रसीदतु इत्याशास्महे ॥

विजयस्थानम्—नूबल
विकारि नाम सं०, मार्गशीर्षशुक्लदशमी,
सौम्यवासरः

नारायणस्मृतिः

SRIMUKHAM

of

HIS HOLINESS JAGADGURU SRI SANKARACARYA

of

KANGI KAMAKOTI PITHAM.

This half-yearly Bulletin named ‘PURĀṆA’ started by the Purāṇa Prakāśana Samiti of the Kāśīrāja Trust appears as a prelude to the publication of the Purāṇas composed by Pārāśarya (Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara) for the purpose of re-inforcing the Vedas. We pray that the Almighty God, who is the subject of the Purāṇas, be gracious to bestow all success on this as well as the subsequent efforts of the Purāṇa Prakāśana Samiti with the co-operation of all lovers of our ancient culture.

Camp—Numbal (Madras)

NARAYANA-SMRTI.

Vikārin Mārگاśīrṣa-śukladaśamī

Budhavāsara, 9—12—1959.

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EDITORIAL

Early this year the All India Kasiraja Trust and the Purāṇa Committee constituted under its aegis, circulated to scholars a pamphlet announcing their decision to publish a Bulletin solely devoted to the study and appreciation of Purāṇic literature. It is hardly necessary to emphasise to scholars the importance or interest of the Purāṇas, which constitute not only the single largest branch of Sanskrit literature but a veritable encyclopaedia-complex of Indian culture. Research in Purāṇas cannot be said to have developed adequately; critical editions of the Purāṇas have yet to be prepared; those published are not available; and some of the lesser known texts of this class remain to be made known and printed. It is the aim and ambition of the Purāṇa Committee of the AIKT to address itself to this specific task and to discharge the *ṛṇa* of the Nation, nay of the whole world of scholars devoted to the study of antiquity, to Vyāsa and Sauti.

The Purāṇa Bulletin will devote itself to textual problems and other critical considerations of the different Purāṇas as well as to the study of the contents and cultural contributions of these texts. The inaugural issue of this Bulletin which we are now placing before the scholars gives an idea of the scope and nature of the studies that would form the regular features of this new Journal. It is difficult to conduct a research journal these days when we have a good number of them ; it would be a greater difficulty to keep up one of a specialised type like ours. The chief difficulty would be, as we have already experienced, in the flow of contributions from scholars, but we hope that the very fact that a specialised forum is available here for Purāṇic studies would enthuse scholars to devote themselves to this valuable but neglected department of Indological research. Further the Trust believes in the old Indian tradition that the *Paurāṇika* will not go without his *dakṣiṇā* and it is hoped that the honorarium we have decided to give for each paper will act as an inducement and ensure for us a steady flow of learned papers.

V. R.

व्यासमहिमा

अभ्रश्यामः पिङ्गजटाबद्धकलापः

प्रांशुर्दण्डी कृष्णमृगत्वक्परिधानः ।

सर्वान् लोकान् पावयमानः कविमुख्यः

पाराशर्यः परमसुरूपं विवृणोतु ॥

अचतुर्वदनो ब्रह्मा द्विबाहुरपरो हरिः ।

अफाललोचनः शम्भुः भगवान् बादरायणः ॥

प्रादुःकरोति धर्मार्थी पुराणानि यथाविधि ।

द्वापरे द्वापरे विष्णुर्व्यासरूपेण सर्वदा ॥

जयति पराशरसूनुः सत्यवतीहृदयनन्दनो व्यासः ।

यस्यास्यकमलगलितं वाङ्मयममृतं जगत् पिबति ॥



पुराणमहिमा

“अस्य महतो भूतस्य निश्चसितमेतद्यद्वेदो यजुर्वेदः
सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणम् ॥”

—बृहदारण्यके

“इतिहासपुराणानि पञ्चमं वेदमीश्वरः ।
सर्वेभ्य एव वक्त्रेभ्यः समृजे सर्वदर्शनः ॥”

—श्रीभागवते तृतीयस्कन्धे

“यो विद्याञ्चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः ।
न चेत् पुराणं संविद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः ॥
इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
बिभेत्सुतपुत्राद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥”

—ब्रह्माण्डे प्रक्रियापादे

“निस्ताराय तु लोकानां स्वयं नारायणः प्रभुः ।
व्यासरूपेण कृतवान् पुराणानि महीतले ॥ ✓
पठनाच्छ्रवणाद्येषां नृणां पापक्षयो भवेत् ।
धर्माधर्मपरिज्ञानं सदाचारप्रवर्तनम् ।
गतिश्च परमा तद्वद्भक्तिर्भगवति प्रभौ ॥”

—पद्मपुराणे

“The Purāṇas are valuable to the historian and to the antiquarian as sources of political history by reason of their genealogies. At all events they are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion, and on this head alone deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism. . . . than any other works.”

—Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I., p. 529.

“.....they may be described as a popular encyclopaedia of ancient and medieval Hinduism, religions, philosophical, historical, personal, social and political.”

—Pargiter, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, X, p. 448.

“The Purāṇas and later writings are the great authorities of modern Hinduism, their mythology and legends fill the popular mind and mould its thoughts”

—Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, Introduction, xiv.

मत्स्यपुराणान्तर्गतानि

(अ. मु. श्रीनिवासाचार्येण सङ्कलितानि)

॥ देवकृता ब्रह्मस्तुतिः ॥

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त्वमोङ्कारोऽस्यंङ्कुराय प्रसूतो विश्वस्यात्मानन्तर्भेदस्य पूर्वम् ।

संभूतस्यानन्तरं सत्त्वमूर्ते संहारेच्छोस्ते नमो रुद्रमूर्ते ॥

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व्यक्तिं नीत्वा त्वं वपुः स्वं महिम्ना तस्मादण्डात् स्वाभिधानादचिन्त्यः ।

द्यावापृथिव्योरुर्ध्वस्त्रण्डावराभ्यां ह्यण्डादस्मात्त्वं विभागं करोषि ॥

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व्यक्तं मेरौ यज्जनायुस्तवाभूदेवं विद्मस्त्वत्प्रणीतश्चक्रास्ति ।

व्यक्तं देवाजन्मनः शाश्वतस्य द्यौस्ते मूर्धा लोचने चन्द्रसूर्यौ ॥

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व्यालाः केशाः श्रोत्ररन्ध्रा दिशस्ते पादौ भूमिर्नाभिरन्ध्रे समुद्राः ।

मायाकारः कारणं त्वं प्रसिद्धो वेदैः शान्तो ज्योतिषा त्वं विमुक्तः ॥

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वेदार्थेषु त्वां विवृण्वन्ति बुद्ध्वा हृत्पद्मान्तः संनिविष्टं पुराणम् ।

त्वामात्मानं लब्धयोगा गृणन्ति साङ्ख्यैर्यास्ताः सप्त सूक्ष्माः प्रणीताः ॥ ११

तासां हेतुर्याऽष्टमी चापि गीता तस्यां तस्यां गीयसे वै त्वमन्तम् ।

दृष्ट्वा मूर्तिं स्थूलसूक्ष्मां चकार देवैर्भावाः कारणैः कैश्चिदुक्ताः ॥

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त्वत्संकल्पेनान्तमायाप्रिगूढः कालो मेयो ध्वस्तसङ्ख्याविकल्पः ॥

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भावाभावव्यक्तिसंहारहेतुस्त्वं सोऽनन्तस्तस्य कर्तासि चात्मन् ।

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भावे भावे भावितं त्वा युनक्ति युक्तं युक्तं व्यक्तिभावान्निरस्य ॥

इत्थं देवो भक्तिभाजां शरण्यस्त्राता गोप्ता नो भवानन्तमूर्तिः ॥

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अदितिकृता वासुदेवस्तुतिः

अ० 244, श्लो० 12-

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नमः परमकल्याणकल्याणायादिवेधसे ॥	
नमः पङ्कजनेत्राय नमः पङ्कजनाभये ।	
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॥ शुक्रकृता शिवस्तुतिः ॥

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॥ वीरककृता पार्वतीस्तुतिः ॥

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- जलधयो ललितोद्धतवीचयो हुतवहद्युतयश्च चराचरम् ।
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॥ पौराणिकानि सुभाषितानि ॥

मत्स्यपुराणान्तर्गतानि

(सु० सम्बन्धशर्मणा सङ्कलितानि)

अध्यायः । श्लोकः

१	मौख्यात् कस्य न दुःखं स्यादथ वा कर्मसन्ततिः । अनिवार्या भवस्यापि का कथान्येषु जन्तुषु ॥	११	१६
२	आत्मदोषैर्नियच्छन्ति सर्वे दुःखसुखे जनाः ।	२७	३
३	यः समुत्पतितं क्रोधं निगृह्णाति हयं यथा । स यन्तेत्युच्यते सद्भिर्न यो रश्मिषु लम्बते ॥	२८	२
४	यस्तु भावयते धर्मं योऽतिमात्रं तितिक्षति । यश्च तप्तो न तपति भृशं सोऽर्थस्य भाजनम् ॥	"	५
५	यो यजेदश्वमेधेन मासि मासि शतं समाः । यस्तु कुप्येन्न सर्वस्य तयोरक्रोधनो वरः ॥	"	६
६	शिष्यस्याशिष्यवृत्तं हि न क्षन्तव्यं बुभूषुणा ।	"	९
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८	कृतप्रतिकृताकाङ्क्षी जिगीषुः प्रायशो जनः ।	१४८	१८
९	दुर्जनः सुजनत्वाय कल्पते न कदाचन ।	"	७२
१०	सुजनोऽपि स्वभावस्य त्यागं वाञ्छेत् कदाचन ॥	"	७३
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१३	स्त्रीजातिस्तु प्रकृत्यैव कृपणा दैन्यभाषिणी । शास्त्रालोचनसामर्थ्यमुज्झितं तासु वेधसा ॥	"	१५६
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- १६ कस्य वा जीवितं दीर्घं दृष्टं देहे तु कुत्रचित् । " ३६३
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विसंस्थुलं जगति हि कन्यकापितुः ॥ " ४९७
- १८ स्वकृतेन जनः सर्वो जाड्येन परिभूयते । १५५ ४
- १९ अकार्यं क्रियते मूढैः प्रायः क्रोधसमीरितैः । १५८ ३
- २० विपरीतार्थनुद्वीगां सुलभो विपदोदयः । " ४
- २१ अल्पाक्षरो न मन्त्रः किम् ? १६० ८
- २२ श्वः कार्यमद्य कुर्वति पूर्वाह्ने चापराह्निकम् । २०१ ७
न हि प्रतीक्षते मृत्युः कृतं चास्य न वा कृतम् ॥ " ८
- २३ विश्वासाद्भयमुत्पन्नं मूलान्यपि निकृन्तति । २१५ ६८
- २४ न राज्ञा मृदुना भाव्यं मृदुर्हि परिभूयते । २२० २२
- २५ भाग्यक्षये धनपतिश्च नरो विवर्णः । २३९ ४६
- २६ अवश्यमुद्योगवतां श्रीरपारा भवेत् सदा । २४९ ५७
- २७ अनित्यं जीवितं यस्माद्वसु चातीव चञ्चलम्
केशेष्वेव गृहीतः सन् मृत्युना धर्ममाचरेत् ॥ २७४ २४

THE PURĀNAS

PROJECTED CRITICAL EDITIONS BY THE KASIRAJA
TRUST OF VARANASI

By

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Member, Kāśīrāja Trust.

[हिन्दुधर्मविषयकं तदाधारभूतं च सर्वमपि वाङ्मयं 'निगम-आगम' भेदेन द्विधा विभक्तं वर्तते । तत्र चत्वारो वेदाः समस्तं चान्यद्वैदिकवाङ्मयं 'निगम' इत्यभिधीयते । एवं रामायणं, महाभारतं, स्मृतयः, पुराणानि, तन्त्राणि, अन्यच्चैतत्संबन्धि सर्वमपि वाङ्मयम् 'आगम' इति कथ्यते ।

महाभारतग्रन्थस्य संस्करणं भाण्डारकरप्राच्यपरि-
शोधनसंस्थानेन प्रकाशितम्, रामायणस्यापीदृशं संस्करणं बडौदास्थानीयेन
सयाजीरावविश्वविद्यालयेन निर्मायते । हिन्दुधर्मस्य भारतीयसंस्कृतेभ्य
आधारभूतानि ज्ञानकोशरूपाणि च पुराणानि । तान्यपि एतादृशमेव
संस्करणं प्रकाशनं च अर्हन्ति । एतच्च मुख्यं कार्यमभिसंधाय सर्वभारतीय-
काशीराजन्यासेन सर्वेषां महापुराणानां संस्करणं प्रारम्भ-
मुपक्रमः कृतः । स च प्रशंसां समेषां विदुषां सहयोगं चाहति ।

—सुनीतिकुमार् चाटुर्ज्या, काशीराजन्याससदस्यः]

The sacred texts of orthodox Hinduism have been classified by the ancient Hindu writers into two great divisions, *Nigama* and *Āgama*. *Āgama* has been explained to mean "that which comes from the mouth of Śiva and enters the ears of Pārvatī," and it includes the *Tantras* and the *Purāṇas*, as different from the *Veda*. *Nigama*, if interpreted according to its derivation, would mean "that which has come inside"; and a simpler interpretation of *Āgama* would be, along this line, "that which has come down through the ages."

The entire mass of Vedic literature, the four *Saṃhitās*, the *Brahmaṇyas* and the *Araṇyakas*, and the culmination of all these in the *Upaniṣads*—all these come under *Nigama*; and some of the ritualistic literature in *Sūtra* form—the *Dharma*, the *Gṛhya* and the *Srauta Sūtras* also fall within *Nigama*. The Vedānta is also known as the *Nigamānta Vidyā*—*Nigama* is thus Vedic literature. The *Āgama* comprises the two Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the Eighteen *Purāṇas* and the connected *Upa-purāṇas*, the *Dharma-Sastras* or *Smṛtis*, the *Tantras*, and all connected literature.

At the present day, *Āgama* and *Nigama* have been inextricably combined with each other: the warp and the woof of *Āgama* and *Nigama* has given rise to the completed texture of Hinduism.

This historical interpretation can be elaborated. But we are not concerned with it at present. In ordinary Hindu conception, the *Purāṇas* and the *Tantras*, i.e., the *Āgama*, are not looked upon as something basically different in their aims and ideas from the *Veda*, including the *Upaniṣads*, i.e., the *Nigama*. As a matter of fact, the consciousness of the Hindus as a whole looked upon the *Nigama* and the *Āgama*, i.e., the *Vedas* on the one hand, and the two Epics and *Purāṇas* and *Tantras* on the other, as not contradictory, but complementary to each other ; or rather, the common Hindu view is that the *Purāṇas* are the complement or fulfilment or explanation and interpretation of the *Vedas*.

The *Purāṇas* have been given their due place of honour in Hindu religious consciousness. Considering that it is the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Purāṇas*, and to some extent the *Tantras*, which really dominate the Hindu mind both of the intellectual elite and of the masses, the *Purāṇas*, together with the Epics, have to be given their proper place of respect and esteem.

Apart from their religious side, the *Purāṇas* have got other great values. Hinduism as a system of religion has got no single founder or formulator. It pins its faith on a number of philosophical notions and ideas, on some moral principles and practices which have not been the creation of a single individual but which have come down since the beginning of man's life and which have a universal applicability. If we take away Christ or Muhammad, then Christianity and Islam will cease to be what these religions are. So also to a lesser extent in the case of Buddhism,—to a lesser extent because Buddha also pins his faith on certain eternal principles which are irrespective of the personality of the historical Buddha. In Hinduism, we have a religion which is not inextricably linked with a single individual or personality.

There is a mass of literature from which we can deduce the principles of Hinduism. There are two individuals in the history of Hinduism who can be looked upon as the real formulators of this religion though not its founders. They are Vyāsa and kṛṣṇa. Vyāsa and Kṛṣṇa were contemporaries, and they were personalities connected with the *Mahābhārata* story. When they flourished is not exactly known. One view takes them back to just before 3101 B.C. A favourite date is the 15th or 14th century B.C. A more sober estimate (to which the present writer contributes) would bring them down to the middle of the 10th century B.C. (about 950 B.C.). It was Vyāsa who gave to the Hindu people their great religious texts in a classified and ordered form. Vyāsa must have been a unique personality. He took up the floating mass of religious literature of hymns and ritualistic directions, and classified them in four books—the four *vedas*. That is why he is known as *Vyāsa* or the "Arranger". The *Vedas* were created as a well ordered sets of texts out of chaos of verses and prose-passages, which formed a floating mass of literature living in the

mouths of the Ṛṣis. Vyāsa is thus credited with giving to the Hindu people and the Hindu religion its *Nigama* literature in a proper form. He did also the same thing for the other wing of Hindu literature, *viz.* the *Āgama*. It was he who with a group of his disciples like Lomaharṣaṇa Sauti, started the collecting and disseminating, among the people, of the sacred and historical traditions which were current among the people. All the mass of literature which was current in India relating to matters of cosmogony (the creation of the world, the different æons, the different worlds, etc.) the primaeval legends of the Gods and Goddesses as well as the divine seers and sages, and the legends and historical accounts of the various Kings of different dynasties—all these and many more matters began to be collected and gathered in books which can be called the basic or original Purāṇas. In these legends, it would appear that nothing was left out. Legends and traditions of the peoples of the country were put together. Since they form the veritable mass of “ancient” literature or traditions, they were known as the *Purāṇas* or “ancient matters”. The *Purāṇas*, apart from their religious side as a complementary literature to the *Vedas*, have got their great historical, literary, social and anthropological value also.

The number of main Purāṇas is given as 18. Then there are the Upa-Purāṇas, which are more or less in the same category. Some Purāṇas like the *Vāyu*, the *Viṣṇu* and the *Matsya* are fairly old. Some like the *Brahma-Vaivarta* are very late. Others come in between. As things stand, they represent the vast mass of ancient traditions current among the ever expanding Hindu people for over 2000 years from the time of Vyāsa (10th century B.C.) to some centuries after 1000 A.D.

The Purāṇas, therefore, present what may be described as a huge literary jungle, but a jungle which has got almost everything that can be of value to man. Precious bits of information about the history of India, both before Vyāsa and after Vyāsa right down to the early centuries after Christ, have been culled from the Purāṇas as much as from the Mahābhārata. The Purāṇas have important items of information to give about the development of society and religion in India during all these centuries. They are a part of Hindu life for two thousand years when they were being got together, and for the last one thousand years after they have taken shape. They cannot be neglected in any way.

One of the greatest pieces of literary research which has been undertaken in India in the present age has been the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, which is nearing completion, taken up by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute some 40 years ago. It is gratifying to contemplate that as one of the first great work of immense significance for the Indian people which the Mahābhārata is, it was taken up for editing internationally in Calcutta, when through European and Indian co-operation, the *editio princeps* of the Sanskrit Mahā-

bhārata was brought out in Nāgarī characters in Calcutta under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, from 1834 to 1839. Then the Rāmāyaṇa attracted the attention of scholars all over India and outside India (eg. in Italy) and different editions of this great book of India came out during the last century and in the present one also, beginning with the magnificent edition by the Italian Scholar, Goresio. The Mahābhārata is a source of perennial interest to Indian Scholars, and recently another edition of the entire Mahābhārata has been achieved in Bengali by Mm. Haridasa Siddhanta-Vagisa, who has brought out a veritable *magnum opus* in his edition of the text in Bengali characters with two Sanskrit commentaries and a Bengali translation.

The Purāṇas, however, did not receive that amount of reverent care and study. From its historical side, however, the attention of scholars like the Englishman Pargiter was drawn to the Purāṇas. Although complete vulgate editions of the Purāṇas have been published in Bengali, Telugu and Nāgarī characters, critical editions were lacking, and there was no initiative in this matter for quite a long time. The University of Gujarat, at Ahmedabad, is preparing a critical edition of the Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in the same style as the Mahābhārata of the Bhandarkar Reserach Institute, Poona. The Oriental Institute of the Maharajah Sayaji Rao University of Baroda is similarly working on a new and critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Purāṇas surely merit being treated with equal care. But in India, Purāṇa studies are rather restricted among our Scholars. We have only a few of the leading Scholars in India who are working on the Purāṇas; we have thus, apart from some of the great Sanskritists of the old type, Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra of Bengal, and Dr. A. D. Pusalkar of Bombay.

It is gratifying that as one of its first offerings at the alter of Sarasvati, the Kāśirāja Trust of Varanasi should have undertaken the task of preparing critical editions of the *Purāṇas* and have, to begin with, taken up a critical edition of one of the more important and early *Purāṇas*, the *Matsya*. Work has already been started, and the Trust has received actual support from some of the leading scholars of India like Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras. It can only be hoped that, with the interest in the *Purāṇas* which all Sanskritists both in India and abroad feel, this work will develop in the best possible scientific manner. We all know that a Hindu is really born in the atmosphere of the *Purāṇas*, and he lives and breathes and has his being in the bosom of the *Purāṇas*, so to say, during the formative period of his mind and personality. The *Purāṇas* have served Indian Civilisation and the Hindu people throughout the entire period of Indian History; and, therefore, it is obligatory on us to help this work and to study the *Purāṇas* properly and make the best use of them.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF THE PURANA-
DEPARTMENT OF THE ALL INDIA KĀŚIRĀJA TRUST

By

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA, M.A.,

(Asst. Editor, Purāṇa Dept.)

[वाराणस्यां काशिराजेन प्रतिष्ठापितस्य सर्वभारतीयकाशि-
राज्यास्य उद्देश्येषु भारतीयसंस्कृतेः संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य च परिपोषः
प्रकाशनं च मुख्यतया परिगण्यते । भारतीयसंस्कृतेः सिद्धान्तानां
ज्ञानप्रस्थानानां च कोशा इव चकासति पुराणानि । अतश्च पुराणग्रन्थानां
प्रकाशनमपि काशिराज्यासेन मुख्योद्देश्यतया स्वीकृतम् । तदर्थं च
पुराणप्रकाशनविभागः स्थापितः । तद्विभागः पुराणप्रकाशनसमितिश्च
निर्मिता । तेन पुनर्विभागेन अद्यपर्यन्तं कृतं तत्तत्कार्यजातम् अस्मिन् लेखे
वर्णितम्, तद्यथा—

मत्स्यपुराणसंस्करणार्थं मातृकाणां संग्रहः, परीक्षणं, पाठसंवादश्च;
मातृकासु दृष्टव्यं तेषां संग्रहः; धर्मनिबन्धेषु उदाहृतानां
मत्स्यपुराणीयश्लोकानां संग्रहः; मत्स्यपुराणश्लोकानां वर्णक्रमसूची तेषामन्य-
पुराणादिष्वन्वेषणं च; तत्र तत्र प्रकाशितानां मत्स्यपुराणविषयक-
निबन्धानां निर्देशः; ब्रह्मवामनपुराणयोः मातृकासंवादः; पुराणविषयानु-
क्रमणी; पुराण-संज्ञिका; पौराणिककथासंग्रहः; पुराणपरिशीलनोपयुक्तायाः
अस्याः “पुराण” नाम्न्याः षाण्मासिक्याः पत्रिकायाः प्रकाशनमित्यादि ।

—आनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः]

The Purana Department

One of the principal objects of the All India Kāśirāja Trust is ‘the advancement and propagation of Sanskrit language, sanskritic learning and Indology.’ The Purāṇas form an encyclopedia, so to say, of Sanskritic learning. They have made valuable contribution to Indian culture, and contain valuable materials for the study of ancient Indian history. They present rich material for the study of Hindu religion in its various aspects. It is for this reason that the Trust has taken upon itself the important task of bringing out critical editions of the Mahāpurāṇas and some of the important Upa-Purāṇas on modern lines. In order to fulfill this object the Trust has set up a separate ‘Purāṇa Prakāśana Department.’

The Purana Committee

The Trust formed a 'Purāṇa Prakāśana Samiti' on the 13th of May, 1955, and to this Purāṇa Samiti the work of promoting the study and research of the Purāṇic literature and of bringing out the critical editions of the Purāṇas was entrusted.

The Purāṇa Prakāśana Samiti consists of the following members:—

1. His Highness Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh, M.A., Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi, (Chairman)
2. Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D., Professor and Head of Sanskrit Dept., Madras University.
3. Dr. V. S. Agrawal, M.A., D.LITT., Professor, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.
4. Panditaraj Shri Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Principal, Sāṅga Veda Vidyālaya, Varanasi.

The Purāṇa Committee held meetings in Ramnagar Fort, Varanasi, to draw up the plan of work and to review the progress of work from time to time.

As a preliminary to the Purāṇa work, Dr. V. Raghavan, who is preparing the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit manuscripts for the Madras University, was kind enough to prepare a complete inventory of the known manuscripts of all the Purāṇas, Upa-purāṇas and some allied literature.

A brief account of the work of the Purāṇa Department, done so far under the guidance of the Purāṇa-Committee, is given below :—

Matsyapurana Work

The Purāṇa Prakāśana Samiti first took up the work of the preparation of a critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa. Pt. Murari Lal Mehta of Varanasi donated Rs. 50,000 to the Trust for the publication of the Matsya Purāṇa edition.

(1) Collation

On the basis of the Purāṇa-manuscripts-inventory supplied by Dr. V. Raghavan, manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa were collected from the various places of India and abroad. More than thirty Manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa were selected and procured. Besides these, a microfilm copy of a manuscript of the Persian translation of the Matsya Purāṇa was also received from the Italian Institute, Rome. Out of these different manuscripts thirty have been collated. The collation work has been done at two places.—Fort Ramnagar and Madras. One Śāradā manuscript from the Sciendia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, one Nevārī manuscript from the Kāśīrāja, Sarasvati Bhandara, Fort Ramnagar, part of an Oriya manuscript

procured from the Utkal University, Orissa, and fourteen Devanāgarī manuscripts procured from the Northern and Western India, India Office Library, London and the British Museum, have been collated at Fort Ramnagar. One Grantha manuscript from the Palace Library, Trivandrum, one Malayalam manuscript from the India Office-Library, London, the remaining portion of the Palm-leaf Oriya manuscript of the Utkal University, one Devanāgarī manuscript from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and ten other Devanāgarī manuscripts from the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, have been collated at Madras under the guidance of Dr. V. Raghavan. A descriptive statement of all these collated manuscripts is given elsewhere in this Bulletin.

Besides these manuscripts, at the Madras Centre, the Telugu edition of the Matsya Purāṇa published at Madras in 1877 A.D., the Bengali edition by Pancanana Tarkaratna published at Calcutta in Śāka 1812 (A.D. 1890), and the Karmāṭaka edition published at Mysore have also been collated; the Telugu edition, the most important of these, has been collated word by word, and the others partially.

Another important material that has been worked upon and utilised at Madras is the Tamil metrical translation of the Matsya Purāṇa by Vadamalayappa Pillai, a military Chieftain, which is about three hundred years old and is thus older than some of our manuscripts of the original Purāṇa. This Tamil epitome of the Matsya-Purāṇa is closely allied, both in content and extent, to the Grantha Ms. from Trivandrum mentioned above.

(2) Sloka Index.

An alphabetical index of all the ślokārdhas of the Ānandāśrama edition of the Matsya Purāṇa has also been prepared at Ramnagar for reference purpose.

(3) Comparative Charts and Statements.

Various comparative charts and statements have been prepared at both centres, giving details of the splitting, combining, omitting and transposing of the Adhyāyas of the Ānandāśrama edition in each collated manuscript; number of ślokas in each Adhyāya of a collated manuscript; and also a chart showing stories, chapters and ślokas in the Ānandāśrama Matsya Purāṇa and their occurrence in each of the other Mahāpurāṇas; such work has also been done with reference to verses of Manu and Yājñavalkya which occur in the Matsya Purāṇa.

(4) Collections of the additional Slokas.

Almost all the collated manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa contain a number of ślokas which are not found in the Ānandāśrama and other printed editions of the Matsya Purāṇa. All such additional ślokas have been noted separately. They will also be given in the critical edition separately.

(5) Collection of the Matsya Purāṇa Quotations.

A large number of quotations from the Matsya Purāṇa are found scattered in most of the Dharmaśāstra Nibandhas and also in some of the ancient commentaries on the principal smṛtis. These quotations are found even in the Nibandhas of so ancient a date as the 11th or 12th Century A.D., and are thus earlier than the oldest available manuscript which we have collated so far, which is dated Samvat 1582 only. These quotations will also be taken into account in settling the text of the Matsya Purāṇa. All Matsya Purāṇa quotations, therefore, have been collected from most of the important Nibandhas and commentaries and have been compared with the text of the Ānandāśrama edition as well as with the manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa. A number of these quotations still remain unidentified both in the printed editions as well as in the collated manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa.

The following is the list of the Nibandhas and Ṭīkāś from which Matsya Purāṇa quotations have so far been noted, chiefly at Banaras under the direct supervision of Pt. Rajeshvar Shastri and to some extent at Madras :—

1. Vijñāneśvara : Mitākṣarā, c. 1080 A.D.
2. Lakṣmīdhara: Kṛtyakalpataru (G.O.S., Baroda), c. 1110 A.D.
3. Aparārka : Com. on Yāj. Smṛti, c. 1110 A.D.
4. Vallālasena : Dānasāgara (Asiatic Society Edition, 1956),
1169 A.D. (Śāka 1091).
5. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa : Smṛti Candrikā, c. 1200 A.D.
6. Hemādri : Caturvargacintāmaṇi, c. 1260 A.D.
7. Mādhavācārya : Parāśaramādhava, c. 1300 A.D.
8. Śūlapāṇi : Prāyaścittaviveka, c. 1375 A.D.
9. Madanasimha : Madanaratna, c. 1425 A.D.
10. Vācaspati-Nibandha, c. 1500, A.D.
11. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa : Tristhalīsetu, c. 1513 A.D.
12. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa: Nirṇayasindhu, c. 1610 A.D.
13. Mitrāmīśra : Vīramitrodaya (Nibandha), c. 1620 A.D.
14. Vīramitrodaya, Yāj. Ṭīkā; c. 1620 A.D.
15. Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita : Smṛtimuktāphala, c. 1700 A.D.
16. Bālabhaṭṭa : Bālabhaṭṭī (Com. on Mitākṣarā), c. 1750
A.D.
17. Dharmakośa
18. Smṛtitattva
19. Vidvanmanoharā

(6) Matsyapurana-Bibliography.

A bibliography on the Matsya Purāṇa and also on some general Purāṇic topics containing Matsyapurāṇa references has been prepared from various Oriental Journals and some other works ; short

summaries or notes of the main points in the articles have also been prepared with it.

The preliminary work on the Matsya Purāṇa thus being almost complete, the work of editing the Matsya Purāṇa text will shortly be taken up.

Work relating to the Brahma and the Vamana Puranas.

In addition to the Matsya Purāṇa two more Mahā-Purāṇas, the Brahma and the Vāmana, have also been taken up for collation. Several manuscripts of these two Purāṇas have already been collated. Alphabetical Pāda index of the ślokas of both these Purāṇas has also been prepared.

General Puranic Work.

The following general work relating to the Purāṇas as a whole has also been done :—

(1) Purana-Concordance.

A subject-concordance of all the 18 Mahāpurāṇas is being prepared by Pt. Rama Shankar Bhattacharya under the guidance of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, Dr. Mangal Deva Shastri and Dr. V. S. Agrawal. A brief outline of the plan of the Concordance is being given separately in the Bulletin.

(2) Introduction to the Puranas.

A comprehensive Introduction to the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas dealing with the various aspects of the Purāṇic literature is also being prepared in Sanskrit by the eminent Sanskrit scholar, Pt. Giridhara Sharma Chaturvedi. The first volume of about 250 pages is ready for publication.

(3) A Popular Series on Puranic Topics.

A popular series of about 108 volumes on different Purāṇic topics is also being planned. Each volume will be of about 200 pages, and will be written by a scholar who has made a special study of the topic. A book on the Purāṇic Iconography has already been written in Hindi by Sri Sadasiva Rath of Orissa. Another volume on the story of Prahlāda as given in the different Purāṇas has been prepared in Sanskrit by Mm. N. Anantakrishna Sastri.

(4) 'PURANA' Bulletin.

To facilitate the special study of the Purāṇas by bringing together scholars interested in the subject and providing an exclusive forum for their contributions on this special subject, the Purāṇa-Committee decided at its last meeting to publish a Bulletin called 'Purāṇa'. Arrangements were made to publish this as a half-yearly Bulletin in Madras under the Chief-Editorship of Dr. V. Raghavan. The first issue of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin is now in the hands of the readers.

वेदेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्

महामहोपाध्याय पं. गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी

[In this article it is shown that the Purāṇa is already mentioned in the different parts of the Veda as being equally divine in origin and authoritative along with the Vedas themselves, and that thus the description of Purāṇa as the fifth Veda is justified.]

—Mm. Giridhara Sharma Chaturvedi]

भगवती श्रुतिरपि पुराणानां पञ्चमवेदत्वं स्वयमाचष्टे । तत्र प्रथममथर्व-
संहितायाः पञ्चदशं काण्डमेवालोच्यताम् । तद्धि पञ्चमवेदप्रतिपादकमिति चेत्
काण्डम् । काण्डारम्भदेव प्रथमेऽनुवाके प्रथमे पर्यायसूक्ते ब्राह्मणस्य प्रजापति-
प्रेरकत्वं चाम्नाय, ब्राह्मणस्य नीललोहितत्वम्, ईशानमहादेवपदाभिलष्यतां च
प्रतिपाद्य, द्वितीये पर्यायसूक्ते तस्य ब्राह्मणपदाभिधेयस्य महादेवस्य उत्थाय
प्राच्यादिषु चतसृषु दिक्षु चलनम्, बृहद्रथन्तरादीनां साम्नाम्, आदित्य-
विश्वदेववरुणादीनां देवानाम्, ऋषीणाम्, यज्ञयजमानादीनां च तत्तद्दिक्षु
तदनुगमनमभिधाय, अन्यदपि बहुतरं तस्य परिकरमुक्त्वा तद्विनिन्दकस्य
हानिम्, स्तोतुश्च तत्तत्पदार्थसम्पत्तिमभिष्टुत्य, तृतीये पर्यायसूक्ते देव-
सम्पत्तिमभिष्टुत्य तस्य महादेवस्यारोहणम्, ऋग्यजुरादीनां वेदानाम्,
साम्नाम् ग्रीष्मवसन्तादीनामृतूनां चासन्धा अङ्गत्वं प्रख्याय, चतुर्थे पर्याय-
सूक्ते वसन्तादीनामृतूनां बृहद्रथन्तरादीनां साम्नां च पृथक् पृथक् प्राच्यादिषु
दिक्षु तद्गोप्तृत्वं व्याख्याय, पञ्चमे भव-शर्व-रुद्राद्या अष्टौ प्रसिद्धा रुद्रमूर्तयः
पृथक् पृथक् दिक्षु तस्य इष्वासाः (शरप्रक्षेप्तारः) इति निरूप्य, तत्रैव प्राच्यादि-
दिग्निधनन्दिदिग्भिः सह ध्रुवा-ऊर्ध्वा-अन्तर्देश इत्यपि दिश उक्त्वा, षष्ठे पर्याय-
सूक्ते (अथ० १५ का०, १ अनु०, ६ सूक्त) तस्य ब्राह्मणपरपर्यायस्य महतो
देवस्य ध्रुवायां दिशि चलनम्, तत्र भूम्यग्न्यादीनां तदनुगमनम्,
ऊर्ध्वायां दिशि चलनम्, तत्र ऋतसत्यसूर्यचन्द्रनक्षत्रादीनां तदनुगमनं च
निरूप्य तदनन्तरमाम्नातम्—

स उत्तमां दिशमनुव्यचलत् ॥ ७ ॥

तमृचश्च सामानि च यजूंषि च ब्रह्म चानुव्यचलन् ॥ ८ ॥

ऋचां च वै ससाम्नां च यजुषां च ब्रह्मणश्च प्रियं धाम भवति,
य एवं वेद ॥ ९ ॥

स बृहतीं दिशमनुव्यचलत् ॥ १० ॥

तमितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्वानुव्यचलन् ॥ ११ ॥

इतिहासस्य च स वै पुराणस्य च गाथानां च नाराशंसीनां च प्रियं धाम भवति, य एवं वेद ॥ १२ ॥ इति ।

अग्रेऽपि परमाद्यासु दिक्षु चलनमनुचलनं च सुदूरपर्यन्तमाम्नातम् । इह ब्राह्मणस्य वैदिकं रहस्यमतिविस्तृतत्वादप्रकृतत्वाच्च न व्याख्यायते । न चात्र सायगना-यादीनामाप्तानां भाष्यमप्युपलभ्यते । केवलमत्रैतावदेव प्रतिपाद्यं यद् ऋग्यजुःसाम्नां ब्रह्मपदप्रतिपाद्यस्याथर्ववेदस्य च यथात्र ब्राह्मणानुगमनं श्रुतं तथैवेतिहासपुराणयोरपीति वेदैः सह परिगणनात् पञ्चमवेदत्वं तयोर्भगवत्या श्रुत्यैव व्यञ्जितम् । ब्राह्मणपदेनात्र रुद्रावतारः परमात्मा विवक्षित इति तु स्फुटमेव । ‘ब्राह्मो वा इदमग्र असीत्’ इति हि पैपलादसंहितायां सर्वेभ्यः पूर्वभाषित्वं निर्दिष्टम् । रुद्रस्य नीललोहितकुमारत्वञ्च पुराणेषु ख्यापितमेव । “नमो ब्राह्मणे” इति रुद्राध्यायेऽपि श्रूयते । ततश्च अत्रोपनिषद्देवादीनां वेदपुराणादीनां च तदनुगमनं युक्तमेवेति ॥

छान्दोग्योपनिषदि च (७ प्रपा०, १ ख०) नारदसनत्कुमारसंवादे स्पष्टं श्रूयते—‘अधीहि भगव इति होपससाद सनत्कुमारं नारदः, तं होवाच, यद्वेत्य तेन मोपसीद, ततस्त ऊर्ध्वं वक्ष्यामि’ इति ॥ १ ॥

‘स होवाच—ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम्, इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमम्, वेदानां वेदम्, पित्र्यं राशिम्, दैवं निधिम्, वाकोवाक्यम्, एकायनम्, देवविद्याम्, ब्रह्मविद्याम्, भूतविद्याम्, क्षत्रविद्याम्, नक्षत्रविद्याम्, सर्पदेवयजनविद्याम् एतद् भगवोऽध्येमि ॥ २ ॥ सोहं भगवो मन्त्रविदेवास्मि, नात्मवित्’ इत्यादि ॥

अत्र हि स्पष्टमितिहासपुराणयोः पञ्चमत्वम्—अर्थात् पञ्चम-वेदत्वमभिहितम् । अग्रेऽप्यस्मिन्नेव प्रकरणे—

‘नाम वा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेद आयर्वणश्चतुर्थः इतिहासपुराणः पञ्चमो वेदानां वेदः’ इत्यादि ॥ ७-१-१४ ॥

तदग्रेऽपि—

‘वाग्वाव नाम्नो भूयसी, वाग्वा ऋग्वेदं विज्ञापयति यजुर्वेदं सामवेद-
माथर्वणं चतुर्थम्, इतिहासपुराणम् पञ्चमम्, वेदानां वेदम्’ इत्यादि
(७-२-१) । एवमभ्यासेनेतिहासपुराणानां वेदेषु पञ्चमत्वमत्र श्रुतम् ॥

इह केचिद् वेदानां मध्ये पञ्चमं वेदम्—इति वा, वेदानां चतुर्णामपि
वा वेदम्—ज्ञानसाधनम्—प्रकाशकम्—इति चेतिहासपुराणस्यैव विशेषणम् ‘वेदानां
वेदम्’ इति व्याचक्षते । अन्ये तु महान्तो ‘वेदानां वेदम्’ इति व्याकरणं
गृह्णन्ति । यथा तथा वाऽस्तु—पञ्चमत्वं त्विह स्पष्टं भूयसा श्रुतं नापलपनीयमेव ।
तच्च पञ्चमत्वं वेदेष्वेव, उपस्थितत्वादिति पञ्चमवेदत्वं स्फुटं ख्यापयति श्रुतिः ।
अश्वमेधप्रकरणे च ज्ञानपथब्राह्मणे (१३ का०, ४ अध्या०, ३ ब्राह्म०)
पारिप्लवाख्याने प्रथमादिदिनेषु ऋग्यजुरादिवेदानाम्, सर्पदेवयजनविधानां च
व्याख्यानं विधाय अष्टमेऽह्नि इतिहासव्याख्यानम्, नवमेऽह्नि पुराणाख्यानं च
विहितम्, तत्र चेतिहासपुराणविशेषणत्वेन वेदशब्दः स्पष्टमुपात्तः—

‘अथाष्टमेऽहन् एवमेवैतास्विष्टिषु संस्थितासु एषैवाऽवृद्ध-अध्वर्यविति ह वै,
होतरित्येवाध्वर्युः, मत्स्यः सामवेदो राजेत्याह, तस्योदकेचरा विशस्त इम आसत
इति मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यहनश्चापि समेता भवन्ति, तानुपदिशति इतिहासो वेदः
सोऽयमिति कश्चिदितिहासमाचक्षीतैवमेवाध्वर्युः संप्रेष्यति, न प्रक्रमान् जुहोति ।
(१२ क०) ॥

अथ नवमेऽहन् एवमेवैतास्विष्टिषु संस्थितासु एषैवावृद्ध-अध्वर्यविति ह वै
होतरित्येवाध्वर्युः, ताक्ष्यो वै पश्यतो राजेत्याह, तस्य वयांसि विशस्तानी-
मान्यासत इति वयांसि च वयोविधिकाश्चोपसमेता भवन्ति, तानुपदिशति पुराणं
वेदः सोऽयमिति किञ्चित् पुराणमाचक्षीतैवमेवाध्वर्युः संप्रेष्यति, न प्रक्रमान्
जुहोति (१३ क०) ॥

एतदग्रे च साम्नां वचनमुक्तम् । अयमत्र क्रमः—पूर्वं सावित्रीस्तिष्ठ इष्टीः
कृत्वा यदाश्वमेधे अश्वो विमुक्तः, तदनन्तरं यज्ञमण्डपे देवसदनाख्ये यत्कर्तव्यं
भवति—तत् शतपथे त्रयोदशस्य काण्डस्य चतुर्थाध्याये तृतीये ब्राह्मणे
सामान्नातम् । तदुक्तमध्यायारम्भ एव—“प्रमुच्याश्च दक्षिणेन वेदिं हिरण्मयं
कशिपूपस्तृणाति (कशिपुः मृदु आसनम्) तस्मिन् होता उपविशति, दक्षिणेन
होतारं हिरण्मये कूर्चं यजमानः, (कूर्चः सपादमासनम् पीठभूतम्) दक्षिणतः
ब्रह्मा च उद्गाता च । हिरण्मयाः कशिष्वाः पुरस्तात् प्रत्यङ् अध्वर्युः-हिरण्मये

वा कूर्चे हिरण्मये वा फलके (आदरहितनासनम् फलकम्) समुपविष्टेषु अध्वर्युः—
 संप्रेष्यति (होतारं प्रेरयतीत्यर्थः) इत्यादि । एतत्सर्वं भगवता तत्त्वज्ञानेनापि
 विवृतं श्रौतसूत्रेषु (अश्वमेधप्रकरणे) दक्षिणतो वेदेहिरण्मयेषूपविशन्ति ॥ १८ ॥
 अध्वर्युयजमानौ कूर्चयोः ॥ १९ ॥ फलकयोर्वा ॥ २० ॥ होतृब्राह्मणोद्गातारः
 कशिपुषु ॥ २१ ॥ होतर्भूतान्याचक्ष्व, भूतेष्विमं यजमानमध्यूहति पारिप्लवम्
 प्रेष्यति ॥ २२ ॥ ह वै होतरिति प्रतिगृह्णाति” इत्यादिना । अत्र अध्वर्युणा
 प्रेषे कृते होता सर्वान् तत्तद्वेदादि व्याख्यानं श्रावयति । इदमेव पारिप्लवाख्यान-
 मुच्यते । दश दिनादीदं व्याख्यानं प्रत्यहं प्रचलति । प्रत्यहं तिस्रः सावित्र्य
 इष्टयः क्रियन्ते । तत्र षट्सु दिवसेषु व्याख्यानानन्तरं प्रक्रमहोमोऽपि
 विधीयते, सप्तमादिषु चतुर्षु दिनेषु तु प्रक्रमहोमो न क्रियते । एवं दशसु
 दिवसेषु पूर्णेषु पुनरावृत्तिः पुनरावृत्तिः इति संवत्सरपर्यन्तं षट्त्रिंशदावृत्तयः
 क्रियन्ते । तदुक्तम्—‘एतदेव समानमाख्यानम् पुनः पुनः संवत्सरं परिप्लवते ।
 तद्यत् पुनः पुनः परिप्लवते तस्मात् पारिप्लवम् षट्त्रिंशतम् दशाहानाचष्टे’
 इत्यादि (शतपथ० १३ का०, ४ अ०, ३ ब्रा०, १५ क) प्रत्यहं च ऋत्विग्-
 यजमानातिरिक्ता विभिन्नाः श्रोतारो यज्ञमण्डप आहूयन्ते । यस्याख्यानस्य यो
 राजा आघ्रातस्तत्प्रजाभूताः तदुपयुक्ता एव श्रोतारः तस्मिन् दिने सन्निधाप्यन्ते ॥

तत्र प्रथमे दिने मनुर्वैवस्वतो राजा, तत्प्रजानां मनुष्याणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः
 अश्रोत्रिया गृहस्थाः श्रोतारः ऋचां व्याख्यानम् । द्वितीये दिने यमो
 वैवस्वतो राजा तत्प्रजानां पितॄणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः स्थविराः (वृद्धाः) श्रोतारः
 यजुषां व्याख्यानम् । तृतीये दिने वरुण आदित्यो राजा, तत्प्रजानां गन्धर्वाणां
 प्रतिनिधिभूताः शोभना युवानः श्रोतारः अथर्ववेदस्य व्याख्यानम् । पञ्चमे दिने
 अर्बुदः काद्रवेयः (सर्पः) राजा, तत्प्रजानां सर्पाणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः सर्पविदः
 (सर्पपालकाः सपेरा इति प्रसिद्धाः) सर्पैः सहिताः श्रोतारः सर्पविद्याया
 व्याख्यानम् । षष्ठे दिने कुबेरो वैश्रवणो राजा, तत्प्रजानां रक्षसां प्रतिनिधिभूताः
 पापकृतः सेलगाः (सेलं गायन्ति ये) श्रोतारः, देवयजनविद्याया
 व्याख्यानम् । सप्तमे दिने असितो धान्वो राजा, तत्प्रजानाम् असुराणां
 प्रतिनिधिभूताः, कुसीदिनः (कुसीदम्—ऋणरूपेण दत्तानां रूप्यकादीनां वृद्धि
 ‘व्याजं’, इति ‘सूद’ इति च प्रसिद्धं ये उपजीवन्ति) श्रोतारः माषा प्रतिपादकस्य
 वेदस्य व्याख्यानम् । अथाष्टमे दिने मत्स्यः सामदो राजा, तत्प्रजाना-
 मुदकेचराणां मत्स्यानां प्रतिनिधिभूता मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यघातकाश्च श्रोतारः

इतिहासस्य व्याख्यानम् । नवमे दिने ताक्ष्यो (गरुडः) वैपश्यतो राजा, तत्प्रजानां पक्षिणां प्रतिनिधिभूताः पक्षिणश्च पक्षिविद्यावेत्तारश्च श्रोतारः पुराणस्य व्याख्यानम् । दशमे तु दिने धर्म इन्द्रो राजा, तत्प्रजानां देवानां प्रतिनिधिभूताः प्रतिग्रहवर्जिताः श्रोत्रियाः श्रोतारः साम्नां व्याख्यानमिति । एवं वेदमध्ये व्याख्यानविधानात् “वेदः सोऽयम्” इति स्पष्टं श्रवणाच्च वेदत्वमितिहासपुराणयोरत्र स्पष्टमुक्तम् । उभे चेतिहासपुराणे अक्षिप्तप्रमाणान्तरं चोद्धारके इत्यपि श्रोतृविवरणेन व्यञ्जितम् । अनेनैव श्रोतृविवरणेन न प्रसिद्धवेदनामातिनिहासपुराणे-अपि तु ततः पृथगेव वेदपदबोधनीये वेदवदभ्यर्हणीये चेत्सपि स्फुटं व्यञ्जितम् । तत एव वेदानधिकृतानामपि श्रोतृतया इहोपस्थापनम् । वेदज्ञानामृत्विग्यजमानादीनामपि च वेदान्तविधानमिदमेव वेदवदभ्यर्हणो-रितिहासपुराणयोर्व्याख्यातं भवति ॥

तदित्थं ब्राह्मणेषु बहुत्र पञ्चमवेदत्वमितिहासपुराणयोः स्फुटमाम्नातमिति प्रदर्शितम् । न हि ब्राह्मणानि चतुर्णामेव वेदानामन्तर्भूतानि स्वस्यैव पञ्चमत्वमाचक्षीरन्निति ब्राह्मणेभ्यः पृथगेवेतिहासपुराणयोः सत्त्वमेभिः प्रमाणैः साधितं भवति, वेदवदभ्यर्हितत्वञ्च पुराणेतिहासयोः ॥

मन्त्रे च पुराणेतिहासयोरपि वेदैः सहैव परमात्मन उद्भव आम्नायते—

ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।

उच्छिष्टाज्जिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिवि श्रिताः ॥ (अथर्व० ११।७।२४)

अत्र उद्-ऊर्ध्वम्-अर्थात् सर्वेषां भूतभौतिकानामवसाने, शिष्टः उर्वरितः परमात्मा, तस्मादुच्छिष्टात्-परमात्मन ऋगाद्याः सर्वेऽप्युत्पद्यन्ते—इति श्रीमाधवाचार्यप्रभृतयो व्याचक्षते । वैज्ञानिकास्त्वन्वेषणशीला इत्थं वदन्ति—यत्काश्चिदपि पदार्थः परेण मुक्तः पराङ्गतां गतः—परस्मिन्ननुप्रविष्ट इति यावत्—स्वकीयाद् घनावदा विच्छिद्यते तदा स “उच्छिष्ट” इत्युच्यते । यथा ग्रीष्मे सूर्यातपः स्वसंयोगिषु प्रस्तरादिष्वनुप्रविष्टोऽस्तङ्गतेऽपि सूर्ये स्वघनाद्विच्छिन्नस्तस्मिन् प्रस्तरादावेव स्थितो भवति, तत एव अस्तङ्गतेऽपि सूर्ये तस्मिन् प्रस्तरादावूष्माऽनुभूयते । यदि तु सोऽयमातपः सूर्यकेन्द्राद्विच्छिन्नो न स्यात् तदा सूर्येण सहैव गच्छेदिति कथं प्रस्तरादावूष्मानुभवसंभवः ? सोऽयं भाग ऋग्वेदपरिभाषायां ‘प्रवर्ग्य’ इत्युच्यते, आथर्वणे च ‘उच्छिष्ट’ इति परिभाषितः । ततश्चेत्यमत्र

सङ्गतिः—रसबलाख्ये द्वे जगतो मूलतस्वे—ब्रह्ममायाऽपरपदाभिधेये । तत्र रसो विभुर्नित्यः, बलं तु परिच्छिन्नमपि विनश्वरमपि च संख्यानन्त्याद् व्याप्तिमत् प्रवाहनित्यं च, तत्संवन्धादसोऽपि परिच्छिन्न इवाभाति । तत एव च मितिसाधनाद्वलं मायेत्युच्यते । तस्मिन् परिच्छिन्ने मायाख्ये महाबले यावान् रसभागोऽनुप्रविष्टो भवति—गृहादिष्विवाकाशभागः, स पूर्वोक्तेन प्रकारेण प्रवर्ग्यभूतश्च उच्छिष्टश्च परिभाष्यते । स एव च भवति सर्वजगदुपादानम्— इति तस्मादेव सर्वा सृष्टिराथर्वणे समान्नाता । अत्र पुरुषसूक्तसंवादोऽपि—

एतावानस्य महिमातो ज्यायँश्च पुरुषः ।

पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ॥ इति ॥

अलमनेनाप्रकृतविचारेण । पुराणानां वेदैः सह तस्मादेव सर्व-जगन्मूलादुत्पत्तिरिति स्पष्टमेव मन्त्रे । अत्र च नान्यविशेषणत्वेनोक्तः स्वतन्त्रः पुराणशब्दः पुराणविद्याया एवाभिधायक इति नात्र सन्देहावसरः । बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि—

“स यथार्धेन्धनाग्नेरभ्याहितत्वात् पृथग् धूमा विनिश्चरन्ति एवं वा अरे अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्—यद्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासपुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राणि अनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानानि अथैवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि ।” (बृह० २।४।१०) इति महतो भूतस्य परमात्मनो निःश्वासरूपाण्येव वेदाः पुराणानि चाख्यातानि । अयमत्राभिप्रायः—अस्मदादिशरीरे द्विविधास्तावत्क्रियाः सृष्टयश्च—

ज्ञानजन्या भवेदिच्छा इच्छाजन्या कृतिर्भवेत् ।

कृतिजन्यं भवेत्कर्म—

इति न्यायशास्त्रोक्तप्रक्रियया जायमानाः प्रथमाः । पुरुषः प्रथममिन्द्रियादिभिः स्वप्रतिकूलं दंशं वा मशकं वा पुरुषान्तरमेव वा प्रहरन्तं जानाति, ततश्च निवारयेयमेनमिति वा पलायेयेत इति वा इच्छति, इच्छयाऽऽत्मनि यत्नः प्रादुर्भवति, प्रयत्नवदात्मप्रेरणाच्च हस्ते पादे वा क्रिया भवति, यथा दंशादिकं पुरुषान्तरं वा निवारयति ततः पलायितोऽन्यत्र वा गच्छतीति क्रमः सर्वत्रानु-भूयते । अपरास्तु क्रिया अनिच्छाकृता एव भवन्ति—यथा हृत्कम्पः, नेत्रनिमी-लनम्, आसनिर्गमश्चेत्याद्याः । न हि वयं स्वैच्छया प्रयत्नमुत्पाद्य आसादिकं

प्रेरयामः, अबुद्धिपूर्वकमेव तु सततं क्रमेण ताः क्रियाः स्वभावात् प्रवर्तन्ते । तथैव परमात्मनोऽपि स्वभावादेव वेदपुराणादिकं प्रादुर्भवति—न तु बुद्धिपूर्वकं तदुत्पाद्यत इति निःश्वाससादृश्येन प्रयत्नाजन्यत्वरूपापौरुषेयत्वं च वेद-पुराणादीनामभिव्यञ्जितम् । नहीश्वरस्यापि वेदनुगुणचुम्बनादने स्वातन्त्र्यम्, अपि तु नित्यान्येव तानि स्वभावतस्तस्मात्प्रादुर्भवन्ति इति । यथा च निःश्वासेरेव शरीरस्य आविष्टितत्वं परिचयः, सर्वथा निःश्वासनिरोधे हि मृत इत्येवोच्येतेऽखिलैः, तथैव ब्रह्माण्डस्येश्वरशरीरभूतस्य वेदपुराणादिभिरेवेश्वराधिष्ठितत्वं निश्चयः । यदि नाभविष्यन् वेदाः पुराणानि वा, न तर्हि केनाप्येतदधिष्ठाता परमेश्वरः प्रत्यभ्यज्ञास्यत । वेदपुराणादिभिरेवेश्वरः प्रत्याप्यते । तदुक्तं भगवता व्यासेन ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु—‘शास्त्रयोनित्वात्’ (१।१।३) इति ॥

जगज्जन्मादिकर्तुं ब्रह्मेति शास्त्रेणैव प्रत्याप्यतेऽयमर्थः ॥

यत्तु केचिदाक्षिपन्ति—उपात्तेयं श्रुतिर्वृहदाख्यकोपनिषदि याज्ञवल्क्य-मैत्रेयीसंवादे समुपलभ्यते, तत्र च ‘आत्मनो वा अरे पत्युः कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति आत्मनस्तु कामाय पतिः प्रियो भवति’ इत्यादिना । ततश्चात्र महतो भूतस्येति प्रक्रान्तो जीवात्मैव ग्रहीतव्य इति नैतया श्रुत्या परमात्मनः सकाशाद् उत्पत्तिर्वेदपुराणादीनां सिध्यति इति । तदेतद्वाक्यान्वयाधि-करणेन भगवता व्यासेनैव ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु समाहितम् । जीवात्माभेदेनैवात्र परमात्मानं ग्राहयितुं प्रवृत्तो भगवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रथमं सौकर्याय जीवात्मानमेव प्रियतास्प-दत्वेन ग्राहयित्वा तदभिन्नतयैव परमात्मनो दर्शनं विधत्ते । तत एव ‘आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः’ इति । ‘आत्मनो वा अरे दर्शनेन श्रवणेन मत्या विज्ञानेनेदं सर्वं विदितम्’ इत्येकविज्ञानेन सर्वविज्ञानसिद्धिः सिद्धामन्ववदत् । तेन च सर्वजगन्मूलभूतस्य परमात्मन एवात्र ज्ञेयत्वेनोपश्लेष इति स्फुटीभवति । मूलतत्त्वस्य विज्ञानेनैव सर्वविज्ञानसंभवात् । इदं सर्वं यदयमात्मा इति च वदन् सर्वात्मभूतः परमात्मैवात्र वेद्यतयोपदिष्ट इति स्फुटीचकार । तदग्रे महद्-भूतपदार्थां तमेव स्मारयित्वा तस्मात् सर्वस्यानुगुणसिद्धिर्मादिधे—इति सुस्फुटोऽयमर्थः । ये तु जीवात्मनः परमात्मना सहाद्वैतभावं न सहन्ते, तेषां दुरभिलष्येयं श्रुतिरित्यन्यदेतत् ॥

यदपि केचिदाहुः—‘वेदपुराण-विद्योपनिषत्-श्रौत-स्मृत्यव्याख्याना-दिकं सर्वमिदं वेदपुराण-विद्योपनिषत्-श्रौत-स्मृत्यव्याख्याना-दिकं प्राह्यम्, जगतः प्रागवस्थाप्रतिपादकः

‘नैव वा किञ्चिदग्र आसीत्’ इत्यादि ब्राह्मणभाग एव पुराणम् । ‘देवासुराः संयत्ता आसन्’ इत्यादयश्चेतिहासाः” इत्यादि, तदपीदं न विवेकबुद्धिग्राह्यम् । इह हि उपदर्शितायां बृहदारण्यकश्रुतौ ‘ऋचः’ ‘यजूंषि’ ‘सामानि’ इति नोपात्तम् अपि तु ‘ऋग्वेदः’ ‘यजुर्वेदः’ ‘सामवेदः’ इत्युपात्तम् । तेषामृग्यत्रार्थवशेन पादव्यवस्था’ (मी० सू० ३।१।३५) इत्यादिभिर्निर्दिष्टेऽस्त्य ऋक्पदेन पद्यान्येव ग्रहीतुमुचितानि । सामपदेन गीतय एव, यजुःपदेन गद्यान्येव । ऋग्वेदपदेन तु ऋक्प्रधानः सर्वोऽपि संहिताब्राह्मणात्मकऋग्वेद इति प्रसिद्धः संग्रहो ग्राह्यः । तथैव च सामवेदयजुर्वेदपदान्यानिऽस्मिन् शिष्टपरम्परागता शब्दार्थव्यवस्थितिः ॥

तथा च ब्राह्मणानामृग्वेदादिपदेनैव संगृहीतत्वात् पुनरितिहासपुराण-ग्रहणमपार्थकमेव । तथैव च उदाहृतपूर्वायां छान्दोग्यश्रुतावपि ऋग्वेदादिपदानि संकीर्ण इतिहासपुराणमित्यस्य विशेषणं पञ्चमम् इत्यपि श्रूयते । यदि नाम ब्राह्मणानामेव कतिचन भागा इतिहासपुराणशब्दाभ्यां विवक्षिताः स्युः, तर्हि पञ्चमपदेन ते भागाः कथं संगृह्येरन् ? तत्र हि विद्यागणना वा प्रस्तुता, ग्रन्थगणना वेति तावद्विचार्यम् । तत्रादित एव विद्यागणना चेन्मन्येत, ऋग्वेदाद्युपादानं तर्हि नान्वियात् ; न हि ऋग्वेद इति यजुर्वेद इति वा कापि विद्या प्रसिध्यति । बहूनां विद्यानां तत्र तत्रान्तर्भावात् । तस्मात् ‘पञ्चमम्’ इति पर्यन्तम् ग्रन्थगणनैवामिप्रेतेत्यकामेनाप्यवशं स्वी-कर्तुमुचितं स्यात् । तत एव च अथर्ववेदस्य चतुर्थत्वेन पृथग्गणनापि युक्तिमती । ऋचः, यजूंषि इत्यादिरूपेण चेत्परिगण्यते, न तर्हि आथर्वणं चतुर्थमिति वक्तव्यं स्यात् । ऋगादिपदेन तदभागानामपि संगृहीतत्वात् । अनन्तरन्तु भवतु विद्यागणनाभ्युपगमः, तत्र सङ्ख्यावाचकपदाश्रवणात्, विद्याशब्दस्य स्पष्टं श्रवणाच्च । ततश्च ग्रन्थगणनायामितिहासपुराणमिति पुराणविद्याप्रतिपादको ग्रन्थ एवोक्तः न तु ब्राह्मणेषु तत्र तत्रोपलभ्यमानास्ते भागा इत्येव युक्तमभ्युपगन्तुम्, बृहदारण्यकश्रुतावपि तुल्यन्यायात्तथैव । यथा चेतिहासपुराणमिति शब्दौ विद्यावाचकौ ग्रन्थेऽपि प्रवर्तते, तथाग्रिमेषु प्रकरणेषु सुस्फुटं स्यात् । श्रीशङ्कराचार्या अपि ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यदेवताधिकरणे “ज्योतिषभावाच्च” इति सूत्रस्य भाष्ये “इतिहासपुराणमपि पौरुषेयत्वात् प्रमाणान्तरं मूलमाकाङ्क्षते” इति पूर्वपक्षे इतिहासपुराणयोर्वेदातिरिक्ततां स्पष्टमुक्त्वा तत्प्रामाण्ये च संशयं प्रदर्श्य सिद्धान्तपक्षे “भावं तु बादरायणेऽस्ति

हि” इति सूत्रभाष्ये ऋषीणामपि मन्त्रब्राह्मणदर्शिनां सामर्थ्यं नास्मदीयेन संशयान्तेन तु शक्यम् । तस्मात् समूलमितिहासपुराणम्” इत्युक्तम् । तेनेतिहासपुराणानां वेदातिरिक्तत्वेऽपि आर्षत्वं प्रामाण्यं च स्पष्टमुक्तम् । तदेवमितिहासपुराणानां वेदातिरिक्तत्वे सिद्धे तन्मूलभूतमितिहासपुराणं विद्यापि वेदेभ्यः पृथगेव सिध्यति । किं च ब्राह्मणभागा एव यदि विशकल्य्य तैस्तैः पदैः श्रुतिषु विभिन्ननामभिः परिगृहीताः तर्हि, ब्राह्मणानां मुख्यो भागः कर्मविधिर्नाम केन शब्देन गृहीत इति विमृश्यं स्यात् । किं सर्वा विद्या अधिगतवतापि नारदेन कर्मभागो नाधीतः । बृहदारण्यके वा तस्य परमात्मनः उत्पत्तिर्नाम्नाता । अन्ये पुराणाद्या ब्राह्मणभागा महतो भूतान्निश्चितरूपेणोत्पन्नाः मुख्यो ब्राह्मणभागः कर्मविधिरूपश्च न महतो भूतादुत्पन्न इति श्रुत्याशयमनुमत्तः कः श्रद्धधीतः ? विद्यासूत्रव्याख्यानादिपदैरस्तु तत्संग्रहमिति ब्रूयुश्चेत्, ननु विलक्षणेयं पद्वतिर्यद् ब्राह्मणेष्वप्राधान्येन यत्र कुत्रचिदुपलभ्यमानाः पुराणादिभागाः स्वशब्दैरुच्चार्यन्ते । मुख्यतमो विधिभागस्तु कथञ्चिद्वैदिकरूपेण केनचिच्छब्देन परिगृह्यत इति । कर्मविधिशब्दे एतावान् प्रद्वेषस्तत्रभवतां नारदयाज्ञवल्क्यादीनाम् यत्ते तं शब्दं नोच्चारयन्ति इति तस्माद्वेदादिपदैरेव मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मरकास्ते ते वेदा इह गृहीताः । अग्रे चाम्नाता इतिहासपुराणाद्या ब्राह्मणेभ्यः पृथगेवेत्यर्थः स्फुटस्तत्र स्वीकार्यः । यत्तु केचन वेदमन्त्रभागस्यानादितामुद्धोषयन्तोऽपि ‘यज्ञप्रक्रियापरो मन्त्राणामर्थः पश्चात् प्रवृत्त’ इति साधयितुं सन्नहन्ति तेषां मते—

“ऋचां त्वः पोषमास्ते पुपुष्वान्

गायत्रं त्वो गायति शक्नीषु ।

ब्रह्मा त्वो वदति जातविद्याम्

यज्ञस्य मात्रां विमिमीत उखः ॥

(ऋ० १०।७।११)

इत्यादिना स्पष्टं यज्ञे ऋक्विक्र्याविभागप्रतिपादकानां निरुक्ते च तथैव व्याख्यातानां मन्त्राणां कः प्रामाणिकोऽर्थः स्यात् ? यजुस्संहितापूर्वविंशति-कायाश्च यज्ञविनियोगक्रमेणैव संवृत्तितायाः का सङ्गतिश्च ? किं च ‘मन्त्रात्मकान् वेदान् समुपदिश्य तदर्थग्रहणेऽशक्तान् जनान् ईश्वर एव तदर्थं ग्राहयामास, तानि

मन्त्रव्याख्यारूपाणि ब्राह्मणानि' इति स्वनिबन्धे श्रीस्वामिदयानन्देनाप्युक्तम् ।
 ब्राह्मणेषु च कर्मबोधपरण्येव व्याख्यानानि मन्त्राणामुपलभ्यन्त इतीश्वर-
 बोधितादर्थ्यात् प्राक् का व्याख्या संभवेद्? ननु भोः श्लोकाः सूत्राणि
 व्याख्यानानि अतुल्यमहानि इत्याद्यपि तर्हि परमात्मन आविर्भूतमनादिस्वी-
 कर्तुमशक्तेरिति चेद् वाटम् । अनतिशङ्कनीया भगवती श्रुतिरिति श्लोक-
 सूत्रव्याख्यानातिशयः । मूलभूतमनाद्यभ्युपगन्तव्यमेव । यथा त्वद्यत्वे पुराणेतिहासा
 व्यासेन स्वरूपान्तरीकृता एव अस्मान्निर्गलन्यन्ते, तथा श्लोकसूत्रादिकमपि
 मूलभूतमनादि नोपलभ्यते, तैस्तैर्मुनिभि रूपांतरतां प्रापितमेव तु लभ्यत
 इत्येव स्वारसिकः सिद्धान्तः स्वीकरणीयः स्यात्, गत्यन्तराभावात् । अत एव
 च “इमे सर्वे वेदा निर्मताः सकल्पाः, सरहस्याः, सत्राह्वणाः, सोपनिषत्काः,
 सेतिहासाः, सव्याख्यानाः, सपुराणाः, ससंस्काराः, सनिरुक्ताः, सानुशासनाः,
 सानुमार्जनाः, सत्राकोवाद्याः” इति (गोपथ० पूर्वभाग० प्रपा० २-१
 का० १) इति गोन्यश्रुतिरनुदण्यते । इह हि स्फुटमेव ब्राह्मणेभ्यः
 पृथक्कुल्य पुराणेतिहासादीनि कन्दन्याख्यानादीनि चोपात्तानि । ब्राह्मण
 त्रिष्टुप्काद्याश्रयणं त्वगतिकगतिः । तस्मात् सर्वाण्येतानि वेदवदनादीन्यासन्
 पूर्वयुगे, इदानीं तु नन्वब्राह्मणेतिहासादिका वेदा एव स्वस्वरूपे सुरक्षिता
 अध्ययनपरम्परया द्विजैः । अन्यानि तु कालपर्ययेण रूपान्तरतामेवापद्याद्यत्वे
 उपलभ्यन्ते, न तु अनादिरूपे इत्येव स्पष्टं फलति—इत्यलं विस्तरेण । तदिस्थं
 पुराणानां पञ्चमवेदत्वमीश्वरनिःश्रुतितत्त्वमनादित्वं च श्रुतिभिरेव प्रतिपाद्यत
 इति किमतः परं तन्महत्त्वमनुकीर्तनीयं स्यात् ॥

SOME PURĀNIC PASSAGES CORROBORATED BY INSCRIPTIONAL AND NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

By

Dr. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., D. LITT.

[पुराणवर्णितराजवंशावत्यन्तर्गतान्यनेकनृपनामानि शिलादिलेखेषु मुद्रासु चोल्लिखितान्युपलभ्यन्त इति पार्गिटर्महोदयैः स्वग्रन्थे निर्दिष्टम् । ततःप्रभृति बहवोऽन्येऽपि लेखा मुद्राश्च बहुसंख्याकाः संशोध्य प्रकाशं नीताः पुरातत्त्वविद्भिः । नवोपलब्धाः शिलालेखाः मुद्राश्च अन्यदपि पुराणगतवंशावलीवर्णनं सम्यक् समर्थयन्तीति लेखेऽस्मिन्प्रतिपादितम् ।

—वा. वि. मिराशी]

Historical genealogies form one of the main characteristics of the Purāṇas. F. E. Pargiter collated passages relating to the dynasties that reigned in the Kali age from the printed editions and manuscripts of seven Purāṇas, viz., the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa* and *Bhaviṣya*, and constituted a critical text which he published with variants in his well-known work 'The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age' nearly fifty years ago. In his introductory remarks on the several sections of the Text, Pargiter drew attention to the inscriptions and coins which corroborated the royal names mentioned in the Purāṇas. Since then much new historical material has come to light which remarkably corroborates some more statements in the Purāṇas. It is proposed to review this material briefly here.

The Andhras (Satavahanas)

The Purāṇas mention several kings of this dynasty, whose number according to one version, was nineteen and, according to another, thirty. Pargiter thought that thirty was no doubt the correct number, but the list omits one member, viz., Śātakarṇi (No. 24-a) who followed Pulomā (i.e., Puṣumāvi) and ruled for 29 years. His name is mentioned in an old and reliable MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* and, as shown below, it is now corroborated by a recent find of his coin. Of these thirty-one kings the identification of the following was certain in the time of Pargiter, viz., Śiśuka (same as Simuka), Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarṇi (Nos. 1-3 of Pargiter's list), Gautamīputra (No. 23), Pulomā (same as Puṣumāvi mentioned in inscriptions and coins) (No. 24) and Yajña-śrī¹ (No. 27). The Purāṇas mention Pūrṇotsaṅga and Skandhastambhi as the successors of Śrī-Śātakarṇi, but these names do not

1. As the Purāṇas were originally composed in Prakrit, the honorific suffix śrī (Prakrit *siri*) is added at the end of the royal names even in the Sanskrit version.

occur in the contemporary Naneghat inscription of Nāganikā. We find instead the names of Vēdi-siri (Śrī-Vēdi) and Sati-siri (Śrī-Śakti) there, which must evidently be accepted as more reliable.² The eighth King Āpilaka has since become known from a copper coin found at Balpur in the Raigadh District of Madhya Pradesh. It has been published by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit³. It has the legend *Raño Siva- siri=Āpilakasa*. The alternative name *Divilaka* of this king given by Pargiter on the evidence of some MSS. must now be rejected in view of this clear numismatic evidence.

Hāla (No. 17 of Pargiter's list) is well known as the author of the Prakrit anthology *Sattasāi* (*Gāthāsaptasāi*), but no coins of his had been discovered. Some years ago Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad sent me impressions of some lead coins, which had fragmentary legends on the obverse and reverse. I could read *Sātisa* on the obverse of two of these coins and *Sāla* on their reverse⁴. *Sāla* may perhaps be the same as *Hāla*. If so, we have in these coins the rare issues of this illustrious king.

Gautamīputra (No. 23) and Pulomā (No. 24) were already well known from their inscriptions found in the Nasik and Karla caves and also from their coins found over a large area. The coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi have since been found in Āndhradeśa also. A unique portrait coin of Puḷumāvi has recently been published by Dr. Trivedi.⁵ This Puḷumāvi was a son of Gautamīputra and bears the metronymic *Vāsiṣṭhīputra* in his inscriptions. His successor is named as Sātakarṇi in a Ms. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* as stated above⁶. His name was, however, omitted in other Purāṇas, but his existence was corroborated by a Kanheri inscription which mentions his metronymic *Vāsiṣṭhīputra* as well as his queen who was a daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman⁷. We had, however, no certain coins issued by this king⁸. In the last number of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*⁹, Mr Dinkar Rao of Hyderabad has published a unique coin of this king with the clear legned *Raño Vāsiṣṭhīputasa Siri-Sātakarṇisa*, which leaves no doubt that he did reign. We have seen above that Āpilaka bears on his coin the epithet *Siva-siri* (*Śiva-Śrī*).

2. See my article 'Identification of Kings Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi of the Coins' in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. I. XIV, pp. 26 f.

3. Numismatic Supplement, No. 344, *JRASBL.*, Vol. III, pp. 93 f.

4. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 132-133.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1 f.

6. *Dynasties of the Kali Gce* (Abbreviated hereafter as *D.K.A.*), p. 42.

7. Cf. [वा]सिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीसातकर्णस्य देव्याः काहमकवंशप्रभवाया महक्षत्रपर[द्र]पुत्र्या...विश्वस्यस्य पानीयभाजनं देयधर्मः ।

8. A coin of this king was published by Dr. Altekar in *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 59, but its legend was fragmentary.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 9 f.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi may have borne a similar epithet. In that case the coins with the legend *Raño Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva-siri Sātakarṇi*, catalogued by Rapson¹⁰, may have also been issued by him.

After this king the Purāṇas mention a king named Śiva-śrī Pulo-ma. On the analogy of Āpīlaka Śiva-śrī and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva-śrī this king should be identical with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, but the Purāṇas mention him separately from the latter¹¹. And as a matter of fact, I found potin coins with the legend *Raño Śiva-siri Puḷumāvi* in the large Tarhala hoard of more than 1500 coins which I examined twenty years ago¹². There were other coins in that hoard with the legend *Raṇā siri-Puḷumāvi* also¹³, which shows that the two kings were different as stated by the Purāṇas.

The next king (No. 26) is named 'Śiva-skandha' in the Purāṇas according to Pargiter's text¹⁴. In the Tarhala hoard, however, I found coins with the legend *Siri-Khada-Sātakarṇi*¹⁵, which shows that his proper name was Śiva-Skanda (not Śiva-skandha).

The successor of Śiva-Skanda was Yajña-śrī Sātakarṇi, who is well-known from inscriptions and coins. He was followed by Vijaya, who, according to the Purāṇas, ruled for six years only. Some coins of this king had been discovered at Chanda¹⁶, but as the legend was fragmentary, Hoernle, who published them, could not identify him. In the Tarhala hoard I found some more coins of this king, which also had fragmentary legends, but putting the two fragments together I could complete the royal name *Śrī-Vijaya Sātakarṇi*¹⁷. Finally, the last king (No. 30) mentioned in the Purāṇas was also represented in the Tarhala hoard by the coins with the legend *Puḷahāmavi*¹⁸. His inscription discovered in the Adoni Talukā of the Bellary District has been published by Dr. Sukthankar¹⁹.

The Successors of the Andhras

When the extensive empire of the Andhras (or Sātavāhanas) broke up, there arose different kingdoms in its place. Their rulers are named as the Gardabhins, Śakas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Muruṇḍas,

10. Catalogue of Indian Coins—*Coins of the Andhras*, etc., p. 29.

11. *D.K.A.*, p. 42.

12. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 f.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol II, p. 87.

14. *D.K.A.*, p. 42.

15. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, p. 89.

16. *P.A.S.B.* (1893) pp. 116 f.

17. The legend on these coins is *Raño siri-Vijaya Sātakarṇi*.

18. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, p. 92.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153 f. Sukthankar ascribed this record to Puḷumavi II, but the characters are more developed than in his age.

Hūṇas, Ābhīras, Śrīparvatīyas²⁰ etc. The inscriptions of some of these have been found. We have for instance an inscription of the Ābhīra King, Īśvarasena in a Nasik cave²¹. We have also several inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus from the Nagarjunikond area²². They are evidently identical with the Śrīparvatīyas. But who the Śakas were was long in doubt. Some years ago Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad sent me impressions of two coins with fragmentary legends²³. Fortunately the legends were complementary. One of them read *Raṁṇo Saga-Māna-Ma-* and the other *-ga-Māna-Mahasa*. Putting the two fragments together I could complete the legend as *Raṁṇo Saga-Māna-Mahasasa* (Sanskrit, *Rājñah Śaka Māna Mahiṣasya*), meaning 'This coin is of the Śaka king Māna Mahiṣa'. These coins had the symbol of an elephant with up-lifted trunk imitated from the coins of the Sātavāhanas. The characters of the legend also showed that the coins probably belonged to the third century A. D. The Śaka king, Māna, therefore, appears to have risen to power after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas. Curious as it might appear, this is also corroborated by the Purāṇas. The *Vāyu* and *Bramāṇḍa* Purāṇas contain the following line²⁴—

शक्यमानाभवद्राजा महिषीणां महीपतिः ।

Pargiter has noted various readings in place of *Śakyamān-ābhavad*, viz., *Śakyāmāna*, *Śakyāmānā*, *Śakyamīmā*, *Saṅkamāno*- etc. From all these variations he adopted *Śakyamān-ābhavad*. Similarly, in place of *Mahiṣīṇām* a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* reads *Mahiṣyāṇām*, but Pargiter preferred to read *Mahiṣīṇām*. He translated the hemistich given above as follows : *Śakyamāna* was king of the Mahiṣīs²⁵. He evidently could not understand what it means. In the light of the legend of the aforementioned coins we can now emend the hemistich as—

शकमानोऽभवद्राजा महिष्याणां महीपतिः ।

meaning that 'The Śaka king Māna was the ruler of the Mahiṣya country'. This country is evidently identical with 'the land of the Māhiṣakas' which is coupled with the countries of South India such as Vīdarīha, R̥ṣīka, Mahārāṣṭra, Kalinga etc. in the Purāṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*²⁶. It is again noteworthy that the passage containing this line does not occur in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the genealogical account in which was borrowed from the original

20. D.K.A., pp. 45-46.

21. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 1 f.

22. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 1 f.

23. Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXII, pp. 34 f.

24. D.K.A., p. 51.

25. Ibid., p. 73.

26. For a full discussion of these passages, see J.N.S.I., Vol. XI, p. 4.

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa about the close of the third century A.D.²⁷ This line of argument also leads to the same conclusion, viz. that the Śaka King Māna flourished after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas. Later, Khwaja Muhammed Ahmed sent me impressions of some coins discovered in the excavations at Kondapur in the former Hyderabad State, which had the legend *Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadaja-putasa Saga-Māna-Chuṭukulasa* (Sanskrit, *Mahāsēnāpateḥ Bharadvāja-putrasya Śaka-Māna-Chuṭukulasya*) meaning that 'This coin is of the Mahāsenāpati Śaka Māna, son of Bharadvāja, of the Chuṭu family'²⁸. These Kondapur coins had the figure of the Svastika on the obverse and those of the thunderbolt and an arrow pointing downwards on the reverse. The latter are well known as the distinctive symbols of the Śaka Satraps; Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, who ruled in Mahārāṣṭra in the time of the Sātavāhanas²⁹. This also corroborates the statement in the Purāṇas that king Māna was of the Śaka race. The findspot of the coins (viz. Kondapur) shows that he ruled over the southern parts of the former Hyderabad State. The Purāṇas have thus faithfully preserved the memory of a powerful Śaka king who ruled in the Deccan after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas.

The Vakatakas—The *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa* Purāṇas mention several kings of Vidiśā, but we have so far had no inscriptional or numismatic evidence for them. Towards the end of the section dealing with the kings of Vidiśā, the Purāṇas mention Śiśuka, the daughter's son (*dauhūtra*), evidently, of the ruler of Vidiśā. He was ruling from Purikā, which, from a statement in the *Harivaṃśa*³⁰, appears to have been situated at the foot of the Rkṣavat or Satpuda mountain. And then we have the following verses about the Vākāṭaka kings Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra³¹—

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
भोक्ष्यते च समाः षष्टिं पुरिकां चनकां च वै ॥
यक्ष्यते वाजपेयैश्च समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः ।
तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ॥

Pravīra mentioned here was evidently identical with the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I. The description that he performed Vājapeya (or Vājimedha i.e. aśvamedha, according to the *Vāyupurāṇa*) sacrifices is corroborated by the description of him given by the copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭakas. But the statement that he had four sons, all of whom became kings, was not believed for a long time.

27. D.K.A., Introd., p. xxvii.

28. J.N.S.I., Vol. XV, pp. 1 f.

29. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra*, etc. (B.M.C.), pp. 63 f.

30. *Harivaṃśa*, Viṣṇuparvan, adhyāya XXXVIII, v. 22.

31. D.K.A., p. 50.

The copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II give a long line of kings descended from Pravarasena I,³² while the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta gives another from Vindhyaśakti. Owing to some mislections of Bhau Daji³³, Bhagwanlal Indrajī³⁴ and Bühler,³⁵ the two lines were for a long time believed to be identical. After the discovery of the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, I showed for the first time from a fresh examination of the record in Ajanta Cave XVI, that the two lines were different from each other and represented different branches of the Vākāṭaka family³⁶. While the line mentioned in the copper-plate grants of Pravarasena II ruled from Nandivardhana near Nagpur, that described in the Ajanta cave inscription had its capital at Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola District. We thus know the names of two sons of Pravarasena I, viz., Gautamīputra and Sarvasena, from whom the two branches were descended. We do not yet know the names of the other two sons of Pravarasena I, but they may come to light in future discoveries. Still what has been stated above substantially corroborates the statement in the Purāṇas about the early Vākāṭaka kings.

The Maghas—The following section in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas also mentions some kings whose names have come to light from inscriptions and coins discovered in recent times. See the following verses—

मेकलायां नृपाः सप्त भविष्यन्तीह सप्ततिम् ।
 कोसलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ॥
 मेघा इति समाख्याता बुद्धिमन्तो नवैव तु ।
 नैषधाः पार्थिवाः सर्वे भविष्यन्त्यामनुक्षयात् ॥

These verses mention nine Megha and some Naiṣadha kings ruling in Kosalā i.e. Chhattisgarh. No kings of the former name were known until Dayaram Sahni published two stone inscriptions from Kosam in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 158 f. Though in one of them the dynastic name was clearly given as *Magha*, Sahni altered it to *Megha* to correspond to the name given by the Purāṇas. Since then several stone inscriptions and coins of the family have been found at Kosam, Fatehpur and Bandhogadh³⁷. They show that the dynasty was ruling in North India and its correct name was *Magha*, not *Megha*. The Purāṇic statement that they were ruling in Kosalā or

32. See e.g., the Chammak Plates of Pravarasena II, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 235f.

33. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 56 f.

34. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, pp. 69 f.

35. *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 f.

36. Mirashi, *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta*, (Hyd. Arch. Ser., No. 14), pp. 7 f.

37. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159 f.; XXIV, pp. 146 f.; Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 f.; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 f.

Dakṣiṇa Kosala is also incorrect, being probably due to the transposition of a line referring to the Naiṣadha or Nala kings as shown below³⁸. Since these kings are not mentioned in the *Matsya*, they must have flourished too late to be included in the genealogical account of that Purāṇa. The records of many of these kings are dated in years ranging from 51 to 139. They were referred to different eras such as Kalacuri and Gupta, but from a detailed examination of the palaeography and language of these inscriptions I have shown that they must be taken to have been recorded in the Śaka era founded by Kanīṣka in A.D. 78³⁹. Their dates therefore range from A.D. 129 to A.D. 217. It is not surprising that they should have been mentioned in the account in the Purāṇas, which closed their genealogical lists about the middle of the fourth century A.D.⁴⁰.

The Naisadhas—These are evidently identical with the Nalas. That the Nala kings were ruling in Kosalā or Chhattisgadḥ is now known from their stone and copper-plate inscriptions and coins discovered there. Many years ago I published coins of three kings of the Nala dynasty which had been found at Elenga in the former Bastar State⁴¹. They brought to notice the kings Varāharāja, Bhavadatta and Arthapati. A copper-plate inscription of Bhavadatta has been found in the Yeotmal District of Vidarbha⁴², which was evidently issued during the temporary occupation of that country by the Nalas in the time of the Vākāṭaka Narendrasena. A later grant of Arthapati has also been discovered at Kesaribeda⁴³ and a stone inscription of his brother Skandavarman at Podagadh⁴⁴ in the former Jeypore Agency of the Vizāgapatam District. These inscriptions and coins are of a slightly later age than the account in the Purāṇas, but we have no reason to suppose that the Nalas rose to power first in the fifth century A.D. They may well have been ruling over Dakṣiṇa Kosala for some generations before Varāha, the first known king whose coins have been discovered so far. The provenance of their inscriptions and coins shows that they were ruling over Kosalā or Chhattisgadḥ, and in this respect the statement in the Purāṇas is fully corroborated.

38. It seems that the hemistich *Kosalāyām* etc., should follow not precede *Meghā iti samākhyātā* etc. The sense requires this.

39. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 297 f.

40. *D.K.A.*, Intod., p. XXVII.

41. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 31 f.

42. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f.

43. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 12 f.

44. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 f.

45. *D.K.A.*, pp. 28 f.

It will thus be seen that the statements in the Purāṇas about the ruling dynasties of North and South India are corroborated in a remarkable degree by the discoveries of inscriptions and coins. In some cases there are, no doubt, discrepancies, but they are probably due to the mistakes of scribes. There are still several dynasties and kings of North and South India, who are mentioned in the Purāṇas but whose inscriptions and coins have not been found so far. Let us hope that they will come to light soon. But the material discovered so far shows that the Purāṇas had a reliable historical tradition.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE PLAN OF THE PURĀNIC CONCORDANCE.

By

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.

[काशिराजन्यासेन स्वीकृतेषु कार्यकलापेषु पुराणविषयसूची-
प्रकाशनमध्यन्यतमं कार्यं वर्तते । एकैकस्य विषयस्य विभिन्नेषु
पुराणेषु ये प्रतिपादनप्रकाराः तेषां सङ्कलनं, तत्तद्विषयानधिकृत्य
परस्परं पुराणानां अभिप्रायभेदाः, कथाख्ययिकादीनां अनुक्रमणिका,
पुराणप्रतिपादितानां शास्त्रविषयाणां संग्रहः, इत्यादिकं सर्वमस्यां
विषयसूच्यां क्रोडीकृतम् । इयं च सूची दशखण्डात्मिका, एकैकोऽपि
खण्डः बहुविभागात्मकः, प्रतिविभागं च बहूनि प्रकरणानीति
शाखोपशाखं विभज्य संपाद्यत इयं पुराणसूची ।

—रामशंकरभट्टाचार्यः]

The preparation of a Purāṇic Concordance (an exhaustive subject index with important proper names) has been taken up under the auspices of the All India Kāśirāja Trust, Varanasi. The Concordance will comprise all the subjects in the Purāṇas with their sub-divisions. The main object of the Concordance is to compile the parallel passages on each subject as dealt with in the different Purāṇas.

Plan and Characteristics

In this concordance, each entry will bear complete reference to the different Purāṇas with chapter and verse numbers. Every subject will be noted exactly as it is dealt with in the different Purāṇas. Every effort is made to indicate the view point of the Purāṇas on the subjects dealt with by them. Care will be taken to see that the view of the Purāṇas (explicit or implicit) is faithfully presented without being affected by the predilections of the compiler.

The nature of the subject is indicated against each entry, wherever such indications are necessary; e.g. against *Yoga*, it will be stated 'Māheśvara' or 'Pāśupata' as the case might be. Wherever particular topic is subdivided and classified in the Purāṇas, such sub-divisions and classifications are also indexed under the appropriate heading. All *Kathās*, *Ākhyānas*, *Upākhyānas* and *Ākhyāyikās*

are grouped alphabetically in one Khaṇḍa (IX). Apart from the major *caritas* that are narrated in the Purāṇas with mention of their names (Pratijñā), minor *caritas* occurring within the major *caritas* are also compiled if they are of importance.

The Khandas of the Concordance

The Concordance is divided into ten major *Khaṇḍas*, which are again divided into *Vibhāgas*, which in turn are sometimes further subdivided into various *Prakaranas*. They are as follows:—

<i>Khaṇḍa</i> I	(a) Sarga (b) Pratisarga	<i>Khaṇḍa</i> IX	Caritas of Gods etc.
„ II	(a) Tīrthas (b) Bhuvana-Kośa and Bhūgola	(a) Brahmā.	
„ III	Vidyā and Śāstra	(b) Viṣṇu	
„ IV	(a) Dharmas (e. g., Godharma, Jina-dharma, etc. (b) Darśana and Sampradāya (e. g., śākta).	(c) Śiva	
„ V	Ācāra and Karma-kāṇḍa.—Varṇāśrama-dharma, Saṃskāra, Vrata, Dāna, Śrāddha and Pūjā.	(d) Deva	
„ VI	Kāla, Yuga, Manvantara and Kalpa.	(e) Devī	
„ VII	(a) Saṃvāda (b) Stuti (c) Upadeśa (d) Nāma (e) Gāthā (f) Gītā (g) Maṅgalācaraṇas	(j) Avatāras	
„ VIII	Vaiṣṇava and Vaiṣṇu-caritā	(g) Manu and Prajāpati	
		(h) Devāsura	
		(i) Daitya and Dānava	
		(j) Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Kinnara, Gandharva and Apsaras	
		(k) Nāga and Sarpa	
		(l) Tiryaks	
		(m) Munis and Ṛṣis	
		(n) Kings	
		(o) Other categories of human beings.	
		<i>Khaṇḍa</i> X	Prakīrṇa (Miscellaneous)
		(a) Nirvacana (Etymology)	
		(b) Lakṣaṇa (Definitions)	
		(c) Varṇana (Descriptions)	
		(d) other miscellaneous matters	

In this Concordance there would be need to make cross references; e.g., if one wants to know about Viṣṇu, he will have to look up *Khaṇḍa* IX-*caritas* on Viṣṇu, IV B Vaiṣṇava Darśana, and then *Vibhāgas* on Avatāras and under Vaiṣṇu-caritā; Śaiva Dharma will be in *Khaṇḍa* IV while Śivapūjā in the V.

Editions of the Purāṇas to be used in this Concordance :—

<i>Purāṇa</i>	<i>Edition</i>
Kūrma	Venkatesvara
Vāmana	"
Viṣṇu	Jivananda
Linga	"
Mārkaṇḍeya	"
Garuḍa	"
Agni	Anandasrama
Brahma	"
Brahmāṇḍa	Venkatesvara
Varāha	"
Vāyu	Anandasrama
Matsya	Jivananda
Nāradiya	Venkatesvara
Brahmavaivarta	Jivananda
Bhāgavata	Gita Press
Padma	Anandasrama
Skānda	Venkatesvara
Bhaviṣya	"

It has been proposed to include, in addition to the above Mahāpurāṇas, the following Upapurāṇas also for this Concordance :—

Śivapurāṇa
Devi Bhāgavata.
Viṣṇu Dharmottara.

AN UNIQUE TWO-KHANDA VERSION OF THE
MATSYA PURĀṆA*

By

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

[मत्स्यपुराणस्य उपलभ्यमानेषु मुद्रितपुस्तकेषु तथा प्रायस्सर्वेषु हस्तलिखितकोशेषु च अदृष्टः पूर्वोत्तरखण्डरूपेण कोऽपि विभागः दाक्षिणात्यपाठक्रमे प्राचलदिति उन्नेतुं किमपि गमकं वर्तते । अस्ति द्रमिडभाषायां मत्स्यपुराणस्यानुवादः, यः प्रायः त्रिशतवर्षेभ्यः पूर्वं कृतः । तत्रायं खण्डद्वयविभागो दृश्यते । एतस्य मूलभूततया अनन्तशयनराजकीयभाण्डागारे तालपत्रे ग्रन्थलिप्यां कश्चन मात्स्य-कोश आसादितः यत्रायं पूर्वोत्तरखण्डविभागो विलोक्यते । सन्ति च द्वित्राणि प्रमाणान्तराणि एतादृशविभागमन्तरा । अयं च विषयः, खण्डद्वयात्मकग्रन्थलिपिकोशे दृश्यमानानामधिकाध्यायानां विषयविवेचनमित्यादिकं वस्तु सन्दर्भेऽस्मिन् उपन्यस्तम् ।

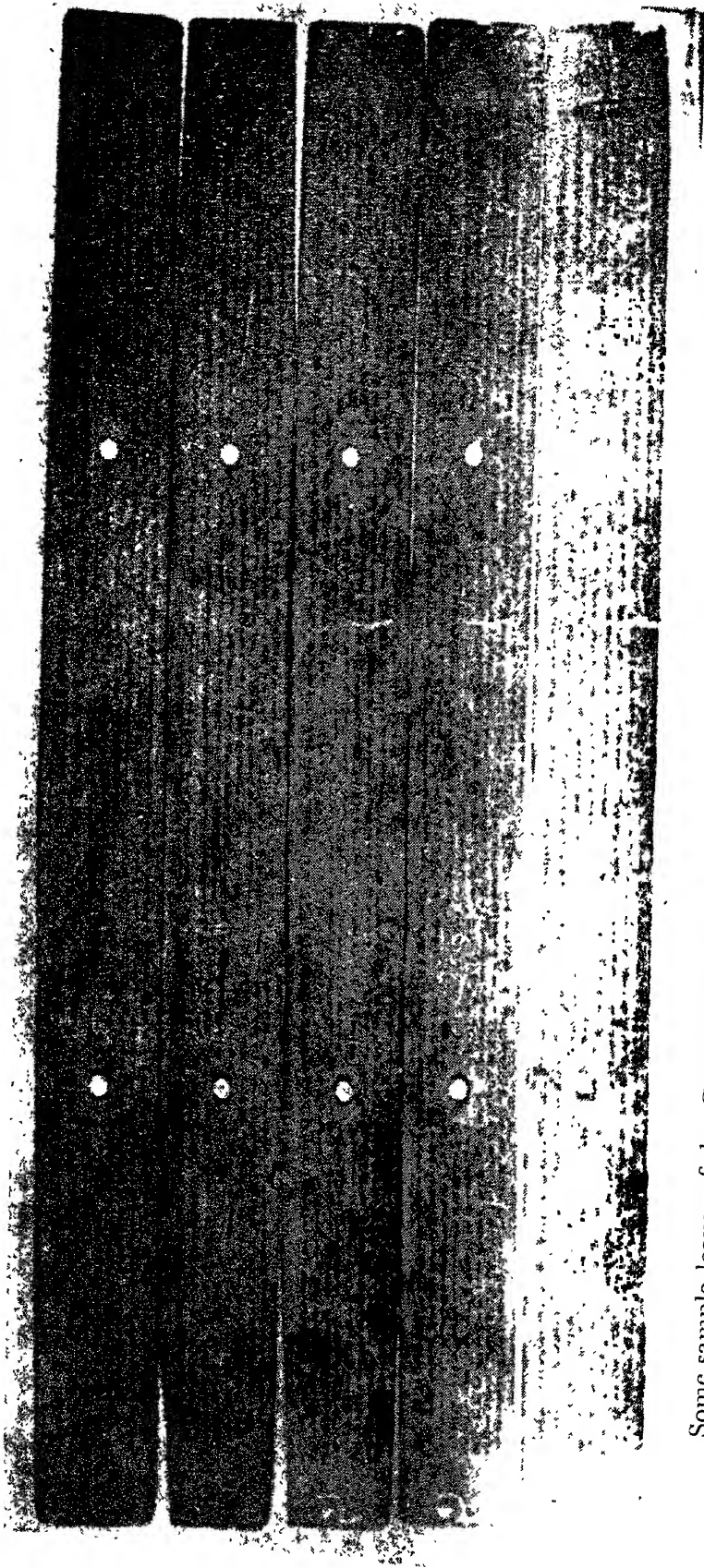
—वे. राघवः]

In the South Indian materials used for the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa for the Purāṇa Prakasana Samiti of the Kaśīrāja Trust, is included the Tamil verse-translation of the Purāṇa by Vadamalayappa Pillai, Madura Nayak's Officer at Tirunelveli. This translation is dated, according to its concluding verse, in 1706-7 A.D., but the late Anavarata Vinayakam Pillai, who wrote an introduction to the edition of this Tamil Matsya Purāṇa (1900, Minerva Press, Madras), opined that either this last verse mentioning the date was a later addition or the author, Vadamalayappa, lived long, and that really the translation must be earlier, as Vadamalayappa was in charge of Tirunelveli before this time. There were in fact two Vadamalayappa Pillais in charge of Tirunelveli; the first was under Tirumala Nayak of Madura A.D. 1623-59, who is attested by inscriptions and was connected with the incident of recovering the idol at Tiruchendur Temple from the Dutch who descended on the shrine in 1648¹; it is with him that Anavarata Vinayakam Pillai identifies the translator of Matsya. The second was his daughter's son and it is to him that Pt. Somasundara Desikar², who obviously

* Part of the material of this paper formed the subject of a communication to the All-India Oriental Conference, XXth Session, Bhuvaneswar.

1. See Tirunelveli Gazetteer; M. Rennel's *Description, Historical and Geographical of India* (Berlin 1785).

2. See his article, *Viceroy's of the Nayaks of Madura*, *Journal of Indian History*, XVI. 1938, Pp. 175ff.



Some sample leaves of the Grantha Palm-leaf Ms. of the Matsya from the Palace Library, Trivandrum.

accepts the date given at the end of the translation, ascribes the work. In either case, the Tamil Matsya Purāṇa happens to be older than many of the manuscripts of the Purāṇa itself and is valuable for the Textual criticism of the Purāṇa.

As one opens the Tamil Matsya Purāṇa, one is struck by some prominent differences of its text of the Purāṇa from that available in print, in Ānandāśrama (ĀSS) or other series. Firstly, in the Tamil version, the Purāṇa is found in two sections, called therein Kāṇḍas. Secondly, the total number of the chapters of the Purāṇa here are 172 (p. 4 v. 19) (Pūrva 114 and Uttara 58), which is considerably less than that found in the printed texts. Thirdly a scrutiny of the initial list of subjects dealt with and the subject-names in chapter-colophons showed some subject matter not in accord with or not found in the printed texts.

The search for the Sanskrit source of this Tamil version yielded a Grantha manuscript of the Purāṇa, in fact the only manuscript in that script so far known. This manuscript was found in the Palace Library, Trivandrum, no. 402 in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Granthappura manuscripts. That the text in this manuscript was the basis of the Tamil version could be seen not only from the provenance of the manuscript and its script, but also from a checking of the contexts on the main points of difference noted above. Firstly this Trivandrum Grantha manuscript has a text of the Purāṇa in two sections, called here Khaṇḍas, Pūrva and Uttara. At the outset, in one of the preliminary verses, it gives its chapter-count as 172 which answers to that in the Tamil version.

अध्यायानां शतादूर्ध्वं द्विसप्तति मुनीश्वराः ।

A couple of lines above, the text says that it is in two khaṇḍas.

खण्डद्वयात्मकं तच्च पूर्वोत्तरविधानतः (after v. 10 ĀSS).

In all the Purāṇas which set forth the total extent of each Purāṇa, with the exception of Agni, the Matsya is given 14,000 ślokas. The Agni gives it as 13,000. In the Matsya itself, in chapter 53 ĀSS (v. 51), the number 14,000 is given. But here (chapter 54), as well as in the introductory verses at the outset, the Grantha manuscript gives only 13,000 as the extent of the Purāṇa.

उक्तवान् ग्रन्थसंख्यायाः त्रयोदशसहस्रकम् । Of the 26 manuscripts of Matsya collated, 20 give 14,000. The Śāradā Ms. does not give any count. Besides our Grantha manuscript, a Devanāgarī manuscript from Ujjain, a Devanāgarī manuscript from Tanjore and the India Office (IO.) Malayalam manuscript give 13,000. There is just one manuscript in Devanāgarī from Bombay which gives the ślokas of Matsya as 20,000. The Tamil version mentions 13,000 at the opening (p. 4. v. 19), though in the chapter giving the anukramanikā

of all the Purāṇas (ch. 54), it repeats the normal information of 14,000 (v. 28) found in all Purāṇas. Considering the lesser number of chapters in the Grantha manuscript a shortfall in the total śloka is to be expected and 13,000 would be the correct count for the text represented by the Grantha manuscript.

We might now get into the chapters and see how the Grantha manuscript goes about its division into two Khaṇḍas and how its chapter-progression compares with that in the ĀSS. In the Pūrvakhaṇḍa, the Grantha manuscript has 114 chapters and at the end here it says:—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे ग्रहावतारवर्णनं नाम—अध्यायः । पूर्वखण्डः समाप्तः
शुभमस्तु ।

इत्येतत् कथितं सर्वं मत्स्येनोक्तं क्रमात्ततः ।

पूर्वखण्डमिति ज्ञेयं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥

These Pūrvakhaṇḍa chapters numbering 114 correspond to chapters 1-128 of the ĀSS on the following basis:

Grantha	ĀSS.	Grantha	ĀSS.
1-44	1-44	90-99	101-110
45	45-46	100	111-2
46-8	47	101	113-4
49-64	48-64	102-6	115-9
missing	65	107-8	120
65-80	66-80	109	121
81	81-2	110	122-3
82	83-92	111-2	124-5
83-8	93-8	113	126-7
89	99-100	114	128

It will be seen that one small chapter of ĀSS, the 65th describing Akṣaya-tṛtīyā-vrata, is omitted by the Grantha manuscript. This chapter is omitted in some other Dēvanāgarī manuscripts also. For the rest, the smaller chapter number of the Grantha is due to its incorporation of more than one chapter, sometimes as many as ten, of ĀSS into a single chapter.

The Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Grantha manuscript opens with material and chapters which do not correspond to those in ĀSS. These initial chapters of the second part of the Grantha manuscript constitute its additions. Before we analyse this section, consisting of 29 chapters, we might compare the further portions of the Purāṇa in the two texts. The Grantha, Uttara-khaṇḍa, chapters 30-43 (144-157) correspond to ĀSS. 129-142. The Grantha thus brings itself to chapter 157 counted from the beginning, and stops. That the text of the Purāṇa according to this version did not stop here can be verified from the Tamil version where we have a further

portion which, from the stories dealt with, could be seen to go upto chapter 160 of ĀSS.

<i>Grantha</i>	<i>Tamil (Uttara No.)</i>	<i>ĀSS</i>
157 ends	(159) 45	142
	46-8	143-5
	49	146-7
	50-54	148-152
	55-56	153
	57	154-159
	58	160
	nil	161-291

Though generally speaking the whole of the ĀSS text beyond chapter 160 is absent from the version represented by the Grantha manuscript and the Tamil version, three chapters of ĀSS, 161-3, describing in detail the fight between Narasimha and Hiraṇya are found partly spread over and partly *en bloc* within the long 18-chapter-Narasimha section of the additional material at the beginning of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Grantha manuscript.

The following table shows the chapter-concordance among the Tamil, Grantha and ĀSS texts for the Uttara Khaṇḍa beyond the portion of additional stories at its beginning, i. e. for the 14 further chapters available in the Grantha manuscript.

<i>Grantha</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>ĀSS</i>
144 (30)	31	129
145 (31)	32	130
146 (32)	33	131
147 (33)	34	132
148 (34)	35	133
149 (35)	36	134
150 (36)	37	135
151 (37)	38	136
152 (38)	39	137
153 (39)	40	138
154 (40)	41	139
155 (41)	42-43	140
156 (42)	44	141
157 (43)	45	142

The two texts have so far been compared completely except for the central portion of 29 chapters at the beginning of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Grantha manuscript, on which the two texts have their basic difference. As already pointed out, three chapters of ĀSS (161-3) describing Narasimha's fight with Hiraṇya form the only common material between the two; the rest is unique to the Grantha

version. The Tamil translation of course has all this additional matter, but there is one slight difference in the chapterwise apportionment of this matter.

Grantha manuscript	Tamil translation
Uttarakhaṇḍa	Uttarakāṇḍa
I - 9	I - 9
IO	IO - II
II - 29	12 - 30

Thus except for splitting the 10th chapter of the Grantha original into two (IO, II), the chapters in this section agree as between the Grantha manuscript and the Tamil translation.

As the Grantha manuscript opens, it gives, as already noted, its division of the text into two khaṇḍas, its count of chapters as 172 and of ślokas as 13,000; similarly it gives the indication about the additional stories dealt with by it. After verse 7 a-b of ĀSS, the Grantha adds two lines:—

केन वा हेतुना सूत विष्णुस्सर्वजगन्मयः ।

नारसिंहं वपुर्धृत्वा कं वारक्षज्जगत्प्रभुः ॥

Now in the text in ĀSS itself there is the story of Narasimha in chapters 161-3; at the outset this is not mentioned as one of the main subjects of the Purāṇa, but in the purāṇānukramaṇikā in chapter 53, as indeed in the lakṣaṇas of the 18 Purāṇas found in other Purāṇas also, the topic Narasimhopavarṇanam is given as an integral part of the definition of the Matsya. One of the main objects of the two-khaṇḍa Grantha text seems to be to expatiate upon the Narasimha-avatāra which it does in no less than 18 chapters. Three of these are almost taken from the vulgate Matsya (161-3); a good part of the rest derives from diverse sources, the Bhāgavata, the Harivamśa, the Viṣṇu, the Narasimha, the Kūrma and the text called Haribhaktisudhodaya.¹ The material which is common to the Grantha and the vulgate (161-3) itself goes to the Harivamśa.

The next story in this additional section in the Grantha is that of Bhairava. In the opening chapter of ĀSS there is a question about Bhairava's story, and the ĀSS text therefore deals necessarily with Bhairava. But the difference between the Grantha and the vulgate texts on this subject is that the two justify Siva's Bhairavatva with two different narratives, the latter with the story of Andhakāsurasamhāra given in just one chapter (179), the former with a whole section of 8 chapters which falls into two parts, a disquisition on yoga and the story of Śiva, taking to Bhikṣāṇa to quell the arrogance of

1. Edition, Kamakoti Kosasthanam, B. G. Paul and Company, Madras-1, 956.

the sages and remove their obsession with karma-mārga. These materials are drawn from or are common to Linga, Skānda, Śiva, Vāyu, and Harivamśa.

Before taking leave of this section on Bhairava, mention must be made of one point. The vulgate text has, close upon the Bhairava story, a section on the greatness of Banaras (Avimukta) in six chapters (180-185). But in the Grantha, in the midst of the Bhairava story just one verse speaks of Vārāṇasīmāhātmya (54). This shows that the Grantha had a vague sense of Vārāṇasī-māhātmya as a legitimate topic in the Matsya.

The third section of this part is devoted to Kalāpin, said to be a form of Śiva. Of the three parts into which these additional chapters of the Grantha version fall, the first gives a story already mentioned but *briefly* dealt with in the vulgate, the second deals with a subject mentioned but *differently* dealt with in the two texts, and the third offers a subject *totally new*. The last, the Kalāpin-story is not indicated in the introductory verses in chapter 1, and the additional verse¹ in the Grantha here (before v. 9 of ĀSS) refers to Kumāra and not Kalāpin, and Kumāra is a subject dealt with in both texts, ĀSS and the Grantha.

But at the beginning of the Uttarakhaṇḍa, the Grantha starts with a repetition of the question of the sages and here Kalāpitva of Śiva is mentioned as one of the four topics the sages ask to be enlightened upon:

नारसिंहप्रभावं च भैरवत्वं भवस्य च ।

कलापित्वं पुरारित्वं कथमासीन्महेशितुः ॥

एतच्चतुष्टयप्रश्नं

As we shall note below the Kalāpi-form is obscure and not traceable elsewhere.

Leaving the three chapters of Kalāpi-carita, we have in the 26 chapters dealing with Narasimha and Bhairava familiar material traceable in other Purāṇic sources. In fact, most of the lines in these 26 chapters are found elsewhere also. There are 2903 lines in these chapters and of these only 518 have not yet been traced in other Purāṇas. In the sequel a complete table has been given showing the traced portions of these 26 chapters.

Lastly we may refer to some noteworthy points in the texts of these 29 additional chapters of the two-khaṇḍa manuscript. Chapter 26 while describing the Bhairava-story refers to Kāpālikavrata and Śiva doing this, and to the two important sacred places Kapāla-mocana and Āmardaka. It is in the last three chapters on Kalāpi-

1. कस्माच्च देवदेवेशः सच्चिदानन्दलक्षणः ।

धृत्वा लोके वपुर्दिव्यं कुमार इति विश्रुतः ॥

carita that there are several points arresting attention. Firstly the text offers such a large variety of explanation of the name Kalāpin and the Kalāpitva of Śiva that one might ask if this Kalāpitva is a genuine concept at all, and whether there is not an air of unreality and uneasiness in the author about the whole treatment.¹

Chapter 27, v. 33 refers to Śiro-vrata. In vv. 37, 38, Vedānta Śāstra and Śabda Brahman are mentioned. Chapter 28 speaks of the 6 Śāstras and enumerates them thus in śloka 9.

स्यात्कापिलं काणभुजं भाट्टं ग्रामाकरं तथा ।
वैयासिकं गौतमीयं बोढा शास्त्रं भविष्यति ॥

In the mention of Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara, the text in this part definitely writes itself down as post-Prabhākara and post-Kumārila. In verses 10, 11 which follow, Veda, Purāṇa and Kāvya are respectively described as *Prabhu-sammita*, *Suhyt-sammita* and *Kāntā-sammita* and this well known idea, derived from Alankāra Śāstra, confirms the late date indicated by the previous reference to Kumārila and Prabhākara.² A further indication of the late date is to be had when the text, more than once, describes Bhikṣāṭana-Śiva as putting on the form of a Jangama and Vira-Jangama.

आविर्बभूव भगवान् वीरजङ्गमरूपधृक् ।

Chapter 29, śloka. 15, also Ślokas 27, 28, 30 refer to Jangama. While explaining Kalāpitva, from serpents issuing from the rite (ābhicāra) which the Ṛṣis of Dārūkāvana do, the text starts off in prose in the style of later commentaries, and here we find also

1. The following explanations are offered for Kalāpa and Kalāpin: The cosmic creation, in entirety, of the Lord is Kalāpa, (Samūha); Kalā is bliss; those that have it (Sanaka etc) are Kalāpas and Śiva who expounds it to them is Kalāpin; Kalāpa is head ornament in the form of knowledge and Śiva who has it is Kalāpin. At deluge, Śiva protects all Kalās (Kalāpa). Trayī, Veda, is Kalāpa and because of his being full of these Śiva is Kalāpin. Kalā is Pūrvaṭi and Kalā-pa Śiva, who bears her in his body. Kalās are the five cosmic activities of Śiva of creation, maintenance, etc., and Śiva who does them is Kalāpin. Kalāpa is Śāstra made of sounds and Śiva is called Kalāpin as he is their source (*Yoni*). The world is Kalāpa as it spreads out like plumage from Śiva. Kalāpin is peacock and like the liquid within its egg (mayūrāṇḍa), the cosmos is contained in Śiva. The three forms of Tejas are Kalāpa. The Sun is made of twelve Kalās and Śiva who has the Sun, Moon and Fire is Kalāpin. There are the sixteen Kalās, from which again Śiva gets the name Kalāpin. Lastly Kalāpas are ornaments which in Śiva's case are serpents. Śiva has twenty five forms (mūrtis) which are called Kalās and from them also he gets the name Kalāpin. It will be seen that the explanations turn on Kalā in manifold senses, Kalāpin meaning peacock, and Kalāpa meaning ornament.

2. The mention like this of Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara as two śāstras is quite interesting and reveals the high repute gained by the two. It may be pointed out that of the two, the one more reputed formerly was Prābhākara and another text which speaks of Prābhākara as a separate śāstra or as a synonym of Pūrva mīmāṃsā is the Nalacampu of Trivikrama (page 120, N. S. Press, 1865).

āgamas like 'Mukula' and texts like 'Śiva Purāṇa' cited as authorities. In the narration of the story itself, the location is first given as the neighbourhood of Kailāsa and in the latter part Dārukāvana is abruptly introduced.

We have called this Grantha two-khaṇḍa text a unique version but before taking that description as finally settled we may consider certain other data also bearing on this. From the India Office, London, we have collated a Malayalam manuscript of the Purāṇa (Keith, 6749, pp. 1-382), bound in two volumes. Having the same provenance, this manuscript, one might legitimately expect, will yield data relevant to the problem we are considering. On examination, we find that this manuscript lends some support to the Grantha manuscript and at the same time, goes against it also. Its chapter-numbering is defective but by comparing the subject matter, we find that its 107th chapter corresponds to chapter 113 of the Grantha; this is very proximate to the place where the pūrva-khaṇḍa division should occur. Unfortunately six pages are blank here which may indirectly make us suppose that the copyist was puzzled about his sources being divergent here. The chapter-divisions of this manuscript agree with those of the Grantha. 45, 46 of ĀSS combined into one in the Grantha are found in the same manner in the IO. manuscript; similarly ĀSS 81-82, 83-92, 99-100, 113-4 and 122-3, 126-7 which are combined into one in the Grantha are found to be so in the IO. manuscript also. On the contrary, some splittings of single ĀSS chapters into two or three in the Grantha are not found in the IO. manuscript, (ĀSS 120 and 47). ĀSS 48-49 are combined into one in the IO. manuscript only and not in the Grantha. As for readings, droppings (e.g. the short akṣayaṭṭīyā chapter (65) which both, as also some other manuscripts, drop) or additions, the IO. and the Grantha manuscript have both similarity and difference. But when the IO. manuscript ends (chapter 120, ĀSS 142) it does so at exactly the same place where the Grantha ends. Also in common with the Grantha, the IO. manuscript gives the extent of the Matsya as 13,000 ślokas. From these it is clear that the copyist of this manuscript had the vulgate as well as a text exemplified by the Grantha before him.

While the IO. Malayalam manuscript lends partial support to the version of the Grantha, the general or more basic question of the Purāṇa existing in two khaṇḍas receives some support from two other sources. Included in the critical apparatus of the edition planned is a Kāśmīrī Śārādā manuscript, secured from the Prācya Grantha Sangraha, Ujjain, a full account of which is given in another paper in this issue. In this manuscript, at chapter 133, at the end of the Tripuravadha story, i.e. a little beyond the place in the Grantha, we find mention of the end of the *Pūrvārḍha*. Folio 127-a:

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे चतुर्दशसाहस्र्यां संहितायां मत्स्यमनुसंवादे त्रिपुरदाहे
त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः १९३४ ॥ त्रिपुरवधः समाप्तः । मत्स्यपुराणपूर्वार्धं समाप्तम् ।

When the next chapter begins, there is ओं नमो ब्रह्मणे showing a fresh beginning. As the whole manuscript is incomplete we are not in a position to say anything of the end of the manuscript.

Similarly, in Mitra's Notices (1488), (also Asiatic Society of Bengal, Des. Cat. No. 4005) there is a manuscript of the Śivagītā which, in two of its colophons refers itself to the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Matsya Purāṇa.¹ While this lends further probability to the two-khaṇḍa tradition, it must be mentioned that a Śivagītā does not figure in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Grantha version or its Tamil translation. While the ascription to Matsya may itself be wrong, the mention of the Uttara Khaṇḍa of that Purāṇa could not have been made in the absence of a two-khaṇḍa tradition.

On the question of the total extent of the Matsya being 13,000 as stated in the Grantha and not 14,000, the Grantha-version receives support from the Agnipurāṇa, as also from three old Nibandhakāras and Smṛti commentators Lakṣmīdhara, Ballālasena and Aparārka; along with the Agni which gives Matsya 13,000, (272·20), all the three dharma śāstra writers quote Matsya 53, v. 51 with the reading सहस्राणि त्रयोदश । As these writers on Smṛti were very much older than the available manuscripts of the Purāṇa, their testimony on 13,000 as the extent of the Matsya is valuable; it gives one more support to the text exemplified by the Grantha manuscript.

1. See also my *Greater Gita*, JOR XII, Page 120; other manuscripts assign the text to Padma, uparibhāga.

अनन्तशयन-ग्रन्थकोशे उत्तरखण्डे अधिकतया
उपलभ्यमानानां 1 to 29 अध्यायानां विवरणम् ।

नरसिंहचरित्रम्

तदंशानां तदानुपूर्वीणां च पुराणान्तरेषु
उपलब्धिविवरणम् ।

अध्यायसंख्या	श्लोकसंख्या	विषयः	पुराणान्तरेषु उपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या	पुराणान्तराणां नाम	अनुपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या।
1 (आदितः-115)	80½	हिरण्यकशिपुवरप्रदानम्	72-श्लोकाः { आनन्द-मत्स्य श्रीमद्भागवत हरिवंश भारत 2-45-5 to 8; 46-12, 18 to 22 }	161-3 to 28 { 7-1-35 to 7-4-3 41-3 to 26 }	8½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते
2 (आदितः-115)	27½	विष्णुपुरुषपराजयः	19-श्लोकाः { आनन्द-मत्स्य श्रीमद्भागवत हरिवंश भारत कूर्म-पू- एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते ।	161-25 7-4-4 41-28 2-46-31, 32. 16-36 to 53,	8½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते

अध्यायसंख्या	श्लोकसंख्या	विषयः	पुराणान्तरेषु उपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या	पुराणान्तराणां नाम	अनुपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या ।
3 (आदितः-117)	40	हिरण्यकशिपुसभाप्रवेशः	39-श्लोकाः एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते	{ आनन्द-मत्स्य श्रीमद्भागवत विष्णुपुराण हरिवंश 161-38 to 89 7-4-5 to 13 1-17-3 41-46 to 57 42-1 to 20 }	1 श्लोकः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते
4 (आदितः-118)	40½	देवाभयप्रदानम्	33½ श्लोकाः एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते	{ आनन्द-मत्स्य श्रीमद्भागवत नरसिंह भारत 2-46-33 to 35, 48, 49 हरिवंश 161-30, 31 7-4-15 to 29 40-16 to 52 41-33 to 36 }	7 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते
5 (आदितः-119)	71½	द्विजप्रशंसा	62½ श्लोकाः एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते	{ श्रीमद्भागवत नरसिंह विष्णुपुराण हरिभक्तिसुधोदय 7-4-30 to 36 7-5-1 to 3 41-40 to 52 1-17-10 8-16 to 74 }	9 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते

6 (आदितः-120)	54½	शस्त्रप्रहारपरिहारः	50 श्लोकाः	<p>हरिभक्तिसुधोदय { 8-75 to 95 श्रीमद्भागवत { 9-33 to 51 विष्णुपुराण { 7-5-33 to 38 नरसिंह { 1-17-32 to 36 { 41-60 to 63 }</p>	4½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते
7 (आदितः-121)	46½	सर्पदंशनम्	45 श्लोकाः	<p>एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते हरिभक्तिसुधोदय { 9-56 to 69 विष्णुपुराण { 10-1 to 26 नरसिंह { 1-17-37 to 40 { 42-28 to 36 }</p>	1 श्लोकः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यते
8 (आदितः-122)	66½	दिग्गजदन्त . . मः	66½ श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते ।	<p>एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते हरिभक्तिसुधोदय { 10-27 to 90 विष्णुपुराण { 1-17-42 to 44 }</p>	—
9 (आदितः-123)	68	कृत्यानिराकरणम्	65 श्लोकाः	<p>हरिभक्ति- सुधोदय { 10-91 to 100 विष्णुपुराण { 12-6 to 79 { 1-17-45 to 47 { 1-18-2 to 46 }</p>	3 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
10 (आदितः-124)	83	शोषणसंहारः	82 श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते ।	<p>अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते । हरिभक्ति- सुधोदय { 12-81 to 115 विष्णुपुराण { 13-1 to 53 { 1-19-1 to 25 }</p>	1 श्लोकः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यते ।

अध्यायसंख्या	श्लोकसंख्या	विषयः	पुराणान्तरेषु उपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या	पुराणान्तराणां नाम	अनुपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या ।
11 (आदितः-125)	76½	प्रह्लादशक्त्यसंवादः	40 श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते ।	{ हरिभक्तिसुधोदय 13-62 to 64 } { विष्णुपुराण 1-19-26 to 62 }	36½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते
12 (आदितः-126)	62	विष्णुदर्शनम्	49½ श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते	{ विष्णुपुराण 1-19-63 to 66 } { हरिभक्तिसुधोदय { 13-66 to 87 } 14-1 to 69 }	12½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
13 (आदितः-127)	45	नरसिंहोत्पत्तिः	32½ श्लोकाः एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते	{ विष्णुपुराण 1-20-29, 30 } { हरिभक्तिसुधोदय 15-1 to 27 } { श्रीमद्भागवत 7-8-13 to 24 } { आनन्द-मत्स्य- 162-1 to 3 } { नरसिंह 44-3-c-d }	12½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
14 (आदितः-128)	51	संकुलयुद्धम्	51 श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते	{ आनन्द-मत्स्य 162-4 to 38 } { हरिभक्तिसुधोदय 15-30 to 32 }	17 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।

15	आदितः-129	38	सैन्यवधः	31 श्लोकाः	{ आनन्द-मत्स्य हरिभक्तिसुधोदय	163-1 to 31 15-36, 37	3½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
16	(आदितः-130)	60½	दुःशकुनदर्शनम्	अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते 56½ श्लोकाः अस्मिन् उपलभ्यन्ते	(आनन्द-मत्स्य श्रीमद्भागवत	163-32 to 91)	4 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
17	(आदितः-131)	25½	द्विण्यवधः	14 श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते 35 श्लोकाः	{ आनन्द-मत्स्य श्रीमद्भागवत	163-92 to 96 7-8-26 to 36	11½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
18	(आदितः-132)	48	मह्नादराज्यप्राप्तिः	अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते 35 श्लोकाः	{ श्रीमद्भागवत आनन्द-मत्स्य विष्णु	{ 7-8-37 to 53 7-9-1 to 52 7-10-24 to 47 163-97 to 100 1-20-9 to 38	13 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
				एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते			
				भैरवचरित्रम्			
19	(आदितः-133)	33½	भगवत्स्वरूपकथनम्	6½ श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते 109½ श्लोकाः अस्मिन् उपलभ्यन्ते ।	{ स्कान्द हरिवंश-विष्णु-	4-31-2 to 4 125-33 to 36	27 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते
20	(आदितः-134)	111½	योगकथनम्		(लिङ्गपुराण-पूर्व-	8-1 to 116)	2 श्लोकौ अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते

अध्यायसंख्या	श्लोकसंख्या	विषयः	पुराणान्तरेषु उपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या	पुराणान्तराणां नाम	अनुपलभ्यमान- श्लोकानां संख्या ।
21 (आदितः-135)	43	योगान्तरायकथनम्	42 श्लोकाः अस्मिन् उपलभ्यन्ते	(लिङ्गपु - पूर्व - 9-1 to 67)	1-श्लोकः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यते ।
22 (आदितः-136)	52	भक्तिमाहात्म्यम्	50½ श्लोकाः अस्मिन् उपलभ्यन्ते ।	(लिङ्गपु - पूर्व - 10-1 to 53)	2-श्लोकौ अन्यत्र नोपलभ्येते ।
23 (आदितः-137)	50½	विष्णुसंवादः	49½ श्लोकाः	लिङ्ग - पूर्व { स्कान्द शिव	1-श्लोकः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यते ।
24 (आदितः-138)	35	भैरवोत्पत्तिः	एतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते 23½ श्लोकाः अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते	{ 20-1 to 32 17-15 to 32 4-31-20 to 23 2-1-7-23 to 46 3-8-19 to 24 3-8-25 to 53 4-31-24 to 49	11½-श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।

25 (आदितः-139)	51½	देवतानुग्रहः	36½ श्लोकाः	<div> <div>वायु लिङ्ग - पूर्व -</div> <div>”</div> <div> <div>शिव- स्कान्द</div> <div> <div>पतेषु उपलभ्यन्ते</div> <div>27 श्लोकाः</div> <div>अनयोः उपलभ्यन्ते</div> </div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>24-91 to 114</div> <div>21-2 to 32</div> <div>18-1 to 13</div> <div>17-13 to 20</div> <div>19-1 to 3</div> <div>3-8-61 to 66</div> <div>4-31-52 to 58</div> </div>	15-श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।
26 (आदितः-140)	69½	कपालमोचनम्		<div> <div>3-9-10 to 72</div> <div>4-31-70 to 97</div> <div>4-31-38 to 57</div> </div>	42½ श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते	
27 (आदितः-141)	38	शेषमन्त्रोपदेशः		—	38 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।	
28 (आदितः-142)	26	कलास्वरूपवर्णनम्		—	26 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।	
29 (आदितः-143)	68	ब (बे) रस्वरूपम्		—	68 श्लोकाः अन्यत्र नोपलभ्यन्ते ।	

कलापिचित्रम्

A STUDY OF THE TEXTUAL PECULIARITIES OF A ŚĀRADĀ MS. OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA*

By

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA, M.A.

[काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागे मत्स्यपुराणस्य शुद्धपाठ-
निर्धारणार्थं बहुभ्यः स्थानेभ्यः संगृह्य त्रिंशत्कोशाः संवादिताः ।
तेष्वन्यतमः शारदालिप्यां लिखितः कोशः उज्जयिनीस्थायाः 'सिंधिया-
प्राच्यग्रन्थसंग्रह' नाम्न्याः संस्थायाः सकाशादुपलब्धः । शारदा-
कोशोऽयं मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठपरम्परां काञ्चिदनुसरति
विशेषांश्चानेकान् पर्युपस्थापयति, तद्यथा - बृहत्तराध्यायानां प्रायशो
लघुतराध्यायतया विभजनं, अध्यायान्ते पुष्पिकायां तदध्यायप्रति-
पत्तिविशेषाणां विस्तरेणोद्देशः, इक्ष्वाकुवंशानां विषयसंज्ञानं
पौरवंशीयैर्भविष्यन्तृपैः सहैव कथनं, मत्स्यपुराणस्य खण्डद्वयात्मक-
विभागस्य कापि सूचना, प्रायशः नान्यत्रोक्तानि पाठान्तराणि च । एवं बहुविधवैलक्षण्य-
युक्तत्वादतीवोपयोगी प्रधानश्चायं कोश इति सोदाहरणमुपन्यस्तम-
स्मिन्निबन्धे ।

—आनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः]

The study of a manuscript of an ancient work sometimes reveals very interesting and important facts pertaining to the nature of the manuscript and the text it contains. The Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa which is dealt with in this paper presents some important peculiarities of its own, and they are proposed to be discussed here.

This Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa belongs to the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, and bears No. 4481. This Ms. was borrowed from the Oriental Institute by the All India Kāśīrāja Trust for its Purāṇa Department for the purpose of collation. It is written in clear Śāradā characters on thick old country-made paper. It contains 231 folios. The text begins as usual with the scribe's obeisance to his Deity in the words 'ॐ नमो विघ्नहर्त्रे ॥ ॐ नमः सद्गुरुभ्यः ॥' The text is, however, incomplete and ends in śloka 117 of its Adhyāya 233, corresponding to the śloka 135 of the Ānandāśrama-Adhyāya 227 dealing with the *rāja-dharma*. It has no colophon at the end of its text, and hence bears no date. It is neatly and correctly written and contains only a small number of

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[illegible]

scribal mistakes. It also contains useful marginalia¹, specially in the first half of its text, which explain obscure words and passages of the text, clear certain allusions, and quote from works on lexicography and Dharmaśāstra.

This Ujjain Śāradā Ms.² represents the Kashmirian or the North-Western version of the Matsya Purāṇa. As already mentioned, it has certain textual peculiarities not possessed by other North-Indian manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa (MP). The following discussion of some of these peculiarities may be found useful.

1. Peculiarities relating to Adhyāyas

(a) *Splitting of larger Adhyāyas*

Almost all the collated North-Indian Mss. and also all the South-Indian Devanāgarī Mss. generally conform to the Ānandāśrama edition of the *Matsya Purāṇa*³ in the arrangement of their Adhyāyas. Of course, some of these Mss. deviate from this common arrangement only in so far as they combine some two or more Adhyāyas of Ān. into a larger one. Ś, on the contrary, splits some larger Adhyāyas of Ān. into several smaller ones, as will be clear from the following details:—

<i>An. Adh.</i>	<i>Number of Ślokas</i>	<i>Corresponding Ś Adhyāyas</i>	<i>Number of Ślokas</i>
44	85	44	46 (Ān. 1-46)
		45	41 (Ān. 47-85)
		
47	263	48	36 (Ān. 1-29)
		49	142 (Ān. 30-170)
		50	91 (Ān. 171-263)
		
50	89	53	76 (Ān. 1-67)
		54	30 (Ān. 68-89, and 4-15 of Adh. 271)
		
113	79	106 ⁴	73 (Ān. 1-56)
		107	22 (Ān. 57-78)
		

1. Similar marginal notes are given in the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (No. 4646).

2. It will be referred to as Ś.

3. The Ānandāśrama edition of the Matsya Purāṇa will be referred to as Ān.

4. Ś gives number 63 to both its Adhyāyas 63 and 64, and this mistake continues right up to the end. The numbers of the Adhyāyas of Ś, which are given here, are those actually given in the Ms. itself.

<i>An. Adh.</i>	<i>Number of Ślokas</i>	<i>Corresponding Ś Adhyāyas</i>	<i>Number of Ślokas</i>
114	86	108	62 (Ān. 113-79) 114.1-57)
		109	37 (Ān. 58-86)
		
140	87	133	41 (Ān. 1-43)
		134	52 (Ān. 44-87)
		
153	220	146	51 (Ān. 1-53)
		147	101 (Ān. 54-155)
		148	64 (Ān. 156-220)
		
154	588	149	56 (Ān. 1-57)
		150	24 (Ān. 58-84)
		151	26 (Ān. 85-111b)
		152	88 (Ān. 111c-205b)
		153	69 (Ān. 205c-274)
		154	40 (Ān. 275-316b)
		155	62 (Ān. 316c-379b)
		156	45 (Ān. 379c-424)
		157	64 (Ān. 425-496)
		158	54 (Ān. 497-553)
		159	32 (Ān. 554-588)
		
180	99	185	45 (Ān. 1-44)
		186	39 (Ān. 45-99)
		
183	108	189	52 (Ān. 1-59)
		190	42 (Ān. 60-108)

This tendency of splitting the larger Adhyāyas into smaller ones is quite peculiar to Ś. From the above analysis it will be seen that this Ms. splits Ān. Adh. 154 (the largest Adhyāya of MP) into eleven separate Adhyāyas. No other North-Indian or South-Indian manuscript has split this Adh. Even the Devanāgarī Ms. of the Ujjain Oriental Institute (No. 4646)⁵, which is closely allied to Ś, has not split this Adh.

But Ś seldom combines two or more Ān. Adhyāyas. Although, like many other Mss., it has also combined the Ān. Adh. 84-92, all dealing with the various kinds of *parvata-dāna*, into one Adhyāya (numbered 86), yet the name of each *parvata-dāna* is given at the end of its topic, and the topic of each *parvata-dāna* is allotted separate number of ślokas, e.g. इति लवणाचलदानम् (Śl. 1-8), इति गुडपर्वतदानम्

5. It will be referred to as D.

(Śl. 1-9), इति सुवर्णाचलदानम् (Śl. 1-7) and the like. Then again, it has combined the Ān. Adh. 122 (भुवनकोशे द्वीपवर्णनम्) and 123 (भुवनकोशे सप्तद्वीप-निवेशनं) into one Adh. (numbered 117), but here also it gives separate sub-colophons after each topic, and also separate śloka-numbers to each topic, e.g., इति शाकद्वीपवर्णनम् (Śl. 1-44), इति कुशद्वीपवर्णनम् (Śl. 1-24), इति क्रौञ्चद्वीपवर्णनम् (Śl. 1-13) and so on up to the end of the Adh. Such combination, therefore, is quite superfluous.

And when it does not split a larger Adhyāya, even then it generally divides such Adhyāya into separate sub-sections according to its different topics. Thus the Ān. Adh. 101 (Ślokas 94) dealing with the sixty *vratas* has not been split in Ś, but the name of each *vrata* has been given separately at the end of its topic, and numbers are given only for the *vratas* and not separately for the *ślokas*; e.g., इति देवव्रतम् १, इति शिवव्रतम् २, इति लीलाव्रतम् ३, and so on. Similarly, though it has not split the Ān. Adh. 150 (Ślokas 243) which corresponds to its Adh. 143 (Ślokas 227), it has given separate sub-colophons after the end of each major topic, as इति यमप्रसनद्वन्द्वयुद्धम् (after Ān. Śl. 50b), इति धनदजम्भद्वन्द्वयुद्धम् (after Ān. Śl. 108), इति निर्ऋतिकुजम्भद्वन्द्वयुद्धम् (after Ān. Śl. 133), इति सोममहिषद्वन्द्वयुद्धम् (after Ān. Śl. 151b), and finally, at the end of the Adh. comes the usual Adh. Colophon 'इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे देवासुरसंग्रामे कालनेमिपराजयो नाम....' ॥ १४३ ॥

(b) *Detailed Adhyāya-colophons.*

Ś generally gives in its Adh.-colophons more elaborate details of the topics of Adhyāyas, specially of the Adhyāyas which deal with the various *tīrthas*. The colophons of its Adh. 193-201 (Ān. Adh. 186-194), all dealing with the *Narmadā-māhātmya*, are full of such elaborate details; e.g., the colophon of its Adh. 195 (Ān. 188) is given as follows:—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे नर्मदामाहात्म्ये त्रिपुरदाहबाणासुरवरप्रदानज्वालेश्वरो-
त्पत्त्यमरकण्ठज्वालेश्वरमाहात्म्यं नाम तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥ १९५ ॥

As against this, Ān. gives the following brief colophon:—

इति श्रीमात्स्ये महापुराणे नर्मदामाहात्म्येऽष्टाशीत्यधिकशततमोऽध्यायः ॥

The India office Ms. (E. 3548), which is the oldest manuscript collated so far, gives still briefer colophon:—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे अमरेश्वरमाहात्म्यम् ॥

Similarly, while the following colophon of Ān. Adh. 191 is quite short—

इति श्रीमात्स्ये महापुराणे नर्मदामाहात्म्य एकनवत्यधिकशततमोऽध्यायः,
and the colophon of the corresponding Adh. in the above-mentioned India Office Ms. is still shorter:—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे नर्मदामाहात्म्यं नाम,

the colophon of the corresponding Adh. (198) in Ś is unusually full of details⁶ :—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे नर्मदामाहात्म्ये शूलभेद भीमेश्वर नारदेश्वर आदित्येश्वर
घृतमधूत्सव नन्दिकेश्वर वरुणेश्वर पञ्चायतन कोटितीर्थ बहुसेक अगस्त्येश्वर
शक्रतीर्थ ऋषितीर्थ नारदतीर्थ अमरकण्ठ रावणेश्वर ऋणतीर्थ वटेश्वर भीमेश्वर
बुरीकच्छ सोमतीर्थ पिङ्गलेश्वर सुरतिकेश्वर ह्यादिकेश्वर गङ्गावतरण नन्दितीर्थ
दीपेश्वर व्यासतीर्थ वरडीतीर्थ एरण्डीसंगम वेदतीर्थ सुवर्णशिलक इक्षुमतीसंगम
स्यन्दतीर्थ आङ्गिरसतीर्थ लाङ्गलतीर्थ संगमेश अयोनिसंगम पाण्डवेशक
वार्तिकेश्वर चन्द्रभागतीर्थ ब्रह्मावर्त कपिलातीर्थ नर्मदेश आदित्यायतन
गर्गेश्वर नागेश्वर तपोवन कुबेरभवन कालेश्वर यमतीर्थ रामतीर्थ सोमतीर्थ
सुम्भतीर्थ विष्णुतीर्थ ब्रह्मतीर्थ तामसेश्वर अमाहकतीर्थ सिद्धेश्वर लिङ्गतीर्थ
कुसुमेश्वरादीनां माहात्म्यं नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥ १९८ ॥

This tendency of the Ś Ms. of giving elaborate details seems to be responsible for its splitting larger Adhyāyas into smaller ones.

2. Its peculiar treatment of the later Ikṣvakus

In the introduction of *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* Pargiter remarks that 'the *Matsya* adds only the later *Pauravas* to the ancient *Paurava* line in connection with the ancient genealogies, and introduces all the rest of the Kali age dynasties separately in some of its latest chapters'⁷. The Ān. ed. of MP has given the account of the ancient *Pauravas* (from *Pūru*, the son of *Yayāti*, down to *Adhisomakṛṣṇa*⁸, who has been mentioned as the *sāmprata* or the existing king) from 49·1 to 50·67, and then, after a short preface in the form of the interlocution between the *Rṣis* and the *Sūta* (Śl. 68-76), adds the account of the later *Pauravas* (Śl. 77-89), starting from the *Sāmprata* king, *Adhisomakṛṣṇa*, and carrying it on to the close of the dynasty with *Kṣemaka*. The ancient *Ikṣvākus* (from *Ikṣvāku*, the son of *Vaiśvasvata Manu*, down to *Śrutāyu* who was killed in the *Bhārata War*⁹) have been dealt with in its Adh. 12, Śl. 25c-57, while the later *Ikṣvākus* (from *Brhadbala* down to *Sumitra*, the last king of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty) have been dealt with in Adh. 271 (Śl. 4-17b). Moreover, out of the 13 Mss. of the *Matsya Purāṇa* collated by

6. D also follows Ś in giving similar detailed colophons of these Adhyāyas.

7. Page V of the 'Introduction'.

8. This is the reading given in the Ān. ed. (50.66c, 77a, 78a), but most of the Mss. including Ś read 'Adhisimākṛṣṇa'. Other variations are 'Adhisāmākṛṣṇa' 'Adhimāsākṛṣṇa', etc.

9. Cf. 'श्रुतायुरभवत्तस्माद्भारते यो निपातितः' (12. 55 cd). This reading is found in all the Mss. including Ś. But this king *Śrutāyu* is not mentioned in the *Bhāg.* and the *Viṣṇu*, which also make no mention of any *Ikṣvāku* king, other than *Brhadbala*, as having been killed in the *Bhārata War*.

Pargiter for his '*Purāṇa Text*', the two—hMt and pMt—being incomplete deal only with the *Paurava* kings, but all the rest separate the later *Ikṣvākus* from the later *Pauravas* like the Ān. ed., and deal with them in their last portions.¹⁰ Similar is the case with most of the 30 Mss. of the *Matsya* collated by the Purāṇa Dept. of the Kāśīrāja Trust. Some of them are incomplete and do not contain the account of the later *Ikṣvākus*, but the rest, except the two Ujjain Mss., D and Ś, deal with the later *Ikṣvākus* separately like the Ān. ed. The two Ujjain Mss., D and Ś, are the only exceptions, but even D has only copied the account of the later *Ikṣvākus* from Ś or from some other Sāradā Ms. allied to Ś in a separate '*śodhapatra*' (supplementary folio) and that too probably in some later hand.

Ś is the only Ms. which has given the account of the later *Ikṣvākus* immediately after the account of the later *Pauravas* at the end of its Adh. 54 (which corresponds to the later portion of the Ān. Adh. 50) in 9½ ślokas corresponding to Ān. 271.4-16; but these ślokas of Ś differ in their text from the Ān. ślokas (271.4-16) to a great extent. The Ś account of the later *Ikṣvākus* begins thus :—

सूतः ।

इक्ष्वाकुवंशजान्भूपान् भविष्यान् कथयामि वः ।

श्रुतायुरन्तं कथिता अतीताः शृणुतागतान्¹¹ ॥

श्रुतायोरभवत्पुत्रो नाम्ना राजा बृहद्रथः¹² ।

योऽर्जुनस्य तु पुत्रेण निहतो रणमूर्धनि ॥

The rest of the account is similar to that given in the *Bhāgavata* (Gītā Press ed., IX. 12. 9c-16 d) with only a few variants. It proceeds thus :—

बृहद्बलस्य भविता पुत्रो नाम बृहद्बलः¹³ ।

उरुक्रियः सुतस्तस्य वत्सवृद्धो भविष्यति ॥

and so on, ending like the Bhāg. in the śloka :—

10. Cf. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. xxxi, xxxii.

11. The same in D also. The correct reading, however, might be 'शृणुतानागतान्', but then there would be one superfluous syllable, and the metre would be upset.

12. The reading 'बृहद्रथ' seems to be corrupt here; 'बृहद्बल' is the correct reading, as may be evident from the subsequent reading of this word in Ś itself.

13. The reading in the Bhāg. is 'बृहद्रथः' (IX. 12. 9d), but the Ś reading 'बृहद्बलः' is also given by the two Mss. of the Bhāg. (India Office Library, E 3463-4, dated 1762. and E 3495-6, dated 1780).

इक्ष्वाकूणामयं वंशः सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।

¹⁴यज्ञस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ¹⁵ ॥

It may be surmised here that this account of the later *Ikṣvākus*, from *Bṛhadbala* onward, might have been taken from the Bhāg. and interpolated in Ś. The Ś-account of the later *Ikṣvākus*, however, has its own peculiarity and importance. In the Bhāg. the later *Ikṣvākus* have been dealt with immediately after the ancient *Ikṣvāku* line, whereas in Ś the account of the later *Ikṣvākus* is given in continuation with the account of the later *Pauravas*; and this arrangement of Ś is more in conformity with the following statement of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, wherein the *Sūta*, after completing the account of the past *Paurava* line, says:—

अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि भविष्या ये नृपास्तथा ।

ऐदंश्चाकान्वये चैव पौरवे चान्वये तथा ॥ (Ān. 50.73c-74b)

(v. l. इक्ष्वाकोरन्वये)

Here the *Sūta* intends to deal with the later *Ikṣvākus* in continuation with the later *Pauravas*, and not separately with a gap of some 220 Adhyāyas, all dealing with subjects unconnected with the genealogical accounts of the royal dynasties. This order of the two accounts as given in Ś conforms also to the order of the genealogical accounts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*¹⁶ and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*¹⁷, which deal with the later *Ikṣvākus* immediately after the later *Pauravas*.

Then there is another important fact to be noted in connection with the Ś accounts of the two later lines both of the *Pauravas* and the *Ikṣvākus*. Ś is the only Ms. which has separated the account of the later *Pauravas* from that of the ancient or past (*vyatita*) *Pauravas* and joined it to the account of the later *Ikṣvākus* in a separate Adh. (54). Ś has thus divided the Ān. Adh. 50 (which deals with the ancient and the later *Pauravas* together) into two separate Adhyāyas, numbered 53 and 54, the former (53) Adh. dealing with the ancient

14. This reading 'यज्ञस्' of Ś seems to be a corrupt one. The reading in D is 'यतस्' which is also the reading given in the Bhāg. (IX. 12.16 c). The palaeographic aspect of this reading of Ś will be discussed in another paper.

15. 'कलौ' is the uniform reading of all the Mss. of the *Matsya* collated both by Pargiter and the Purāṇa Dept. of the Kashiraj Trust. This is also the reading supported by the Bhāg., Viṣṇu (IV.22.13), and the *Vāyu* (99.293b). Prof. D. R. Mankad, however, gives the reading 'कलिः' in his '*Purāṇic Chronology*' (P. 56), on the basis of which he maintains that the Kali-age ended with Sumitra.

16. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ān. ed., 1905) deals with the later *Pauravas* in 99.271-280b and then immediately in 99.280c-293c it deals with the later *Ikṣvākus* (Cf. also Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 3 and 8).

17. Cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, Amśa IV, Adh. 21 (later *Pauravas*) and Adh. 22 (later *Ikṣvākus*).

Pauravas only, and the latter (54) treating both the later *Pauravas* and the later *Ikṣvākus* consecutively.

Then again, while the printed editions and also all the other Mss. of the *Matsya* abruptly begin the account of the later *Ikṣvākus* with *Bṛhadbala* without connecting him with the former *Ikṣvākus* in descent, Ś connects the account with that of the past *Ikṣvākus* by stating that *Bṛhadbala* was the son of Śrutāyu, the last king of the past *Ikṣvākulin*. Then, of all the collated Mss. and the printed editions of the *Matsya*, it is only Ś which informs us that *Bṛhadbala* was killed in the Great Battle by the son of *Arjuna*—‘योऽर्जुनस्य तु पुत्रेण निहतो रणमूर्धनि’.¹⁸

3. Division of the Matsya into two Ardhas.*

No printed edition of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, nor any North-Indian *Matsya* Ms. mentions a division of the *Matsya Purāṇa* into separate *Ardhas* or *Khaṇḍas*. Amongst the South Indian *Matsya* Mss., the palm-leaf Grantha Ms. (No. 402) of the Palace Library, Trivandrum, is the only Ms. which has mentioned the division of the *Matsya Purāṇa* into two *Khaṇḍas* in the beginning of the *Purāṇa*; and then at the end of its Adh. 114 (Ān. Adh. 128) it actually states in the colophon—

‘इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे ग्रहावतारवर्णनं नाम चतुर्दशाधिकशततमोऽध्यायः ॥
पूर्वखण्डः समाप्तः’ ॥

Like the Grantha Ms. Ś also seems to divide the text of the MP into two parts, as it states in the colophon of its Adh. 134 (Ān. Adh. 140) dealing with *Tripuravadha*, the end of the *Pūrvaṛdha* thus—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे चतुर्दशसहस्र्यां संहितायां मत्स्यमनुसंवादे त्रिपुरदाहे
त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १३४ ॥ त्रिपुरवधः समाप्तः ॥ मत्स्यपुराणपूर्वार्धं समाप्तम् ॥
(Folio 127A.)

But Ś does not mention any division of the text into two *ardhas* in the beginning portion of the *Purāṇa*, as the Grantha Ms. does. Moreover, both the Mss.—the Grantha and the Ujjain Śāradā—are incomplete, and hence no mention of the end of the *uttara-khaṇḍa* or the *uttarārdha* is found in them. But from the point of view of the division of the *Matsya* into two parts Ś also has its own importance, since it confirms the tradition of such a division of the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

18. Cf. also the *Bhāg*, (ix. 12.8 c d) —‘ततो बृहद्बलो यस्तु पित्रा ते समरे हतः’ and also the *Viṣṇu* (iv.4.112) —‘तस्य बृहद्बलः योऽर्जुनतनयेनाभिमन्युना भारतयुद्धे क्षयमनीयत’.

* The two-Khaṇḍa division of the *Matsya* has been fully discussed by Dr. V. Raghavan in his Paper published elsewhere in this Bulletin; this peculiarity of Ś, therefore, is only briefly dealt with here.¹

4. Peculiar mode of reference to interlocutors.

Almost all the Devanāgarī Mss.—both Northern and Southern—of the Matsya Purāṇa refer to the interlocutors often as 'Manur-uvāca', 'Matsya uvāca', 'Rṣaya ūcuḥ' etc., and occasionally also in abbreviated forms as 'Manur-u', etc. But Ś invariably refers to the interlocutors as 'Manuḥ', 'Matsyaḥ', 'Rṣayaḥ', 'Sūtaḥ', 'Brahmā' etc., always omitting the verb-portion (uvāca, ūcatuḥ, ūcuḥ of √vac). The Malayalam Ms. (K 6749) of the India Office Library, and the Trivandrum Grantha Ms. also refer to the interlocutors generally in the same way as the Śāradā Ms. does, but they sporadically use the verb-portion also; *e.g.*, in the Grantha Ms. 'Manur-vāca' (wrong for 'Manur-uvāca') has also been used in the beginning of one of its Adhyāyas (which corresponds to Ān. Adh. 67), and in Mal. Ms. the reference is given as 'Kīṭa uvāca' after a śl. corresponding to Ān. 20.34, and 'Śannatiruvāca' after a śl. corresponding to Ān. 21.19. Other similar readings may also be found in these two Mss. So Ś may be said to be the only Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa, collated so far, unique in this respect.

5. Conformity to Panini's rules.

There are many obsolete or un-Pāṇinian forms of words used in such ancient works as the Epics and the Purāṇas, and these antiquated forms have generally been preserved in manuscripts of these works. Ś, however, contains a negligible number of such old un-Pāṇinian uses. The grammatical forms of most of its readings are generally in accord with the rules of Paṇini's Grammar, so much so that in most cases we may be led to surmise that they might be the result of the emendation by the scribe or by some reader in order to make them conform or approximate to the rules of Pāṇini.

Below are given a few instances which will show that Ś gives the grammatically correct or approximately correct forms in place of the un-Pāṇinian forms of the corresponding words of the other Mss.¹⁹—

(1) दुहितां किमुपेक्षसे (Ān. 29.7d)

§—दुहित्री²⁰

(2) दुहितां प्रशशंस च (Ān. 154. 297d)

§—प्रशशंस दुहितरम्

19. D also follows Ś in most cases.

20. Here Ś erroneously adds डीप् suffix to the word दुहित् according to the Pāṇini-Sūtra 'ऋन्नेभ्यो डीप्' (4.1. 5), for डीप् should not be added to दुहित् according to the Sūtra 'न षट्स्वसादिभ्यः' (4. 1. 10), as the word दुहित् is included in the स्वसादि group.

(3) नैव दूषिता ²¹ह्याशा (Ān. 193.43 b)

नैव पूरिता आशा (Some Mss.)

§—नैव पूरिता आशाः

(4) तदुद्धर्त्तनकं गृह्य नरं चक्रे गजाननम् (Ān. 154.502 cd)

” ” ” ” (Most Mss.)

§—तदुद्धर्त्तनजं प्राप्य रजश्चक्रे गजाननम्

(5) शिरसा तु ततो वन्द्य मातरं पूर्णमानसः (Ān. 158.10 ab)

§—मनसा तु तदावन्द्य०

(6) माहात्म्यं पठते नरः (Ān. 112.6b)

पठते वा शृणोति वा (Some Mss.)

§—²²पठत्यभिशृणोति वा

(7) प्रयागमनुगच्छेद्वा वसते वापि यो नरः (Ān. 112.9ab)

” ” ” ” (Most Mss.)

§— वसति²³ ह्यपि यो नरः

(8) कुमारं जनयद् विभुः (Ān. 50.45 b)

(Same in most Mss.)

§— पुत्रमजनयद् विभुः

Then, there occur a large number of cases of *irregular sandhis* in the *Matsya Purāṇa* like those occurring in several other ancient Purāṇas, such as the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa*.²³ Nearly all the Mss. of the *Matsya* contain many cases of irregular sandhis, but Ś has only a few cases of irregular sandhis. This Ms. has often a *regular sandhi* in place of the corresponding irregular sandhi of the other Mss, or sometimes, in order to remove the irregularity of a sandhi, it has obviated the necessity of the sandhi itself; e.g., ‘हरयेति, पुनर्भुवौ’ has become ‘हरये तु०’ in Ś.

21. Ānandāśrama ed. has generally removed hiatus between two vowels by inserting some particle like च, तु, हि etc.

22. According to the *Pāṇini-Dhātupāṭha* the roots पठ् and वस् are *Parasmaipadins*, and not *Ātmanepadins*.

23. For the cause of irregular sandhis in the *Matsya* and some other Purāṇas such as the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* see Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, Introduction (§ 15.)

In the case of *anusvāra* and its change into the corresponding nasal, Ś has strictly followed *Pāṇini*. Almost all Devanāgarī Mss. make free use of *anusvāra* even in such places where, according to *Pāṇini*, it must be changed into a *parasavarṇa*²⁴ (i.e., into the nasal of the class of the following consonant), but Ś has always changed an *a-padānta anusvāra*, according to the rules of *Pāṇini*, into the corresponding nasal. Unlike the Devanāgarī Mss., Ś retains the final *m* at the end of a *śloka* and *ślokārdha*, and does not change it into *anusvāra*, as Devanāgarī Mss. do.

6. Special readings of the Sarada Ms.

The Śāradā Ms. (Ś) contains a large number of special readings not found in other Mss, which have sufficient textual importance. For want of space, only a few of such readings are given here as illustrations.

- (1) बभूव वरदश्चास्य वर्षायुतशते गते (Ān. I. 13ab).

(कमलासनः) (मनोः)

§—बभूव तरुवद् यश्च०

(मनुः)

- (2) भूतग्रामस्य सर्वस्य (Ān. I. 15a)

§—अस्य मत्स्यस्य²⁵ सर्वस्य

- (3) च्यवनस्य कृमिः पुत्रः (Ān. 50. 25a)

(v.l. कृतिः०)

§—च्यवनात्कृतयज्ञस्तु²⁶.

- (4) शुचिरग्निः स्मृतः सौरः (Ān. 51. 4a)

§—शुचेरग्नेः सुतः सौरः

- (5) (i) प्राप्य पक्षं शुभं शुक्लं (Ān. 58. 5a)

(Same in other Mss.)

§— ० कृष्णं

24. Cf. the Sūtra अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः' (8.4.58)

25. This word has been explained as meaning 'the afflicted world' in a marginal note of D which also has given the same reading.

26. Cf. also *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 19.79).

(ii) माधवस्य सिते पक्षे (Ān. 77.2a)

(Same in other Mss.)

§—माधवस्यासिते²⁷. पक्षे

(6) यथा विशोकं भवनं त्वयैवादित्य सर्वदा ।

तथा विशोकता मेऽस्तु त्वद्भक्तिः प्रतिजन्म च ॥ (Ān. 75.4)

§—यथा भास्कर भवतः संयोगो रश्मिभिर्भवेत् ।

तथैकता सदा मे स्यात्त्वद्भक्तिः प्रतिजन्म च ॥

(7) तद्वद्वेमरथं दद्यात् करिभ्यां संयुतं नरः (Ān. 101.72ab).

(Same in other Mss.)

§— °कार्तिक्यां संयुतो नरः²⁸

(8) अधर्मेणावृतो लोको नैव गच्छति तत्पदम् (Ān. 104.11ab)

§— स्वधर्मेण ततो लोकस्तत्पदं चैव गच्छति ।

(9) (i) प्रविष्टाश्च परस्परम् (पृथिव्यादयो विकाराः) (Ān. 123.54b)

§—धिषण्याश्चैव परस्परम्

(ii) यस्मात्प्रविष्टास्तेऽन्योन्यं (Ān. 123.55a)

§—यस्माद्धिषण्याश्च तेऽन्योन्यं

(10) अवनात्तु रविः स्मृतः (Ān. 124.4d)

(Same in other Mss.)

§—अवनात्स अविः स्मृतः

(11) दशहृदसमः पुत्रो दशपुत्रसमो द्रुमः (Ān. 154.512cd)

(v. 1. दशपुत्रसमाः स्त्रियः)

§—दशहृदसमो वृक्षो दशवृक्षसमः सुतः

(12) प्रदाय कन्यां योऽन्यस्मै पुनस्तां संप्रयच्छति ।

दण्डः कार्यो नरेन्द्रेण तस्याप्युत्तमसाहसः ॥ (Ān. 227.18)

§—(First half same), second half reads—

सहस्रं प्राप्नुयाद्दण्डं प्राग्दत्ता यस्य तस्य सा ।

27. Mark the predilection of § for the dark half of a month.

28. This reading of § is given by D also. It should also be noted that further, in place of the Ān. reading 'करिब्रतमिदं स्मृतम्' (101.72f), both § and D read 'हरिब्रतमिदं स्मृतम्', and then name the end of the topic as 'इति हरिरथब्रतम्'.

Besides such special *pāthāntaras*, Ś contains some special and important **additions** also, which are not found in other Mss.; e.g.—

After Ān. 49.6b, we have the following addition in Ś—

पुण्येयुर्दश ते पुत्राः पुत्रिकाश्च तथा दश ॥

भद्रा शरा सुभद्रा च शालदा मलदा तथा ।

खला चला च बलदा चपला सुरथापि च ॥

अनाधृष्टस्तु राजर्षिर्ऋचेयुरेकराट् स्मृतः ।

[King Bhadrāśva had ten sons born of the *Apsaras* Ghṛtācī (Ān. 49.4c-6b), but Ś adds that he had also ten daughters named Bhadrā, Śarā etc. This fact is not mentioned in the other Mss. of the *Matsya*; the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu* are also silent on this point; the *Harivaṃśa* (Citraśālā Press ed., 1.31.11) mentions these ten daughters with some variants in their names.]

After Ān. 49.58, Ś adds—

ब्रह्मदत्तस्य पुत्रोऽन्यः सर्वसेन इति स्मृतः ।

चक्षुषी यस्य निर्भिन्ने पक्षिण्या पूजनीयया ॥²⁹

[King Brahmadatta had a son named Viṣvaksena, but according to Ś he had also another son named Sarvasena, whose eyes (when he was a child) were pecked by his domestic hen-sparrow.]

After the account of the kings of the *Magadhas* (Ān. 50.27-34b) Ś adds—

परिक्षितश्च दायादो धार्मिको जनमेजयः ।

जनमेजयस्य दायादास्त्रय एव महारथाः ॥

श्रुतसेनोग्रसेनौ च भीमसेनश्च नामतः ।

एते सर्वे महामागा विक्रान्ता बलशालिनः ॥

[There were two kings of the same name, Pari(i)ksit, in the Puru-dynasty; the former was the son of Kuru, and the latter was the son of Abhimanyu, and the grandson of Arjuna. According to Ś, Kuru's son Parikṣit had a son named Janamejaya (like the son of the later Parikṣit) and this Janamejaya had three sons, Śrutasena

29. This Śl. occurs in the *Harivaṃśa* also (1. 20. 29c-30b), but many of the Ślokas dealing with the genealogy of the *Paurava* dynasty are almost similar in the *Matsya* and the *Harivaṃśa*, and of all the *Matsya*-Mss, Ś is the only Ms. whose readings here are most akin to those of the *Harivaṃśa*.

The story of Sarvasena and the hen-sparrow is given in the *Harivaṃśa*, 1.20. 11-14ob. (The word *pūjanīyā* means a hen-sparrow.)

and others. But other Mss. of the *Matsya* as well as its printed editions do not mention any son of the former Parikṣit. The *Bhāg.* (ix. 22.9c) also says that Kuru's son Parikṣit was issueless (*anapātya*). The *Viṣṇu* (iv.20.1) says that Kuru's son Parikṣit had four sons, Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena,³⁰ but it further (in iv.21.2) mentions these same four names of the four sons of the later Parikṣit (the son of Abhimanyu) also;³¹ but according to the *Vāyu* (99.249) and the *Matsya* (including Ś) Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit had only one son named Janamejaya.]

Ś contains a number of special **omissions** also ; e. g., the last line of Ān. 53.70, which reads 'लक्ष्मणैकेन यत्प्रोक्तं वेदार्थपरिवृंहितम्' (भारताख्यानम्), has been omitted in Ś ; similarly the second half of the next Śl. (71), which reads 'ब्रह्मणाभिहितं यच्च शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम्' (रामोपाख्यानम्), has also been omitted. There are many such special additions and omissions in Ś, but for want of space, only a few of these have been given here as illustrations, to bear out the fact of the uniqueness of this Ms.

Although some of the special readings of Ś may be taken as emended or superfluous, and similarly, although some of its additions may be regarded as mere interpolations, still there is a large number of special variants, additions and omissions in it, which are sufficient to establish its uniqueness and importance. Its other peculiarities, as discussed here, also lead to the same conclusion.

30. Cf. 'परीक्षितो जनमेजयश्रुतसेनोग्रसेनभीमसेनाश्चत्वारः पुत्राः' *Viṣṇu*, iv. 20. 1.

31. Cf. again 'योऽयं साम्प्रतमवनीपतिः परीक्षित्, तस्यापि जनमेजयश्रुतसेनोग्रसेनभीमसेनाश्चत्वारो पुत्रा भविष्यन्ति' *Ibid.*, iv. 21. 2.

केषुचिन्मत्स्यपुराणश्लोकेषु गद्यभ्रमः

ठाकुर प्रसाद शर्मा, द्विवेदी

[पुराणविभागः, काशिराजन्यासः]

[In this article it is shown that the text of the Matsya, Ānandāśrama Ch. 154, vv. 554 to 575, which is taken as prose by the available printed texts of the Purāṇa is really a metrical passage, in Sragviṇī verses. Not only would the properly chosen readings bear this out, but a comparison with the Padma-Purāṇa where this whole sequence occurs confirms this.

—Thakur Prasad Dvivedi].

मत्स्यपुराणस्य जीवानन्दमुद्रितपुस्तके १५३ सङ्ख्याकेऽध्याये ५५४-तमश्लोकादनन्तरं 'अथ गद्यानि' इति शीर्षकं दत्त्वा ५५५-तमश्लोकाद् आरभ्य ५७७-तमश्लोकपर्यन्तोऽशो गद्यत्वेन स्वीकृतः । एवमानन्दाश्रममुद्रितपुस्तकेऽपि १५४-तम अध्याये ५५४-तम श्लोकादारभ्य ५७५-तमश्लोकपर्यन्तः पाठो गद्यात्मक इति सम्पादकानां मतं ५७०-तमश्लोकस्य पादटिप्पण्यां निर्दिष्टम् । मत्स्यपुराणस्य हस्तलिखितपुस्तकेष्वपि प्रस्तुतांशस्य पूर्णतः शुद्धपद्यात्मकतया पाठो नोपलभ्यते । परन्तु नान्यत्र नान्यत्र मुक्तकवृत्तगन्धिचूर्णकोत्कलिकाप्रायेषु चतुर्ष्वपि गद्यभेदेषु मत्स्यपुराणस्यायमंशो नान्तर्भवति । अतोऽयमंशो गद्यात्मको वा पद्यात्मको वेति न निश्चीयते । अस्मिन्विषये सम्यग्विचारं कृत्वा आनन्दाश्रम-स्यायमंशः पद्यात्मक एवेति प्रतिपादयितुं प्रयतिष्यते ॥

अत्र विषये दण्डकपद्यात्मकोऽयमंश इति केषाञ्चिन्महानुभावानां सम्मतिरिति तदपि न सम्भवति; यतः सप्तविंशत्यक्षरवतां तदधिकवर्णवतां च चतुर्णां चरणानामेकं दण्डकवृत्तं भवति । ज्ञायते मत्स्यपुराणस्यास्मिन्नंशे प्रायः रगणाधिक्यमवलोक्यैव दण्डकभ्रान्तिर्भवतीति । परन्तु दण्डकवृत्ते आद्यौ द्वौ गणौ नगणौ भवतः, मत्स्यपुराणस्य त्वस्मिन्नंशे कुत्राप्यादौ नगणस्य प्रयोगो न दृश्यते, मध्ये सर्वत्राविरता रगणा अपि न सन्ति, अतोऽयमंशो दण्डकस्य कस्मिन्नपि भेदे नागच्छति ॥

वस्तुतस्तु मत्स्यपुराणस्यायमंशः पद्यमय एव स्रग्विणीछन्दःस्वासीत् । लेखकप्रमादेनात्र कचित् कचिद् रगणात्मके पाठे विनष्टे एकां

विलक्षणो गद्यपद्यात्मकोऽस्पष्टः पाठः संजातः । परन्तु सर्वोऽप्ययं मत्स्यपुराण-
सन्दर्भोऽनेनैव क्रमेण पद्मपुराणस्य सृष्टिखण्डे (आनन्दा०, अ० ४०, श्लो०
५०६-५२३^३) अविच्छिन्नरूपेण स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सर्वे वर्णितः । मत्स्यपुराणस्य
प्रस्तुतोऽशोऽपि तत्तत्कोशोपलब्धपाठभेदसाहाय्येन स्रग्विणीश्लोकैः पद्यमयः
कर्तुं शक्यते । तदेवात्र स्पष्टीकरिष्यते । स्रग्विणीछन्दसो लक्षणं
तावत् :—

“रैश्चतुर्भिर्युता स्रग्विणी संमता” इति ।

इदमेव लक्षणमाश्रित्य आनन्दाश्रम-मत्स्यपुराणस्य प्रस्तुतानां पङ्क्तिनां विचारः
क्रियते—

उमोवाच—

“एह्येहि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां
देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक ”

अस्यां पङ्क्तौ द्वाविंशतिरक्षराणि सन्ति, विभागद्वये कृते “एह्येहि यातोऽसि मे
पुत्रतां” इति प्रथमः खण्डो दशवर्णात्मकः, द्वितीयश्च “देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना
वीरक” इति द्वादशवर्णात्मकः । उभयोः खण्डयोर्वर्णेषु गणचिह्नानि दत्त्वावलोकने
कृते प्रथमस्य चरणस्यादावेको गुरुवर्णः शेषेषु च नवसु वर्णेषु त्रयो रगणाः
भवन्ति । द्वितीयश्च खण्डश्चतुर्भौ रगणैः परिपूर्णः स्रग्विणीवृत्तलक्षणेन
मिलतीत्यतः आदिगद्यवर्णं विहाय शेषेषु पदेषु वृत्तबन्धोऽस्तीत्येतस्य
गद्यत्वाभिधानं नोचितम्, अपितु प्रथमखण्डमात्रं पद्यगन्धि गद्यमिति वक्तुं शक्यते ।
परमेतावन्मात्रकथनेन न भवति परितोषः । विचार्यावलोकने कृते इयमेव
प्रतीतिर्जाता यदत्र प्रथमे चरणे द्वयोर्वर्णयोस्त्रुटिरस्तीति । यदि प्रसङ्गानुकूलौ
द्वौ वर्णौ संयोज्येयातां तदा अयमपि पादः चतुर्भौ रगणैः परिपूर्णो
भविष्यतीत्यनया रीत्योभयोः पादयोर्योगाच्छुद्धं श्लोकार्द्धं संपत्स्यते ॥

संयं रीतिः—“एहि+एहि+अत्र” एषु त्रिषु पदेषु प्रथमस्य ‘एहि’
पदस्य द्वितीयेन ‘एहि’ पदेन सन्धेरविवक्षया “एहि+अत्र” इत्यत्र
सन्धिविवक्षया “एहि एह्यत्र” पदसिद्धौ प्रथमोऽपि चरणश्चतुर्भौ रगणैः
परिपूर्णः स्यात् । तदा पूर्णैर्द्वादशभिरक्षरैः ‘एहि एह्यत्र यातोऽसि मे
पुत्रताम्’ इति स्रग्विण्या एकश्चरणो भवति । द्वयोः पादयोर्योगात्—

“एहि एह्यत्र यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां
देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक”

इति शुद्धोऽयमर्थश्लोकः ।

एवं “इत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं
पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलवादिनम्”

अत्रापि ‘इत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं’, ‘पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलवादिनम्’ इति च पूर्ववत् खण्डद्वयं जातम् । अत्राप्ययं प्रथमश्चरणो दशवर्णात्मको भवति । तेष्वेकः प्रथम ‘इ’कारेति स्वरवर्णो गुरुः संयोगाद्यत्वात्, किन्तु पादोऽयमथापि वर्णद्वयन्यूनतामेवानुभवति । शेषेषु तु रगणत्रयं विद्यते । ज्ञायते वर्णद्वयलोपादत्र प्रथमो रगणो विभ्रष्ट इति ॥

द्वितीयश्चरणो द्वादशभिरक्षरैः पूर्णोऽपि तृतीयस्थाने रगणरहितः । अतः प्रथमचरणस्य ‘इत्येवम्’ पदे द्वितीयस्य च ‘कलेति’ पदे परिवर्तनं क्रियेत चेत्तदेवौ चरणावपि चतुर्भिश्चतुर्भा रगणैः पूर्णौ भविष्यतः । यथा—

“उक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं
पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलालापिनम्” इति ॥

एवं शुद्धयोर्द्वयोः श्लोकार्धयोरेकत्र योगेन शुद्धो मनोहरश्च एकः श्लोकः सम्पद्यते । तस्य चरणचतुष्टयमधो निर्दिश्यते । यथा—

एहि एह्यत्र यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक ।
उक्तवत्येवमङ्के निधायाथ तं पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलालापिनम् ॥ इति ॥

एवं सर्वेषां श्लोकानामादौ मध्येऽन्त्ये च येषु केषुचित् पदेषु येन केन प्रकारेण मसीलेखकादिदोषतः कृमिकीटमूषकादिकृतकर्तृनादिकारणेन वा रगणात्मकेषु पाठेषु परिभ्रष्टेषु पद्यानां गतिर्यतिश्च विनष्टा । तत इमं प्रसङ्गं गद्यात्मकं मत्वा तथैव निर्देशः कृतः ॥

एवं यत्र तत्र भ्रमवशाद्गणभ्रंशो वर्णान्तरसन्निवेशः पदभ्रंशः पदान्तर-
सन्निवेशो वा चरणान्तरं वा कस्मिंश्चिच्चरणे समापतितं, चरणौ वा चरणान्तरेण
मिलितावन्याश्च याः काश्चिदशुद्धयः सञ्जाताः ताः सर्वाः शोधयितुं शक्यन्ते ॥

परमिदं कार्यं स्वकल्पितानां वर्णानां पदानां वा सन्निवेशेन कर्तुं
नोचितम्, अपि तु मत्स्यपुराणस्यैव हस्तलिखितानामनेकेषां पुस्तकानां
पाठान्तरसंग्रहणेन । एवं च गद्यमयोऽयं भागः स्रग्विणीछन्दोभिर्वद्धः
पद्यमय एव इति स्पष्टीभविष्यति ॥

यद्यपि सर्वेषु लिखितेषु पुस्तकेषु विभिन्नानि पाठान्तराणि सन्ति,
पूर्णतया शुद्धाः पद्यमयाः पाठाः कुत्रापि पुस्तके नोपलभ्यन्ते; तथापि
पद्यानुकूलपाठान्तरान्वेषणेन मत्स्यपुराणस्यास्यांशस्य पद्यमयत्वमुद्धर्तुं शक्यते ॥

तदत्र काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागे संवादितेषु मत्स्यपुराणस्य
प्राचीनहस्तलिखितपुस्तकेषूपलब्धानां पाठभेदानामेव साहाय्येन आनन्दाश्रम-
मत्स्यपुराणीय १५४-तमाध्यायस्य केवलं ५५४-५५७ सङ्ख्याकानामंशानां
स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सु परिवर्तनपद्धतिः प्रदृश्यते—

(१) आनन्दाश्रमपाठः—

एह्येहि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरकं ॥ ५५४

इत्येवमङ्गे निधायथ तं पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलावादिनम् ॥ ५५५

[पाठभेदाः—(१) ०जातोऽसि०; एहि एहि जातोऽसि मे पुत्र तावदेव; एहि
एहि माता तवाहं पुत्रोऽसि मे; एहि सद्योहि जातोऽसि
पुत्रतामेसि वीरक; एहि न ह्येहि यातो० (शारदापुस्तके)

(२) देवदेवेन दत्तो वीरक; देवदेवेन रुद्रेण दत्तस्त्वं हि मयाधुना

(३) इत्युक्तवत्येवमङ्गे निधा०; उक्तवत्येवमङ्गे निधा० (बहुषु
पुस्तकेषु)

(४) पर्यष्वजत्

(५) कलं वादिनम्; कलावादिनम्; कलालापिनम्]

सग्विणीवृत्तपाठः—

एहि सद्यो हि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना
उक्तवत्येवमङ्गे निधायाथ तं पर्यचुम्बत् कपोले कलं वा ॥

(२) आनन्दाश्रमपाठः—

मूर्धन्युपाग्राय संमार्ज्य गात्राणि भूषयामास दिव्यैः ॥
किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरैर्भाणिक्यकेयूरहारोरुमूलगुणैः ॥ ५५ ॥

[पाठभेदाः—(१) संभूषयामास ; स भूषयामास ; सा भूषयामास ;

(२) नूपुरैरुत्तमैः, नूपुरैः सुस्वनैः ;

(३) प्राज्यमाणिक्य

(४) ०गणैः ; ०हारोत्कर्षैः । सा भूषयामास सत्कर्षैः

सग्विणीवृत्तपाठः—

मूर्धन्युपाग्राय संमार्ज्य गात्राणि सा भूषयामास दिव्यैः स्वयैः
किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरैरुत्तमैः प्राज्यमाणिक्यकेयूरहारोत्कर्षैः

(३) आनन्दाश्रमपाठः—

कोमलैः^१ पल्लवैश्चित्रितैश्चारुभिर्दिव्यमन्त्रोद्भवैस्तस्य ।

शुभैस्ततो भूरिभिश्चाकरोन्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥ ५६ ॥

[पाठभेदाः—(१) सद्गुणैः कोमलैः ;

(२) ०श्चारुसिद्धिर्दि० (०द्विदि०) ; रम्यकैश्चारुभिः ॥

(३) ०श्चित्रमन्त्रोद्भवैः पुष्पकैस्तस्य ;

(४) शुभैः ;

(५) भूतिभिः (बहुषु पुस्तकेषु) ; भूमिभिः]

सग्विणीवृत्तपाठः—

सद्गुणैः कोमलैश्चित्रितैश्चारुभिर्दिव्यमन्त्रोद्भवैः पुष्पकैः ।

तस्य शुभैस्ततो भूतिभिश्चाकरोन्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥

एवं पाठभेदसाहाय्येन शेषोऽप्यंशोऽनेनैव क्रमेण स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सु परिवर्तयितुं शक्यते । एष सर्वोऽप्यंशः स्रग्विणीपद्येषु पद्मपुराणस्य सृष्टिखण्डे अनेनैव क्रमेण कैश्चित्पाठभेदैः सह वर्तते, येनेदमनुमातुं शक्यते यद् मत्स्यपुराणस्यायमंशोऽपि पद्यमय एव स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सु निबद्ध आसीत् ॥

मत्स्यपुराणस्य स्रग्विणीछन्दस्सु संशोधितः सर्वोऽप्ययमंशः पद्मपुराण-
स्योक्तस्रग्विणीपद्यैः सहैवाधो लिख्यते तुलनासौकर्यार्थम् :—

मत्स्यपुराणम् (आनन्दा०)

(अ० १५४।५५४-५७५)

स्रग्विणीपाठः

उमोवाच—

एहि सद्यो हि यातोऽसि मे पुत्रतां
देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक ।
उक्तवत्येवमङ्गे निधायथ तं
पर्यचुम्बन्त कपोले कलं वादिनम् ॥१

मूर्ध्न्युपाग्राय सम्मार्ज्य गात्राणि सा
भूषयामास दिव्यैः स्वयं भूषणैः ।
किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरैरुत्तमैः
प्राज्यमाणिक्यकेयूरहारोत्करैः ॥ २

सद्गुणैः कोमलैः पलवैश्चित्रितै-
श्चारुभिर्दिव्यमन्त्रोद्भवैः पुष्पकैः ।
तस्य शुभ्रैस्ततो भूतिभिश्चाकरो-
न्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥ ३

एवमादाय चोवाच कृत्वा स्रजं
मूर्ध्नि गोरोचनापत्रभङ्गोज्ज्वलैः ।
वत्स गच्छाधुना क्रीड सार्धं गणै-
रप्रमत्तो नगे श्वभ्रवर्जं शनैः ॥ ४

व्यालमालाकुलाः शैलसानुद्रुमा
दन्तिभिर्मिन्नसाराः परे भङ्गिनः ।
जाह्नवीयं जलं क्षुब्धतोयाकुलं
मा विशेथा बहुव्याघ्रजुष्टे वने ॥ ५

पद्मपुराणम् (आनन्दा०)

सृष्टिखण्ड, अ० ४०,

श्लो० ५०६-५२३½

उमोवाच—

एहि सद्यो हि जातोऽसि मे पुत्रको
देवदेवेन दत्तोऽधुना वीरक ।
उक्तवत्यङ्गमाधाय पर्यष्वजत्-
तं कपोले चुचुम्बागराणनन्दिनी ॥१

मूर्ध्न्युपाग्राय सम्मार्ज्य गात्राणि सं-
भूषयामास दिव्यैः स्वयं भूषणैः ।
किङ्किणीमेखलानूपुरैः सन्मणि-
क्याढ्यकेयूरहारैरमूल्यैर्गुणैः ॥ २

कोमलैः पलवैश्चित्रितैश्चारुभि-
र्मङ्गलैः कङ्कणैर्दिव्यमन्त्रोद्भवैः ।
तस्य शुद्धैस्ततो भूरिभिश्चाकरो-
न्मिश्रसिद्धार्थकैरङ्गरक्षाविधिम् ॥ ३

एवमादाय चोवाच कृत्वा स्रजं
मूर्ध्नि गोरोचनापत्रभङ्गोज्ज्वलैः ।
वत्स वत्साधुना क्रीड सार्धं गणै-
रप्रमत्तो व्रज श्वभ्रवर्जं शनैः ॥ ४

व्यालमालाकुलाः शैलसानुद्रुमा
दन्तिभिर्मिन्नसाराः परे भङ्गिनः ।
जाह्नवीमण्डलं क्षुब्धतोयाकुलं
मा विशेथा बहुव्याघ्रजुष्टे वने ॥ ५

मत्स्यपुराणम्

पद्मपुराणम्

सत्त्वसङ्ख्येषु दुर्गागणेशेषु यद्-
वीरकं पुत्रभावाय दृष्ट्वाऽकरोत् ।
तिष्ठतु स्वस्थचित्तो जनः प्रार्थिता
भव्यमायाति भाविन्यसौ भव्यता ॥

सोऽपि निर्वर्त्य सर्वान् गणेशान्स्मया-
दाह बालत्वलीलारसाविष्टधीः ।
एष मात्रा स्वयं मे कृतो भूषण-
श्रेष्ठ दत्तः पटः पाटलैर्विन्दुभिः ॥ ७

सिन्दुवारस्य पुष्पैरियं मालती-
मिश्रिता मालिका मे शिरस्याहिता ।
कोऽयमातोद्यधारी गणेशो भवेद्
यस्य दास्यामि हस्तादिदं क्रीडनम् ॥ ८

दक्षिणात् पश्चिमं पश्चिमादुत्तरं
चोत्तरात् पूर्वमभ्येत्य सख्या युता ।
प्रेक्षती तं हसन्ती गवाक्षान्तरा-
द्वीरकं शैलपुत्री बहिः क्रीडनम् ॥ ९

यज्जगन्मातुरप्येष चित्तभ्रमः
स्नेहजः पुत्रलब्धौ जनस्तत्र कः ।
मोहमायाति न स्वल्पचेता जडो
मांसविण्मूत्रसंघातदेहोद्वहः ॥ १०

द्रष्टुमभ्यन्तरं नाकवासेश्वरे-
ष्विन्दुमौलिं प्रविष्टेषु कक्षान्तरम्
वाहनान्यध्यरोहद्रुणेशैर्युतो
लोकपालास्त्रजालं मुहुर्लोलयन् ॥ ११

खड्ग एषो वियत्तारकानिर्मलः
कुन्तकः कस्य केनाहतो ब्रूत भोः ।
मे न बद्धोऽस्तु दण्डेन किं दुःस्पृशा
भीस्तु मर्त्यालये नास्ति कृत्यं गिरौ ॥

पाश एषोऽस्त्यनेनात्र को बध्यते
मा वृथा लोकपालानुगा विभ्यत ।
एवमेवैतदित्यूचुरस्मै तदा
देवदेवानुगं वीरकं सर्वदा ॥ १३

वत्स सङ्ख्येषु दुर्गेषु यद्वीरक
पुत्रभावाय तां स्वस्थचित्तो जनः ।
प्रार्थितं भव्यमायातिभाविन्यसौ
भाव्यतां सोऽपि निर्वर्त्य सर्वैर्गुणैः ॥

पुलस्त्य उवाच—

एवमुक्तोऽम्बया वीरको मातरं
स स्मयन्नाह लीलारसाविष्टधीः ।
एष मात्रा स्वयं मे कृतः कङ्कणः
पत्रकश्चित्रितः पाटलैर्विन्दुभिः ॥ ७

चारुपुष्पैरियं मालतीभिः कृता
मालिका मे शिरस्याहिता कोमला ।
तोषयामीश्वरीमित्ययं सत्वरं
चिन्तयित्वाऽब्रजद्वाह्यतः क्रीडनम् ॥

सर्वैर्गणैः संयुतो वीरको हर्षितो
दक्षिणात् पश्चिमं पश्चिमादुत्तरम् ।
उत्तरात् पूर्वमभ्येत्य सख्या युता
प्रेक्षती तं गवाक्षान्तराद्वीरकम् ॥ ९

शैलपुत्री बहिः क्रीडितां यज्जग-
त्स्नेहजः पुत्रलब्धौ यतस्तत्र कः ।
मोहमायाति यः स्वल्पचेता जडो
मांसविण्मूत्रसङ्घातदेहोद्वहः ॥ १०

द्रष्टुमभ्यन्तरं नाकवासेश्वरे-
ष्विन्दुमौलिं प्रविष्टेषु कक्षान्तरम् ।
वाहनान्यध्यरोहद्रुणेशैर्युतो
लोकपालास्त्रपूगं मुहूर्तादियम् ॥ ११

खड्ग एषोऽविपद्राकरो निर्मलः
कुन्तकः कस्य केनाहतो ब्रूत नः ।
नो भवेद्योऽस्ति दण्डेन किं दुःसहो
भीममूर्त्यङ्गणे नास्ति कृत्यं गिरौ ॥ १२

पाश एषोऽस्ति तेनाऽत्र को बध्यते
मा वृथा लोकपालानुगा विद्रुत ।
एवमेवैतदित्यूचुर्वन्ते तदा
वीक्ष्य देवानुगं वीरकं रक्षकम् ॥ १३

मत्स्यपुराणम्

प्राह देवी वने पर्वतादिष्वर-

प्याग्निमालाकुले माऽयताद्भूतपाः ।

निर्झराम्भोनिपातेषु निर्मज्जतः

पुष्पजालावनद्वेषु धामस्वपि ॥ १४

तुङ्गनानानिकुञ्जानुगर्जद्गुहा-

मारुतास्फोटसंगक्षणे क्रामत ।

काञ्चनोत्तुङ्गशृङ्गावरोहक्षितौ

हेमरेणूत्करासंगपिङ्गद्युतिः ॥ १५

खेचराणां भ्रमाधायिरम्यो बभौ

रूपसम्पत्प्रकारो गणाधीशितुः ।

मन्दरे शैले कन्दरे सुन्दरे

कुन्दमन्दारपुष्पप्रवालाम्बुजे ॥ १६

सिद्धनारीभिरापीतरूपामृतं

विस्तृतैर्नेत्रपात्रैरनुन्मेषिभिः ।

वीरकं शैलपुत्रीनिमेषान्तरा-

दस्मरत् पुत्रगृध्नी विनोदार्थिनी ॥ १७

सोऽपि तादृक्क्षणावाप्नोत्पुण्योदयो

योऽपि जन्मान्तरस्यात्मजत्वं गतः ।

क्रीडतस्तस्य तृप्तिः कथं जायते

योऽभिभावी जगद्वेधसा तेजसा ॥ १८

केलिलोलः क्षणं दिव्यगीतः क्षणं

नृत्यलोलैर्गणेशैः परितः क्षणम् ।

अतः परं ५७६, ५७७-

संख्याकौ श्लोकौ भुजङ्गप्रयातौ

पद्मपुराणम्

प्राह देवी वने पर्वते निर्झरा-

ग्निमालाकुले भूतले भूतपाः ।

निर्झराम्भोनिपातेषु नो मज्जतातः

पुष्पजालावनद्वेषु धामस्वपि ॥ १४

प्रोच्चनानाद्रिकुञ्जावगाहेष्वथो

मारुतास्फोटसंगक्षणे क्रामतः ।

काञ्चनोत्तुङ्गशृङ्गावरोहक्षितौ

हेमरेणूत्करासङ्गपिङ्गद्युतिः ॥ १५

खेचराणां वने चापि रम्ये च भू-

रूपसम्पत्प्रकारो गणो वासितुम् ।

मन्दरे कन्दरे चारुवापीतटे

कुन्दमन्दारपुष्पप्रवालाम्बुजे ॥ १६

सिद्धनारीभिरापीतरूपामृतं

विस्तृतैर्नेत्रपात्रैरनुन्मेषिभिः ।

वीरकं शैलपुत्री निमेषान्तरा-

दस्मरत् पुत्रगृध्नुर्विनोदार्थिनी ॥ १७

सोऽपि तादृक्क्षणावाप्नोत्पुण्योदयो

यो हि जन्मान्तरस्यात्मजत्वं ततः ।

क्रीडतस्तस्य तृप्तिः कथं जायते

योऽपि भावाज्जगद्वेधसा तेजसा ॥ १८

कल्पितः प्रेक्षणं दिव्यगीतः क्षणं

नृत्यलोलैर्गणेशैः प्रनृत्य क्षणम् ।

अतः परमपि ५२५ श्लोकपर्यन्तं

मन्विणीवृत्तम्. ततश्च ५२६ श्लोको

भुजङ्गप्रयातः ।

GLEANINGS FROM THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

By

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

[स्वलक्षणान्तर्भूतान् प्रधानविषयान् प्रतिपादयत्सु पुराणेषु
अवान्तरविषयजातमितिहास-साहित्यादिसम्बद्धं बहु तत्र तत्र स्पृष्टं
दृश्यते । सर्वथा नास्त्येव स विषयः यः पुराणे कुत्रापि कथञ्चन
नोदीरित इति वक्तुं शक्यते । एवं पुराणेषु दृष्टानामवान्तरविषया-
शानां संकलनं विमर्शकानामतीव उपयोगाय भवति । अस्मिंश्च लेखे
मत्स्ये दृश्यमानानामेतादृशविषयाणां केषांचित् संग्रहः, विचारश्च कृतः ।

—वे. राघवः]

We may first of all note the literature pre-supposed by the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Leaving out the four Vedas, the Vedāṅgas and Upaniṣads, the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa Sūtras (CXLIV. 13, 23), as also the eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas which it defines (ch. LIII), we may draw attention here to references in the Purāṇa which show its acquaintance with other works and authors. The Purāṇa, it calls Purāṇa-veda and counts the Vedas as five including the Purāṇa (CCLXXXIX. 7, 9). Materials related to different branches of learning, schools of thought, authors and works are to be found referred to all through the text of the Purāṇa.

One of the references in the Matsya to a branch of Vedic literature may be given some attention. In the midst of the description of the Paurava dynasty, the Purāṇa mentions one Kṛta as the son of king Sannatimān; this Kṛta is said to have become a pupil of Hiranya-nābhin Kauśalya, a Sāman-teacher and responsible for the codification of the Sāma Veda into twenty-four saṁhitās. These Sāman hymns are known as Prācya-sāmans and those who maintained them as 'kārtāḥ' after Kṛta.

तस्यासीत् सन्नतिमतः कृतो नाम सुतो महान् ।

हिरण्यनाभिनः शिष्यः कौशल्यस्य महात्मनः ॥

चतुर्विंशतिधा येन प्रोक्ता वै सामसंहिताः ।

स्मृतास्ते प्राच्यसामानः, कार्ता नामेह सामगाः ॥ XLIX. 75, 76.

Harivamśa (xx. 41-44) also gives this information, though the text reads wrongly in the last line Kārtayas for Kārtās.

Bhagavad Datta notes Kṛta in his account of the Sāma Veda in his *Vaidik Vāṇimay kā Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 208, on the basis of references to Kṛta noted by him in the Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. Of these Viṣṇu is brief and in a prose passage speaks of Kṛta, like the Matsya,

under the Puruvamśa as son of Sannatimat and student of Hiraṇya-nābhin in *yoga* (not Veda!) and codifier of the twenty-four Samhitās for the Prācyā-sāmagas.

सन्नतिमतः कृतः पुत्रोऽभवत् । यं हिरण्यनाभो योगमध्यापयामास ।

यश्चतुर्विंशतिं प्राच्यसामगानां संहिताश्चकार । IV. 19-50.

The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa have an identical text here and mention Kṛta by the way when speaking of the Ṛṣi-vamśas in relation to the different Veda-śākhās. In both places Kṛta is specified as pupil of Hiraṇyanābha, a king and responsible for the twenty-four Sāma-samhitās.

Vāyu LXI.44, Brahmāṇḍa I.ii. XXXV.49-50:

ततो (एको in Brah.) हिरण्यनाभस्य कृतः शिष्यो नृपात्मजः ।

सोऽकरोत्तु(च्च)चतुर्विंश(त्)संहिता द्विपदां वरः ॥

Then these two Purāṇas give a list of persons who are evidently to be taken as associated with these twenty-four Sāma-samhitās, but it is difficult to make up the number twenty-four, only 22 or 23 being clear. At the end of the list, both Purāṇas read a statement इति क्रान्तास्तु सामगाः which should really be इति कार्तास्तु सामगाः, for these were followers of Kṛta and would therefore be called Kārtāḥ. A further statement is also found in both Purāṇas as to the pre-eminence of these; Kṛta, along with another pupil of Hiraṇyanābhin and Samhitākāra, viz. Pauṣyañji, is considered as the best of Sāmagas:

सामगानां तु सर्वेषां श्रेष्ठौ द्वौ परिकीर्तितौ ।

पौष्यञ्जिश्च कृतश्चैव(तिश्चैव Vāyu) संहितानां विकल्पकौ ॥ 48.

There is mention of Kṛta in the Bhāgavata¹ too.

कृतो हिरण्यनाभस्य चतुर्विंशतिसंहिताः ।

शिष्य ऊचे स्वशिष्येभ्यः— ॥ XII. 6.80.

The reference to the Sāmans or Sāmagas associated with this school as 'Prācīna-sāmans' or 'Prācīna-sāmagas' is to be understood geographically as the 'Eastern Sāmagas'. See also Bhāgavata XII. 6.78, on the 'Udīcya' and 'Prācya' Sāmagas.

Of Kṛta who is said to be so important, we find no mention in the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa or the list of Samhitākāras, but he and his school are attested by a Pāṇinīyan Sūtra, as pointed out by Bhagavad Datta: *Kārtakaujapādyaśca* VI.ii. 37.

1. See also Mahidasa's commentary on the Caranavyūha under the Sāmaveda schools. Other Vedas too had schools based similarly on geographical divisions,

In III. 29 of Matsya sage *Kapila* and his *Sāṃkhya* system are mentioned :

साङ्ख्यं सङ्ख्यात्मकत्वाच्च कपिलादिभिरुच्यते ।

The Purāṇa derives *Sāṃkhya* from *Saṃkhyā*, enumeration of categories which it gives as twenty-six, including *Īśvara* in verses 14-28. In LII. 3, the Lord as Matsya is said to teach *Karmayoga* and *Sāṃkhya* to Manu. *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* are also mentioned in CX. 19 ; in CLXXXIII. 44, 50 as the two *yogas*; and in CCXLVII. 9. In LIII. 6, *Mīmāṃsā* and *Dharma Śāstra* are mentioned. In VIII. we have echoes of the *Vibhūti-yoga* of the *Gītā* and in LII. of the *Karma-yoga* of the *Gītā*. Matsya CLXXXIII. 45-46 are two verses reproduced from the *Gītā* VI. 31, 32. *Vedānta* is mentioned in LII. 26. IV. 47 speaks of the *Dhanur-veda*; CXLIV. 22 of *Āyurveda* and *Jyotiṣa*.

The *Artha Śāstra* is referred to in VII. 63 where *Indra* is said to resort to it; again this *Śāstra* is mentioned in X. 32 and in both places, it may be noted, the *Artha Śāstra* is used in a degraded sense, involving expediency without moral foundation. In the latter case, it is said that when *Prthu* was king, there was no need for this *Śāstra*. Other references to *Arthaśāstra* are LXI. 15, CXLIV. 22, CCXX. 2 and CCLXXII. 22 (*Kauṭilya*).

The *Dharma Śāstra* is referred to in LXI. 15; LXX. 1; CCIV. 17; CCXX. 2.

That commentarial literature was known to the Text can be seen from the mention of *Bhāṣya-vidyā* in CXLIV. 13, 23. Similarly the reference to *Hetuśāstra* in v. 22 of the same ch. may also be noted.

In *Kumārasambhava* I. 2, *Kālidāsa* speaks of the story of King *Prthu* milking Mother Earth with Mt. *Meru* as the Milkman and Mt. *Himavān* as the Calf. This story, which is found also in other Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇu* (I. 132-briefly), the *Bhāgavata* (IV. 18 in a more detailed manner), the *Vāyu* (II. 1-2 also in an elaborate manner), and the *Harivaṃśa*, is elaborately set forth in Matsya X. 12-35. Of the several things extracted here it is interesting to note the *Nāṭya Veda*, the arts of dance and drama, and the milkman connected with its extraction, *Vararuci*.

दोग्धा वररुचिर्नाम नाट्यवेदस्य पारगः ।

The only other place where we hear of *Vararuci* as an expert in dance is the *Bṛhatkathā* as represented by the *Kathāsaritsāgara* where we have, in the opening book, the stories of *Vararuci*, *Upavarṣa*, *Pāṇini* etc. Here we are told that young *Vararuci* witnessed some dance and on returning home reproduced before his mother and the two guests at home the whole dance as he saw it.

तिष्ठतोस्तत्र च तयोरुदभून्मुरजध्वनिः ।
 तेन मामब्रवीन्माता भर्तुः स्मृत्वा सगद्गदम् ॥
 नृत्यत्येष पितुर्मित्रं तव नन्दो नटः सुत ।
 अहमभ्यवदं मातर्द्रष्टुमेतद्ब्रजाम्यहम् ॥
 तवापि दर्शयिष्यामि सपाठं सर्वमेव तत् ॥

K. S. S. I-2. 34-36.

Some weight to the tradition of Vararuci as a primary writer on Nāṭya is lent by the reference to him, along with Kaśyapa, as a founder of the Alaṅkāra Śāstra made in the Hṛdayaṅgamā on the Kāvyaḍarśa. See p. 3. Madras edn. 1910, by M. Rangacharya.

In XII 50-51, *Vālmiki* and his *Epic on Rāma* are thus mentioned in the course of the description of the solar race:

तस्मादशरथो जातस्तस्य पुत्रचतुष्टयम् ।
 नारायणात्मकास्सर्वे रामस्तेष्वग्रजोऽभवत् ॥
 रावणान्तकरस्तद्वत् रघूणां वंशवर्धनः ।
 वाल्मीकिस्तस्य चरितं चक्रे भार्गवसत्तमः ॥

The narrative on Siva marrying Pārvatī which is told in a very long chapter CLIV, as also the succeeding one, has several reminiscences of the *Kumārasambhava* of *Kālidāsa*; though the Purāṇa-text introduces many variations, that *Kālidāsa* is always in mind cannot be missed.

In XII. 55, Śrūtāyus of the solar race is mentioned as having fought and fallen in the *Bhārata*, i.e., in the great Mahābhārata-war.

श्रुतायुरभवत्तस्माद् भारते यो निपातितः ।

In CCXLVII. 17, the *Itihāsa* is mentioned.

In LIII. 70-2, the two epics are mentioned in greater detail, at the end of the description of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

1. अष्टादश पुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ॥
 भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तदुपबृंहितम् ।
 लक्ष्येणैकेन यत्प्रोक्तं वेदार्थपरिवृंहितम् ॥
2. वाल्मीकिना तु यत्प्रोक्तं रामोपाख्यानमुत्तमम् ।
 ब्रह्मणाभिहितं यच्च शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥
 आहृत्य नारदायैव तेन वाल्मीकिये पुनः ।
 वाल्मीकिना च लोकेषु धर्मकामार्थसाधनम् ॥

CLXXXVIII describes the burning of Tripuras by Śiva's fire and the passages here remind one of Vālmīki's description of the burning of Lankā by Hanumān. There are of course story-parallels between the Mahābhārata and the Matsya.

In the midst of Pitṛ-māhātmya, there is the description of Brahmadatta, King of Pāñcālas, and of the story of his knowledge of the speech of all beings including the ant. It is said here that Brahmadatta had two companions, the sons of the ministers, *Kaṇḍīraka* and *Subālaka* (XX. 24).

मन्त्रिपुत्रौ तथा चोभौ कण्डीरकसुबालकौ ।

The next chapter gives further details about these two: Subālaka is Bābhavya Pāñcāla, one of the promulgators of Kāma Śāstra, whom Vātsyāyana refers to in his Kāma Sūtras.

कामशास्त्रप्रणेता च बाभ्रव्यस्तु सुबालकः ।

पाञ्चाल इति लोकेषु विश्रुतस्सर्वशास्त्रवित् ॥ XXI. 30.

Cf. Kāma Sūtras I. I. तदेव तु पुनरध्यर्धेनाध्यायशतेन साधारण-
नान्येभिर्नान्येभ्यः श्रुतं तदेव तद्विद्वत्तद्विश्वेशिक-औपनिषदिकैः
तद्विद्वद्भिः बाभ्रव्यः पाञ्चालः सञ्चिक्षेप ।

It is interesting to note in this connection that Chs. LXX, LXXI speak through the mouth of Dāl̥bhya of the life and conduct proper for courtezans, Veśyā-dharmas. CCXX. 2 refers to Kāma Śāstra.

Of the other mantriputra Kaṇḍīraka or Kaṇḍarika, we do not know anything. The Matsya Purāṇa says that he was a promulgator of Veda Śāstra:

कण्डीरकोऽपि धर्मात्मा वेदशास्त्रप्रवर्तकः । XXI. 31.

Of the manuscripts collated by us, sixteen read Kaṇḍarika or Kaṇḍīraka, but five read his name as Puṇḍarika; two manuscripts do not have this verse at all. Only five read the Śāstra promulgated by him as Veda, *twentyone* read it as medicine, *Vaidya* Śāstra. But neither in Vedic nor medical literature do we come across a name Kaṇḍīraka or Puṇḍarika.

Ch. XXIV describes the birth of Budha, son of Candra and Tārā. As he is begotten by Rājā, a name of Candra, he came to be known as Rājaputra. He was no doubt proficient in all Śāstras, but he was so especially in the subject of elephants, *Hastīśāstra*. A treatise on elephants is known with the title Rājaputriya. Mallinātha quotes it on Raghuvamśa IV. 39 and Pālakāpya (ĀSS. p. 3.v.25) refers to it. (See my paper *Gleanings from Somadeva's Yaśastilaka Campū*, J. of the G. Jha Institute, I, 3, May 1944, Pp. 367-8).

तारोदराद्विनिष्क्रान्तः कुमारश्चन्द्रसन्निभः ।

नर्दन्निभः हस्तिशास्त्रप्रवर्तकः ॥

नाम यद्राजपुत्रीयं विश्रुतं गजवैद्यकम् ।

राज्ञः सोमस्य पुत्रत्वाद् राजपुत्रो बुधः स्मृतः ॥ 2-3.

In verse 10-32 in the same chapter, the narrative on Purūravas is pretty close to Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* ; there is reference to sage Bharata and his production of the play Lakṣmīsvayamvara (28), the episode of the Kumāravana (19, 31) etc. This, with the previously noted echoes of the Kumārasambhava, betrays the acquaintance of the present text of the Purāṇa with Kālidāsa's works.

Reference has already been made to the poetic description of the fire in the Tripuradāha-section, ch. CLXXXVIII. Here vv. 46ff. describe the pathetic apostrophising of the Fire by the enemy-women. While the fancies worked by the Matsya are different, it is possible that the inspiration for this description is *Amaruśataka*, v. 2, *Kṣipta hastāvalagnah*, etc. on the effect of Śiva's Fire on the Tripura-women.

From Ch. IV. onwards there is the story of the God of Love, Madana; śls. 19-20 here tell us that Brahman cursed Madana that he would have two incarnations on earth, one as Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna and the other as Udayana's son Naravāhanadatta.

ततो भरतवंशान्ते भूत्वा वत्सनुपात्मजः ।

विद्याधराधिरूपं च यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥

Naravāhanadatta is the hero proper of the Bṛhatkathā and in the Kathāsaritsāgara IV. 373, his being the incarnation of Kāmadeva is mentioned. It is possible that the text of the Purāṇa knew the Sanskrit versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*.

The employment of various classical metres (of which the Tōṭaka is actually named in CLXXXVIII. 72) also shows the familiarity of the Text with *classical literature*.

The description of Adbhuta-śānti in chs. CCXXVIIIff. discloses acquaintance with the text of *Vṛddhagarga* who is introduced (CCXXIX. 2) as the expounder of the subject in chaps. CCXXIX to CCXXXVIII. Some of the shortest chapters in the whole Purāṇa are found here (CCXXX.—VI).

To note now some other interesting data : In II. 13, Narmadā is mentioned as the only river that will last through the deluge,

which may give a clue to the place where the present text was composed. In this connection, it may be noted that, later, the Matsya devotes 9 chapters, CLXXXVI—CXCIV, to a detailed account of Narmadā, its neighbouring shrines and their greatness. In II. 22, the Purāṇa sets forth the 'Pañcalakṣaṇa', but in the two succeeding verses enumerates the other topics legitimate to the Purāṇa, the cosmography and the subjects coming under the comprehensive head of Dharma:—

.... भुवनस्य च विस्तरम् ॥

दानधर्मविधिं चैव श्राद्धकल्पं च शाश्वतम् ।

वर्णाश्रमविभागं च तथेष्टापूर्तसंज्ञितम् ॥

देवतानां प्रतिष्ठादि यच्चान्यद्वर्तते भुवि ।

तत्सर्वं विस्तरेण त्वं धर्मं व्याख्यातुमर्हसि ॥

Ch. XIII is noteworthy for its enumeration of the hundred and eight places sacred to Devī, the shrines where it is meritorious to worship Her. The list enumerates also the hundred and eight names by which She is known in those shrines.

Vārāṇasi-Viśālākṣī	Bilvala (Ka)-Bilvapatrikā
Naimiśa-Lingadhārīṇī	Śrīśaila-Mādhavī
Prayāga-Lalitā	Bhadreśvara-Bhadrā
Gandhamādana-Kāmākṣī	Varāhaśaila-Jayā
(Kāmukā)	Kamalālaya-Kā(Ka)malā
Mānasa-Kumudā	Rudrakotī-Rudrāṇī
Ambara-Viśvakāyā	Kālāñjara-Śrī-Kālī
Gomanta-Gomati	Mahāliṅga-Kapilā
Mandara-Kāmacārīṇī	Markoṭa-Mukutēśvarī
Caitraratha-Madotkṣā	(Karkoṭa)
Hastināpura-Jayantī	Sāla (Śālī)grāma-Mahādevī
Kānyakubja-Gaurī	Śivaliṅga-Jalapriyā (Janapriyā)
Malaya Parvata-Rambhā	Māyāpurī-Kumārī (Nīlotpalā)
Ekāmbha(ra)ka-Kīrtimatī	Santāna-Lalitā (Sannati)
Viśveśvara-Viśvā	(Lalitā)
Puṣkara-Puruhūtā (Sāvitrī)	Sahasrākṣa-Utpalākṣī
(Karnika)	Kamalākṣa-Mahopalā
Kedāra-Mārgadāyini	(Hiranyākṣha)
Himavatprṣṭha-Nandā	Gangā (Gayā)-Mangalā
Gokarna-Bhadrakarnikā	Puruṣottama-Vimalā
(Bh. Kālīkā)	Vipāśā-Amoghākṣī
Sthāṇeśvara-Bhavanī	Puṇḍravardhana-Pāṭalā

Supārśva-Nārāyaṇī
 Vikūṭa-Bhadrasundarī
 (Trikūṭa) (Rudrasundarī)
 Vipula-Vipulā
 Malayācala-Kalyāṇī
 (repeated)

Koṭitīrtha-*Koṭavī*
 Mādhava-vana-Sugandhā
 (Nāgabandhana)
 Godāśrama-Trisandhyā
 (Kubjāmraka)
 Gaṅgādvāra-Ratipriyā
 (Haripriyā)

Sivakuṇḍa-Śivānandā
 (Śivacakra) (Śubhācaṇḍā)
 Devikātaṭa-Nandinī
Dvāravati-Rukmiṇī
Vṛndāvana-Rādhā
Mathurā-Devakī
 Pātāla-Parameśvarī
Citrakūṭa-Sitā
 Vindhya-Vindhyavāsini
 Sahyādri-Ekavīrā
 Hariścandra-Candrikā
 Rāma-tīrtha-Ramaṇā

Yamunā-Mṛgāvati
 Karavīra-Mahālakṣmī
 Vināyaka-Umā
 Vaidyanātha-Arogā
 Mahākāla-Maheśvarī
 Uṣṇa-tīrthas-Abhayā
 Vindhya-cave (repeated)-Amṛtā
 Māṇḍavya-Māṇḍavī
 Maheśvarapura-Svāhā
 Chāgalāṇḍa-Pracaṇḍā
 (Vegala)
 Makaranda-Canḍikā
 (Amarakaṇṭaka)
 Someśvara-Varārohā
 Prabhāsa-Puṣkarāvati
 Sarasvatī-Devamātā
 (Pārātaṭa) (Pārā) (additional)
 Mahālaya-Mahābhāgā
 (Mahāpadmā)

Payoṣṇī-Piṅgaleśvarī
 Kṛtaśauca-Simhikā
 Kārtikeya-Yaśaskarī (Śaṅkarī)
 Utpalāvartaka-Lolā
 Śoṇa-saṅgama-Subhadrā
 (Sindhu-saṅgama)
 Siddhapura-Lakṣmīmātā
 (Sindhuvana)
 Bharatāśrama-Aṅganā
 (Anantā or Anaṅgā)
 Jālandhara-Viśvamukhī
Kiṣkindhā Mt.-Tārā
 Devadāruvana-Puṣṭi
Kāśmīra-maṇḍala-Medhā
 Himādri (repeated) Bhīmā
 Viśveśvara-Puṣṭi
 (repeated) (repeated)
 (Vastreśvara) (Tuṣṭi)
 Kapālamocana-Suddhi (Śuddhā)
 Kāyāvarohaṇa-Mātā
 Śankhoddhāra-Dhvani
 Piṇḍāraka-Dhṛti
 (P. Vana)
 Candrabhāga-Kālā
 Acchoda-Śivakāriṇī
 (Siddha(i)dāyini)

Veṇā-Amṛtā
 Badarī-*Urvasī*
 Uttarakuru-Oṣadhī (Auṣadhī)
Kuśadvīpa-Kuśodakā
 Hemakūṭa-Manmathā
 Mukuṭa-Satyavādinī
 (Kumuda)
 Aśvattha-Vandanīyā
 Vaiśravaṇālaya (i.e. Alakā)-*Nidhi*
Veda-mukha (i.e. Vedas) *Gāyatrī*
Siva's presence-Pārvatī
 (Brahma's presence)-(Sāvitṛī)
Devaloka (i.e. Svarga)-Indrāṇī
Brahmāsya (i.e. the mouth of
 Brahmā or of Brahmans)-Saras-
 vatī

Sūrya's disc-Prabhā(Viśvaprabhā) *Among women-Tilottamā*
Among the Mātṛs-Vaiṣṇavī *In mind—Brahmakalā*
Among the Satīs or Chaste women—
Arundhati *In all bodies—Śakti.*

It will be seen that in this list there are places in India, spots on Himalayas, whole divisions of the country (*e. g.* Kāśmīra), whole *dvīpas*, Mountains, Rivers, Forests, Heaven, Nether Regions etc. There are also repetitions. There are really 109 or 110 pairs of names. Towards the end, some of the forms of the Goddess and the shrines take the Vibhūtiyoga-form, *i.e.* the most eminent of a class. In some, She is identified with feminine personalities well-known at those places, like Indrāṇī in Svarga, Tārā in Kiṣkindhā, Urvaśī in Badarī. Sometimes these become abstractions of physical objects *e. g.* Nidhi or treasure at Alakā, Herb or Oṣadhi in Uttarakuru. In some, She is identified with forms of divinity associated with other Gods like Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā. Especially to be noted is the reference to Kṛṣṇa's mother Devakī at Mathurā, his consort Rukmiṇī in Dvārakā and his beloved Rādhā in Bṛndāvana ; the last is a rare reference, as even the Bhāgavata does not speak of Rādhā and among the Purāṇic references to her, only those in the Devībhāgavata, Padma, Varāha, and Linga,¹ as also in the Brahmavaivarta, have been so far noted.

The above section on the hundred and eight names and places of Devī is found also in the Padma Purāṇa (ĀSS. V. xvii. 190-220) where it is given with reference to Sāvitṛī. The square brackets in the above table show the variants of the place-names and the deity-names as found in the Padma. It may be added that in the case of some of the variants in the Padma, the footnote readings agree with those of the Matsya. Sometimes the Mss. readings of the Matsya too agree with the Padma text readings. In one case, the Padma reverses the place-name and the deity-name, Lalitā as the place and Sannati for Santāna as the Deity. The Padma has a new place and Deity named, Pārātata and Pārā appearing on the Matsya-expression Pārāvāra-tata matā.

Of the forms and names of Devī, the following appear again in the following places in the Matsya itself : Koṭavī LX. 20 ; Kumudā LX. 36 ; LXII. 19, 30 ; LXIII. 5, 21 ; Pāṭalā LXII. 18 ; LXIII. 9 ; Rambhā LXII. 30 ; LXIII. 9, 21 ; LXIV. 5.

In CCXLVIII. there is a series of etymological explanation (*niruktis*) of the names of Viṣṇu which may be compared with those in Mahābhārata, Udyoga LXIX; Śānti CCCL.

1. See Handiqui, Naiṣadhīya-carita, IIInd edn., p. 544.

PURĀṆA VIDYĀ

By

DR. V. S. AGRAWALA

[श्रुतेरुपबृंहणमेव पुराणानां प्रधानलक्ष्यमिति तु निर्विवादमेव ।
कथं च वेदानामवगमाय पुराणान्युपयोक्तव्यानीत्यस्मिन् लेखे विचार्यते ।
पुराणेषु प्रतिपादिता विविधा विद्याः वेदेषु प्रतीकरीत्या प्रतिपादितानां
विद्यानामेव व्याख्यानभूताः सन्ति, तथा च पुराणगतवर्णनान्यपि
वैदिकप्रतीकानां सम्यगर्थग्रहणेनैव बोधगम्यानि भवन्ति, इत्येतत्सर्वं
सोदाहरणं प्रतिपादितमत्र । किञ्च वेदार्थवबोधस्यापि वैदिकप्रतीकात्मक-
विचारसरणेः प्रकाशिकायाः पुराणेतिहासपरम्परायाः साहाय्यपेक्षित्वात्
पुराणप्रतिपादितविषयाणां तुलनात्मिकया वैज्ञानिकपद्धत्योपस्थानमावश्यक-
मित्यपि चात्र निर्दिष्टम् ।

—वासुदेवशरण-अग्रवालः]

The well-known dictum of the Purāṇic lore is contained in the line इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् । It gives the key to understand the intimate relationship between the Purāṇas on the one hand and their sources, the Vedas on the other. The Vedas hold the key to the Purāṇas. It appears that the two existed side by side. In the Vrātya Sūkta of the Atharvaveda mention is made of the Itihāsa-Purāṇa tradition along with that of the four Vedas. There is also a verse in several Purāṇas :

पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।

अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ॥

(Matsya, III 3, 4).

It makes Purāṇa to be the most ancient or primeval tradition amplified in the Vedas subsequently. Brahmā is the source of both of them, i.e. either of them owe its origin to the identical source which fulfilled itself through varying media of expression. The Vedas are not texts on mere history or social conditions; they are a veritable storehouse of cosmic knowledge, Sṛṣṭi Vidyā, the main and foremost topic which is conveyed through a vast and varied symbolism. There is no system of dialectic philosophy, but a discipline of metaphysics. Symbols are the language of metaphysics as words are of philosophy. The lexical meanings of words are therefore

inadequate for the understanding of the Veda; it is essentially the language of symbols that unlocks the real significance of Vedic thought.

Gau, Āśva, Samudra, Āpas, Sūrya, Candra, Agni, Ratha, Sindhu, Saras, Cāmas, Adri, and hundreds of other such symbols were present in the thought of the Seers and the fullest use of their dynamic symbolism was made by them. The Vedic legends are eloquent with the language of symbolism. It is difficult to grasp the full significance of the words unless the symbolical reference is captured and visualised. The Vedas aim at expounding—of course in a special technique—so many aspects of cosmology and cosmogony, expressed in terms of *Devas, Lokas, Vāk,* etc.

There are a number of Vidyās :

अग्निविद्या, सूर्यविद्या, इन्द्रविद्या, मित्रावरुणविद्या, भृग्वंगिराविद्या, प्रजापतिविद्या, स्वयम्भूविद्या, नारायणविद्या, समुद्रविद्या, वाक्-विद्या, परमेष्ठि-विद्या, ऋत-सत्यविद्या, तपोविद्या, विश्वकर्मविद्या, यज्ञविद्या, ऋत्विज-विद्या, देवविद्या, सोमविद्या, त्रिविक्रमविद्या, ब्रह्मविद्या, अश्वत्थ-विद्या, ब्रह्मौदन-प्रवर्ग्यविद्या, देवरथविद्या, अदिति-विद्या, अश्वमेधविद्या, गोविद्या, वसुविद्या, रुद्रविद्या, आदित्यविद्या, संवत्सरविद्या, पुरुषविद्या, वयुनविद्या, लोकविद्या, चयनविद्या, दर्श-पौर्णमासविद्या, पर्यंकविद्या, हृदयविद्या, स्तोमविद्या, अक्षरविद्या, क्षरविद्या, असुरविद्या, नागविद्या, पुष्करविद्या, वेनविद्या, गन्धर्वविद्या, यक्षविद्या, सलिलविद्या, रात्रि-विद्या, अर्णवविद्या, रोदसीविद्या, व्योमविद्या, यमविद्या, पितृविद्या, सूर्याविद्या, मनु-विद्या, अम्भोविद्या, अमृत-मृत्युविद्या, सदसद्विद्या, रजोविद्या, परावरविद्या, अहोरात्रविद्या, स्वाहाविद्या, स्वधाविद्या, वषट्कारविद्या, आमु-अभ्वविद्या, सुपर्णविद्या, छन्दोविद्या, प्रमाविद्या, प्रतिमाविद्या, महिमविद्या, शुक्रसृष्टि-विद्या, त्रिपुरविद्या, प्राणविद्या, विराज-विद्या, ऋषि-विद्या, आज्यविद्या, ऋतुविद्या, दक्षविद्या, दक्षिणाविद्या, द्यावा-पृथिवीविद्या, बराहविद्या, शिपि-विष्टविद्या, कूर्मविद्या, घर्मविद्या, गुहाविद्या, अजविद्या, तानूनज-विद्या, आप्रीविद्या, तिस्रोदेवीविद्या, आत्मन्वीविद्या, त्वष्टृविद्या, ब्रह्मणस्पतिविद्या, बृहस्पतिविद्या, इध्मविद्या, गायत्रीविद्या, अथर्वविद्या, नाकविद्या, गोपाविद्या, त्रयःकेशिनो-विद्या, शाकरोविद्या, त्रेताग्निविद्या, गृहमेधविद्या, आयुष्टोम-विद्या, गोष्टोमविद्या, ज्योतिष्टोमविद्या, गणपतिविद्या, यज्ञ-ओपशविद्या, मरूद्रुणविद्या, सप्तस्वसृविद्या, साकंजप्राणविद्या, सप्ततन्तुविद्या, त्रीणिज्योतींषि-विद्या, दैव्याहोताराविद्या, ग्रहविद्या, राजविद्या, वाजविद्या, दिक्-स्वस्तिक-विद्या, पशुविद्या, अग्नीषोमीयविद्या, मातरिश्वविद्या, सरस्वतीविद्या, आम्भृणीविद्या, चमसविद्या, द्रोणकलशविद्या, उख-संभरणविद्या, उर्वशी-

विद्या, शकटविद्या, अपराजिताविद्या, चित्रशिशुविद्या, जातवेदविद्या, दैवासुरविद्या, पवमानविद्या, इष-ऊर्ज-विद्या, सवित्रविद्या, etc.

An account of these Vidyās is spread in the verses of the Ṛgveda ; the other Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas have added much to their clarification and understanding. One ought to be prepared to reckon with a complex but well understood system of symbolism which is the pre-eminent feature of Vedic expression. All these lores have one common objective, viz. to explain the cosmic processes of creation and dissolution as witnessed through the triple forms of Life, Mind and Matter. These in the symbolism of the mantras are *Prāṇa-Manas-Vāk* respectively, which constitute the Yajña through the tending of the Three Fires and the invoking of the Three Deities, Agni-Vāyu-Āditya, a triad which proceeds out of one common source, the basic Fire or Energy—

एक एवाग्निर्विद्महा समिद्धः ।

Agni is the First-born of the Cosmic Order :

अग्निर्ह नः प्रथमजा ऋतस्य (RV. X. 5-7).

Agni is the immortal divine Essence amongst mortals—

मर्तेष्वग्निरमृतो नि धायि (RV. VII. 4-4)

अयं होता प्रथमः पश्यतेमभिदं ज्योतिरमृतं मर्त्येषु (RV. VI. 9-4.)

स मर्त्येष्वमृतः प्रचेताः (RV. VI. 5-5)

In the creative process of Life, Agni is being produced every day and every month :

अहरहर्जायते मासिमास्यथा देवा दधिरे हव्यवाहम् (RV. X. 52-3)

Agni Vidyā is the key to all other lores. Each Vidyā is one aspect of the creative process. It can be verified in the cosmic reference, as well as realised in the individuated aspect of the human body (*Adhyātmam*).

Taken together these Vidyās formed part of the one supreme Vidyā, viz *Prajāpati-Vidyā* which is the same as *Viśvarūpā-vidyā* or *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā*.

When one examines the Purāṇas, one finds that they fulfil the dictum of *Veda-Upabṛmhaṇa*, which they had accepted as the over-all ideal of their art. These varied Vidyās of the Veda are together equivalent to *Sarga-Pratisarga* of the Purāṇa Pañca-Lakṣaṇa definition. *Sarga* is creation and *Pratisarga* is dissolution. Both are sides of the same medal, the unfoldment and withdrawal of a single roll, the downward and upside movement of a single wheel, and the expansion and contraction of the same measured rhythm, which is

Life or Prāṇa, defined as प्राणो वै समञ्जन-प्रसादनम्
Śatapatha, VIII. 1.4.10).

Cosmization is rhythmization. Life is the outcome of cosmic pulsation, the product of the union of mind and matter. A disquisition on the creative process of Life (Prāṇa) is *Veda-Vidyā*, *Prajāpati-Vidyā*, *Ījñā-Vidyā* or *Sainvatsara-Vidyā* which is the same as *Sūrya-Vidyā*. The same truth is probed under several names. This is comprehended under the general title of *Sarga-Pratisarga-Vidyā* in the Purāṇas. It seems that the original Purāṇic tradition, to which the earliest reference occurs in the Vrātya Sūkta (Atharva, Kāṇḍa XV) was comprised of the *Sarga-Pratisarga* statement which was cast into the form of legends built up by an extensive borrowing or adaptation of the Vedic symbols. An intensive analysis of the existing Purāṇas in respect of their great legends and their comparison with the Vedic Vidyās offers a revealing commentary. It would require a magnificent study to demonstrate the full truth of this statement. It may do for the present to record some examples.

The Vedic thesis about creation is that the One becomes the many :

एकं वा इदं विबभूव सर्वम् ।

The Reality or Essence *ab intra* is One without a second (एकमेवाद्वितीयम्), but becomes manifold (बहुधा) in its creative formulation. The *ante principium* stage is called *Guhā*, (गुहा), the Cave in the Rock, in which the Darkness inheres as the principle of Rest, Stasis or Sleep. This is the same as the legend of *Śeṣa-sāyī-Viṣṇu*. Viṣṇu is the supreme deity. He rests on the coils of the Cosmic Dragon, who is *Ananta*, the Infinite substratum of the divine power that becomes active in the cosmos. As stated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, goddess *Nidrā*, the principle of Sleep, is invoked by *Brahmā* in the beginning and when she is expelled from the body of Viṣṇu, the Deity awakes (Mār. P. 81.53-70).

Viṣṇu rests in the great ocean, which conception makes use of the Vedic symbol of the Samudra, the primeval ocean of energy whose waters become this cosmos. The universe is but one Drop from that infinite source :

द्रप्तश्चस्कन्द (RV. X. 17.11.)

It has been the moistening source of life through the aeons that were early and that will follow. Viṣṇu and Ananta are the Avara and Para aspects of the same Reality. There are numerous references to the *Parāvara Vidyā* in the R̥gveda :

अवः परेण पर एनावरेण I. 164.17.

अवः परेण पितरं यो अस्यानुवेद पर एनावरेण. I. 164.18.

ये अर्वाञ्चस्तौ उ पराच आर्ज्ये पराञ्चस्तौ उ अर्वाच आहुः. I. 164. 19.

In the Nāsadiya Sūkta, we have reference to *Parastāt* called *Prayati* and to *Avastāt* called *Svadhā*, the higher principle which controls, and this lower world which is the externalised concrete form (स्वधा) of primordial matter. In X. 82.5 we find the परमधाम, मध्यमधाम and अवरधाम mentioned together; in X 81.1 the *Avaras* permeated by the *Prathama*; and in X. 129.1 the *Para* with *Apara* or *Avara* implied as its opposite.

The conception of *Viṣṇu* and *Seṣa* is the Purāṇic version of the *Parāvara-vidyā*, the absolute and relative aspects of one Reality manifesting in the Infinity of Waters (आपः), the *Samudra*, which is the abode of *Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa*.

As stated in the Nāsadiya (X. 129. 3) the principle of individuation came into existence as the outcome of *Tapas* (तपसस्तन्महिनाजायतैकम्) symbolising, as explained by Griffith, movement, life, and thought. This was *manas*, mind, whose seed and germ is Desire (काम). In Purāṇic symbolism *Viṣṇu* is identified with *Manas*, the principle of *Satva* (सत्त्वाख्यं ज्योतिः मनः), and his son *Pradyumna* is regarded as the incarnation of *Kāma*.

Viṣṇu is the same as *Parameṣṭhī Prajāpati* whose abode is the ocean (ऋतसदन), and *Parameṣṭhī* is said to perform the *Kūmapra Tajña* which unfolds itself as the cosmic egg floating in the primeval ocean for one year, a reference to the identity of the cosmos and the annual wheel of Time that creates it. *Tajña-vidyā*, *Prajāpati-vidyā*, *Samvatsara-vidyā* are identical :

संवत्सरो वै यज्ञः प्रजापतिः, (शतपथ ११११११).

स वै संवत्सर एव प्रजापतिः (श० ११६१३३५ ; ऐ० ४१२५).

The *Samvatsara* is a unit of infinite Time; it is the revolving wheel of Time. *Samvatsara* is the same as *Mahā-suparṇa*, the Great Bird flying on its two wings—

अथ ह वाऽएष महासुपर्ण एव यत्संवत्सरः, (श० १२१२३७).

In Vedic symbolism *Sūrya* is called both *Samvatsara* and *Suparṇa*. This Bird is the vehicle of *Viṣṇu*, *Garuḍa* or *Garutman Suparṇa* whose speed is that of the light in the Sun. It is the rhythm of the solar orb which is manifesting as day and night (अहोरात्र), the two wings of the celestial Bird, that transports the Cosmic Deity, *Viṣṇu*, through Space and Time (छन्दोमयेन गरुडेन समुह्यमानः, *Bhāgavata*, VIII 3.31). The great Vedic *Cakra*, which is the one wheel of the Solar Car (I. 164.2) is identical with the *Cakra-Sudarśana* of *Viṣṇu*. It is the principle of Time, in whose revolution all creation has its being and sees its end.

Viṣṇu also symbolises the *Ayā-a-vidyā* of the Veda. There are three Puruṣas constituting the veritable Trinity. They are *Kṣara*, *Akṣara* and *Avyaya* as follows :

1. *Kṣara*—matter, Five Elements (—क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि)
2. *Akṣara*—Energy, movement, Life (—प्राण, कूटस्थ)
3. *Avyaya*—Mind (—प्रज्ञानात्मा and विज्ञानात्मा)

Viṣṇu is the highest deity of these three, he is *Puruṣottama*, *Avyaya*, *Parama Ātmā*. The three Puruṣas are the three Ātmans:

1. क्षर-भूतात्मन्-अवयम्
2. अक्षर-प्राणात्मन्-मध्यम्
3. अव्यय-प्रज्ञानात्मन्-परम् or उत्तमम्

The *Avyaya* is the sub-stratum of all. The cosmic Tree called *Aśvattha* is *Avyaya*, a form of Viṣṇu himself.

Viṣṇu is the root of this Tree and also its branches. The Tree is *Ūrdhva-mūlam* and *adhahśākham*. Here *ūrdhva* means the centre, root, also called *Hṛdaya*, which is the secret abode of the Creator (गुहा). We get a bunch of appropriate terms for the unmanifest source of creation, viz. गुहा, नाभि, गर्भ, उत्स, सानु, हृदय, ऊर्ध्व, योनि, अनिरुक्त, अजायमान, अन्तः, पर, अव्यय, एक, नीड, कुलाय, उक्थ, अमृत, परोक्ष, अग्र, अमूर्त, and above all क in कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम. क प्रजापति is the great question (संप्रश्न, RV. X. 82.3). यो देवानां नामधा एक एव तं संप्रश्नं भुवना यन्त्यन्या । He is the Great Secret, the hidden source of all Names and Forms (नामरूपे). In his dual aspect, He is both a revelation and a mystery, a light and a darkness, the One and the many.

This is the basic conception of Vedic cosmogony. In the Purāṇas the *Guhā* or *Ka Prajāpati* is called *Vāmana*, the Dwarf incarnation, destined to become manifest as the cosmos which is His *Virāṭ Rūpa*. He assumes the cosmic form by taking three steps (त्रिविक्रमण, RV. I. 154.2).

यस्योरुषु त्रिषु विक्रमणेष्वभिहितानि भुवनानि विश्वा ।

It is essentially the *Tridhāma-vidyā* of the R̥gveda, which is also equivalent to the *Saptadhāma-vidyā* (RV. I. 22 16 ; X. 122.3), the *Tridhāma* on the plane of *Akṣara* and the *Saptadhāma* on that of *Kṣara*. In the language of numbers Viṣṇu is 1 ; in his three strides he becomes 10, 100, 1000 ; त्वं विश्वानि स्वनीक पत्यसे त्वं सहस्राणि शता दश प्रति, 'Lord of the lovely look, all things belong to thee ten, hundred, yea a thousand are outweighed by thee' (RV. II. 1.8, Griffith's translation). The epithet *Svanika* 'having a beautiful form' is the same as *Vāma* applied to Agni (in RV. I. 164.1) and *Vāmana*

to Viṣṇu. Agni is the Wonderful Boy and the Ancient Sage (वाम and पलित, I. 164.1), and so is Viṣṇu a युवा कुमार and बृहच्छरीर—

बृहच्छरीरो विमिमान ऋक्भिर्युवाकुमारः प्रत्येत्याहवम् (RV. I. 155. 6)

How the youthful Boy measures out his developed form? It is through praises (ऋक्भिः), the power of speech or वाक् or the three metres. It is like the diameter or the straight line emerging from the centre (गुहा, हृदय) and creating a *Maṇḍala* or circumference round itself which is thrice as big (विचक्रमाणस्त्रेधा, RV. I. 154. 1 ; त्रिभिरिद्विगामभिः, I. 155. 4). The diameter is like the ṚK verse and the circumference the साम chant which takes thrice as much time to sing as the ऋक् to recite (तृचं साम). The rounded wheel (चक्रं वृत्तं) consists of four sectors of ninety each (चतुर्भिः साकं नवति च नामभिः RV. I. 155. 6), that is the *Cakra*, or *Maṇḍala*, or the solar orb or the *Sarivatsara Prajāpti*, which is said to describe its course by inclining at every point towards the centre (स सर्वत्सरोऽभवत् सर्वत्सरो ह वै नामैतद् यत्संवत्सर इति, श० ११११६१२).

The *Vāmana-Viṣṇu* legend of the Purāṇas is essentially Vedic :

स हि वैष्णवो यद्वात्मनः (श० ५१२५१४) ।

वामनो ह विष्णुरास (श० ११२५१५) ।

The Dwarf measures out his giant form in three strides. *Vasu-Rudra-Āditya* are the three steps, and so also the *Ṛthivī-Antarikṣa-Dyauh* the three Lokas constitute the cosmic or *Vīraṭ* form of *Prajāpati*. The Dwarf is the same as the Fiery Spirit or Essence hidden in the Cave (नभ्यप्रजापति) attaining to its true inherent greatness (महिमा) on the plane of manifestation.

There are many other Vidyās in the Vedas amplified in the Purāṇas. For example, the *Dakṣa-Āditi-vidyā* of RV. X. 72, is elaborated in the form of the *Dakṣa-Yajña-vidhvamsa* of the Purāṇas. Āditi as Infinite nature is the mother of Dakṣa (अदितेर्दक्षो अजायत X. 72.4), but in the created cosmos Dakṣa as *Prajāpati* is the director of *Yajña* and thus father of that aspect of Āditi who is comprehended in each *Yajña maṇḍala*. Dakṣa is the genius of creation and begets many daughters, who are the mothers of the universe. But he slights Satī, the One Universal mother and his sacrifice assumes a terrific mortal visage and is abruptly ended. Each individual effort cut off from the collective source suffers this disaster. The same Satī signifies Soma, and her husband Rudra is the awful Agni (घोरअग्नि). In the next birth she becomes *Pārvatī*, daughter of Himālaya, the snow-covered mountain, where snow (हिम) is the symbol of flowing *Soma*. She and Śiva both undergo

Tapas and are united as *Agni* and *Soma* in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form which carries out the creative process and begets *Skanda* or *Kumāra*. The *Agni-Soma-Vidyā* is *Yajña-vidyā* and is equivalent to the *Ardhanārīśvara-vidyā* of the Purāṇas. Biologically each female conceals within her the half-male form, and *vice versa* :

द्वियः सतीत्ताँ उ मे पुंस आहुः (RV. I. 164. 16).

The ब्रह्मौदन-प्रवर्गविद्या of the Veda is expressive of deep meaning. *Brahma* as *Agni* is the *Annāda*, 'Eater of Food', its food is *Odana*; the Essence or Energy, which activates its own centre, is its *Brahmaudana*, and all living organisms which assimilate food also eliminate some refuse which is the *Pravargya* or rejected portion from the organism. This is the basic law of Life. The eater of *Pravargya* is symbolised as *Varāha*. The universe is the outcome of the energy transformed by Brahman, i.e. the plate-leaving (उच्छिष्ट) of the food consumed by Brahman (उच्छिष्टाज् जज्ञिरे सर्वम्). The *Varāha* is the divine agency which eats or collects the *Yajñocchiṣṭa* portion, in other words the material world lost in the primeval ocean of infinite energy is lifted or resumed by the Boar. The Purāṇas speak of several kinds of *Varāhas*, viz. आदिवराह, यज्ञवराह, श्वेतवराह, ब्रह्मवराह and एमूषवराह (RV. VIII. 66.10, which refers to the last form). The *Adi-varāha* belongs to the *Svayambhū-Prajāpati* and *Yajña-varāha* to the *Parameṣṭhi-Prajāpati*, who is also called *Rta* or *Āpo Maṇḍala*. To *Sūrya* belongs the *Sveta-varāha*, to *Candra* the *Brahma-varāha* and to *Prthivī* the *Emūṣa-varāha*. The पञ्चवराहकी विद्या is closely related to the पञ्चरात्रकामप्रयज्ञ of *Parameṣṭhi-Prajāpati* by which the succession of *Pañca-Prajāpatis* is brought into being (as given in the *Śatapatha*, XI.1.6.1-20) The Vedic *Pravargya Vidyā* and the Purāṇic *Varāha Vidyā* explain each other. In a brilliant description of the *Yajña-varāha*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* calls him प्रवर्ग्यवर्तभूषण, i.e. adorned by the hairy whorls of *Pravargya* (248.73), the hair or matted locks always being taken as a typical form of *Pravargya*, which a living body throws out of itself.

The most important *Veda-vidyā* is the *Agni-cayana-vidyā*, in which various fire-altars are built for the kindling of the Fires in successive layers of bricks. We get a detailed description in the *Yajurveda* (Books XI-XVIII) and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Bks VI-X). The *Agni* thus kindled is the miraculous *Kumāra* (चित्रः शिशुः, RV. X. 1. 2; also *Śatapatha* X. 1. 3.). This corresponds to the *Kumāra-janma* episode of the Purāṇas, to which the *Matsya Purāṇa* devotes about 1500 verses (Chs. 145-159) in a literary style of great strength and beauty. The poem *Kumāra-ambhava* of Kālidāsa is a magnificent version of the Birth of

Kumāra in poetic style of the Purāṇic legend, and both derive their rich symbolism from the Vedic sources. Kālidāsa conceives of the birth of three Kumāras, viz. Skanda in the *Kumārasambhava*, Āyus in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, and Bharata in the *Śakuntalā*. These three together form a complete theme, corresponding to the Vedic principle of Trinity or the Three Fires. The *Cita Agni* is named Citra (तस्य चितस्य नाम करोति...चित्रनामानं करोति चित्रोऽसीति सर्वाणि हि चित्राण्यग्निः (श० ६।१।३।२०).

It corresponds to the statement of Kālidāsa about Skanda; अत्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे सम्भृतं तद्धि तेजः (Meghadūta). The Śatapatha explains in detail the birth of Kumāra by the union of संवत्सर with उषा—संवत्सर उषसि रेतोऽस्मिञ्चत्स संवत्सरे कुमारोऽजायत सोऽरोदीत् । तं प्रजापतिरब्रवीत् कुमारं किं रोदिषि . . तमब्रवीद् रुद्रोऽसीति । तद्यदस्य तन्नामाकरोदग्निस्तद्रूपमभवदग्निर्वै रुद्रो यदरोदीत्तस्माद्रुद्रः (श० ६।१।३।८-१०)

What it means explains the nature of Kumāra as Agni. The Āditya is the Prajāpati Agni depositing its seed or warmth in the Dawn as it fills the sky daily. That warmth accumulates for one year and becomes the Agni in the womb of mother Earth. This Agni is the eternal Child coming to life in plants and trees. The same Fire manifests in the birth of the developed foetus amongst animals and men. It is the manifestation of Agni-Kumāra or Citra Śīśu on the three planes of Matter, Life and Mind, as seen in plants, animals and men respectively. The Aṣṭamūrti vidyā of the Purāṇas called the *Raudra sarga* (Mārka., 52. 1-9) corresponds to the *Agnirūpa vidyā* of the Śatapatha, or the *Citrāśīśu* conception of the R̥gveda (X. 1. 2), or more specifically the birth of Kumāra and his motivating the car (i. e. the body):

यं कुमारं नवं रथमचक्रं मनसाकृणोः ।

एकेषं विश्वतः प्राञ्चमपश्यन्नधि तिष्ठसि ॥

यं कुमारं प्रावर्तयो रथं विप्रेभ्यस्परि ।

तं सामानु प्रावर्तत समितो नाव्याहितम् ॥

कः कुमारमजनयद्रथं को निरवर्तयत् ।

कः स्वित् तदद्य नो ब्रूयादनुदेयी यथाभवत् ॥ (RV. X. 135. 3-5).

In the R̥gveda also the Kumāra is fed in the mouth with sweet milk by the mothers (X. 1. 3). The motif of the Birth of Kumāra supplies the key to many a legend of the Vedas and the Purāṇas. Kumāra is Agni, or which is the same thing as Agni's son, and Agni is identified with Indra, Prāṇa, Manu and Brahman (Manu Smṛti, XII. 123). Kumāra is the germ of life in kine and mares, in plants of earth and in womankind (RV. VII. 102. 2). The

seed is originally one, a single branch, which on sprouting becomes manifold वि-शाख, (शाखाभिधाः समाख्याताः षट्सु वक्त्रेषु विस्तृताः ॥ यतस्ततो विशाखोऽसौ ख्यातो लोकेषु षण्मुखः । मत्स्य १५७।२-३). It is exactly the Vedic conception of the पंचचितिक चित्याग्नि (corresponding to the Five Bhūtas) together with the sixth one called चितेनिधेय, which is अमृतप्राणाग्नि, i. e. the immortal life-principle coupled with the material one. These refer to the six faces of Kumāra, whence he is called *Ṣaḍānana* in the Purāṇas. Analogous to this is the conception of *Pañcānana Śiva*, Śiva with five faces, which as explained by the Viṣṇudharmottara are the five material elements. To this is added the sixth mouth, viz. Agni-Rudra or the immortal चितेनिधेय अग्नि. In the Tantras the five faces are the five material *cakras* and the sixth one the *Ājñā cakra* which transcends the five Bhūtas, and which is the abode of *Śiva-Pārvatī*. This is the garland of lotuses (पुष्करस्रज्) worn by the Twin Aśvins and also by Indra (Tāṇḍya, XVIII. 9. 6.). The Aśvins are Dyāvāpṛthivī, the Universal Parents (पितरौ), corresponding to पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ, or to अग्नि and आदित्य (इमे ह वै द्यावापृथिवी प्रत्यक्षमश्विनौ, इमे हीदं सर्वमाश्नुवातां, पुष्करस्रजाविति अग्निरेवास्यै (पृथिव्यै) पुष्करमादित्योऽमुष्यै (दिवे), श० ४।१।५।१६). Indra and Kumāra are both forms of Agni. Indra is born obliquely from the side (तिरश्चता पार्श्वान्निर्गमाणि, RV. IV. 18. 2), and so is Kumāra-Skanda (वामं विदार्य निष्क्रान्तः सुतो देव्याः पुनः शिशुः, मत्स्य, 159. 1). Macdonell opines that this unnatural birth 'may possibly be derived from the notion of lightning breaking from the side of the storm-cloud' (Vedic Mythology, p. 56). In fact, it has reference to what is called the तिरश्चीन रश्मि, the transverse severing line, between Heaven and Earth (अधः स्वित्-उपरिस्वित्, अवस्तात्-परस्तात्, Nāsadiya Sūkta RV. X. 129. 5), between *Ūrdhva* and *Adhas* (Gītā, XV. 1), where *Ūrdhva* means the centre and *Adhas*, the periphery or Mahima-Manḍala of the cosmic Tree. In other words Agni is threefold, *Gārhapatya*, *Dakṣiṇāgni* and *Āhavanīya*, corresponding to *Prāṇa*, *Vyāna*, *Apāna*; of these *Vyāna* is the *Vāmana* or *Madhya Prāṇa*, the focal point between the two Clashing Rocks of *Prāṇa*-*Apāna*, as stated in the Kāṭha-Upaniṣad:—

ऊर्ध्वं प्राणमुन्नयत्यपानं प्रत्यगस्यति ।

मध्ये वामनमासीनं विश्वे देवा उपासते ॥ (Kāṭha, V. 3).

The *Vāmana* is the same as the Dwarf residing in the cavity of the heart (हृदयगुहा), the invisible germ centre of life within the body, also called the अश्माखण, the adamant stone which pulverises—

thing else colliding with it, but itself remaining inviolate (Chāndogya, I. 2.7). This point between the two extensions or poles, is the oblique ray (तिरश्चीनरश्मि, वामपार्श्व) from which *Indra*, *Kumāra* or Life proceeds to be born or germinate. Whereas *Dyāvā-Prithivī*, Heaven and Earth, represent the head and the feet of the *Puruṣa*, the central point is the Eye, the Awakener of Life (संबोधयितृ), which opens to the Cosmic Sun (ज्योक् च सूर्य दृशे). Kālidāsa, and so the *Purāṇas*, refer to the *Aṣṭamūrti* form of *Śiva* (अवेहि मां किंकरमष्टमूर्तेः, Raghu. II. 35). These comprise the manifest body of *Śiva* (प्रत्यक्षतन्) and include *Prithivī*, *Ap*, *Tejas*, *Vāyu*, *Ākāśa*, *Sūrya-Candra*, and *Hotṛ-Yajamāna* as enumerated in the first verse of the *Śākuntala*. Here we have the following three categories :

I. The Five Elements (पञ्चभूतः)—matter

II. Sun and moon, the symbols of प्राणापान—Life

III. *Hotṛ* or यजमान, also called दीक्षित, which is the Principle of mind, the centre or नाभि of each यज्ञ (मनो यजमानस्य रूपम्, शतपथ XII. 8.2.4).

The *Aṣṭamūrti* form inculcates the law of manifestation by the focal integration of Life, Mind and Matter into the form of a single *Vaiśvānara* Fire. These eight forms are named as शर्व, पशुपति, उग्र, अशनि, भव, महादेव, ईशान, रुद्र, (तान्येतान्यष्टावग्निरूपाणि, कुमारो नवमः—शतपथ, VI. 1.3.16), which are repeated in several of the *Purāṇas* (Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 4-9.5.7. रुद्र and भवं शर्वं तथेशानं तथा पशुपतिं प्रभुः । भीममुग्रं महादेवमुवाच स पितामहः ॥)

The *Purāṇas*, extend the symbolism further by conceiving *Śiva* as *Śarabha-mūrti* a mythical animal with eight legs (अष्टापदपशु), of which four (viz. मनः, प्राण, अपान, आकाश) extend upwards and four (viz. पृथिवी, जल, तेज, वायु) project downwards. The *Śarabha* is a *Mr̥ga*, a form of *Agni*, the latter so called because it is concealed in the *Bhūtas* and has to be discovered out of them.

Thus the Puranic legends had a definite objective, viz. elaboration (उपबृंहण) of Vedic cosmogony into the cast of an extended religious symbolism. The Vedic *Somavidyā* or पारमेष्ठ्यसोमविद्या is presented in the *Samudramanthana* legend; the *Virāj-dhenu-vidyā* as the *Pr̥thu-Pr̥thivī-dohana*; the दैवासुरं विद्या as the इन्द्रवृत्र उपाख्यान (uniting Vedic and Purāṇic versions); the भृग्वंशिरोमय अग्नि-सोम विद्या as the *Sukanyā-Cyavana* marriage; the *Pitṛ-Vidyā* as the ceremony of *Śrāddha*; the *Sāvitrī vidyā* as the *Sāvitrī-Satyavān* legend (in which *Satyavān* is *Sūrya* as *Satyanārāyaṇa* destined to be renovated in each *Samvatsara-Yajña*); the *Tapovidyā* as the *Vratas* spread over the whole year (the followers

of which were known as the *Vratinah*) ; the Vedic *Paśu-vidyā* as the lore of the *Pāśupatas* who regarded *Pāśupati-Pāśa-Pāśu* as the supreme mechanism of liberation. The *Manvantara-vidyā* was a part of the *Ahoṛātra-vidyā* or *Kāla-vāda* which was an important metaphysical doctrine in the incubation of the *Sāṃhitās* and the *Upaniṣads*. The key to the *Purāṇas* lies in the unravelling of the Vedic symbolism, and *vice versa* the Vedic symbols find clarity of explanation in the *Purāṇic* legends :

विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ।

Veda should be supplemented with the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* tradition, which throw further light on the Vedic legends, myths or thought. The Vedas represent the snow-clad Himalayan heights, and the *Purāṇas* are like the *Gangā* and her feeders which flow evenly on the plains and vitalise the spirits and minds saturated by them. A classified and comparative presentation of the *Purāṇic* material is a task awaiting orderly fulfilment. It will serve as a ladder towards the scaling of the Vedic summit, a purifying sieve to collect the beverages of the Vedas in the vats of our hearts.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA
COLLATED FOR ITS PROJECTED CRITICAL EDITION.

By

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA, M.A.

[काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागे मत्स्यपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मक-
संस्करणप्रकाशनाय भारतीयेभ्यो विदेशीयेभ्यश्चानेकेभ्यः स्थानेभ्यः संगृह्य
त्रिंशत्संख्याकाः प्राचीनकोशाः संवादिताः । तेषां कोशानां प्राप्तिस्थान-
लेखनकाल-लिपिविशेष-पाठपरिमाण-लेखप्रकारादिविषयकं विवरणमत्र लेखे
उपन्यस्तम् । पाठभेद-लोप-आधिक्य-क्रमभेदादिसाम्यं चाधिकृत्य
तेषां परस्परसम्बन्धो वर्गविभागश्च निर्दिष्टः । अपि च, आनन्दाश्रममुद्रित-
मत्स्यपुराणस्य के केऽध्यायाः कस्मिन् कस्मिन् कोशे लुप्ताः, परित्यक्ताः,
अनेकाध्यायतया विभक्ताः, भिन्नक्रमा वा कृताः, केषु केषु कोशेषु
आनन्दाश्रमपुस्तकेऽनुपलभ्यमानाः के केऽध्याया अधिकतयोपलभ्यन्त
इत्याद्यपि चात्र प्रदर्शितम् ।

—आनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः]

It has already been stated (on p. 17 above) that on the basis of the inventory of manuscripts of the Purāṇas, supplied by Dr. V. Raghavan, the Purāṇa-Samiti of the Kāśīrāja Trust selected and procured a number of Mss. of the *Matsya Purāṇa* from various places of India and abroad, out of which 30 Mss. were selected for collation. Out of these 30 Mss., 25 are in Devanāgarī (D), one in Nevārī (N), one in Oriyā (O), one in Śārādā (Ś), one in Grantha (G) and one in Malayālam (M) script.

Besides these Mss., some printed material has also been utilised, viz., the Telugu edition of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (T) printed in A.D. 1877, the Bengali edition printed in A.D. 1890 and the Kannada edition. Of these, the Bengali and the Kannada editions are mostly like the Ānandāśrama edition (Ān.); but the Telugu edition, which is based on three Mss., is very important and differs from all other printed editions of the *Matsya* in several respects; hence it has been fully collated.

Except the two Mss. in Oriyā and Grantha, which are in palm-leaf, all the rest are paper Mss. Some of these Mss. are dated and their dates range from Sāṃvat 1582 (A.D. 1525) to Sāṃvat 1852 (A.D. 1795). I have verified the dates of some of these Mss., specially of those which belong to the 16th and the 17th centuries A.D., from the '*Indian Ephemeris*' (by L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai), and all these

dates have been found correct. In the following account of the Mss. this verification has been mentioned along with the dates which have been verified. Among the undated Mss. a few are incomplete, and the others are complete. But some of these undated Mss. appear to be quite old, and are important as they have preserved some good and correct readings.

The full descriptive account of these Mss. will be given in the *Critical Apparatus* of the projected edition of the Matsya Purāṇa. Here some of their salient features only will be touched upon and their mutual agreement indicated.

These 30 manuscripts were procured from the following places:—

<i>Places of deposit.</i>	<i>Script.</i>	<i>No. of Mss. Procured.</i>	<i>Catalogue Nos.</i>
London, India Office Library	Devanāgarī	3	E 3548-50.
do	Malayālam	1	K 6749.
London, British Museum	Devanāgarī	1	108 (Micro-filmed).
Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute	do	4	9, 11, 26 and 28 (New Nos.)
Poona, Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute Mss. Library.	do	1	2288.
Bombay, University Library	do	2	1306 and 4146.
Surat, Chunilal Gandhi V i d y ā Bhavana	do	1	124.
Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute	Śāradā	1	4481.
do	Devanāgarī	1	4646.
Fort Ramnagar, Kāśīrāja Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra	do	1	38/182.
do	Nevāri	1	41/182.
Cuttack, Utkal University	Oriyā	1	....
Madras, Government Oriental Mss. Library	Devanāgarī	1	D 2254.
Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library	do	10	New Des. Cat. Nos. 10440-49 ; (Burnell's Cat. 1596-1605.)
Trivandrum, Palace Library	Grantha	1	402.

On the basis of the similarity of their special variants, corruptions, additions and omissions, these Mss. may be classified into different groups, and their mutual alliance or affinity be determined. In the following account of these Mss. their tentative alliance has also been indicated; and the Mss. have been arranged, as far as possible, according to this alliance. Sometimes, a Ms. due to its conflated text, does not uniformly belong to the same group, but sporadically shows signs of its alliance with another group or Ms. also; such cases have also been indicated. In this connection it may also be pointed out that no manuscript has been found exactly similar to another manuscript throughout its text, for almost every manuscript contains a number of peculiar readings.

ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

1. North-Eastern Non-Devanagari Ms.

N₁

Fort Ramnagar, Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra, No. 41/182. Nevārī script. Dated Nepālī Samvat 815 (A. D. 1694)—‘संवत् ८१५ अधिनशुक्लपूर्णेन्दौ ॥ नैपालातीते ॥ अच्चे वाणे शशौ नागे अधिनशुक्लपूर्णिमे । मत्स्यपुराणं संपूर्णं...॥’ Scribe’s name ‘Rāmānanda’. Size 17.3"×5.3". Lines 8 per page. Letters about 40 per line. Folios 734. Text complete. Number of the Adhyāyas 275. Marginalia consist of some good variants, corrections and explanations in Devanāgarī. Writing good. Scribal mistakes few. Sometimes the letter ‘l’ is substituted for ‘r’ (e. g. *agocala* for *agocara*). *Prṣṭhamātrās* used sporadically. In the end an index of the Adhyāyas is given in Devanāgarī.

Allied to the group D₉₋₁₁, and also to the Ms. D₁₂.

2. Eastern Non-Devanagari Ms.

O₁

Cuttack, Utkal University, No. not given. Oriyā script. Undated. Size 15.1"×1.5". Lines 6-7 per page. Letters about 100 per line. Folios 139 (which are numbered in Vedic numerals). Text incomplete, ending in Śl. 100 c of Ān. Adh. 122.

Occasionally agrees with N₁, D₂, D₉.

3. North-Western Non-Devanagari Ms.

Ś₁

Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute, No. 4481. Śāradā script. Undated. Size 12"×7". Lines 20-22 per page. Letters about 50 per line. Folios 231. Text incomplete, ending in Śl. 135 of Ān. Adh. 227, no last colophon. Ślokas and Adhyāyas numbered. Full of important marginal notes. Writing neat and clear. Scribal errors very few. Mentions the end of the *Pūrvārtha* of the Matsya

Purāṇa after its Adhyāya 134 (Ān. Adh. 140) on folio 127-A. Represents the Kashmirian version.*

4. North Indian Devanagari Mss.

D₁

Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute, No. 4646. Undated, Size 14.5"×7". Lines 12 to a page. Letters 42 per line. Folios 398 plus 3 *śodhapatras* (that added to folio 61-B is written in Śāradā characters). Text up to the end of its Adhyāya numbered 233 (Ān. Adh. 263); but in the colophon the text is stated to be complete, Adhyāya-numbers given wrong. Like Ś₁ it is also full of useful marginalia mostly written in Śāradā script. Many readings and additions from Ś₁ are noted in the margins and *śodhapatras* in a later hand. It seems to be a Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā Ms., for in one place it confuses the letters 'c' and 's' (which are almost similar in form in the Śāradā script) and so writes '*prapacyati*' for '*prapaśyati*'. Text conflated to some extent. Contains some peculiar spelling mistakes, e.g. an *alpaprāṇa* letter for a *mahāprāṇa* and vice versa. Has no virāma-daṇḍas.

Ends as follows:—

एवंविधं तु यल्लिङ्गं भवेत्तत्सार्वकामिकं
अन्यथा यद्वेदल्लिङ्गं तदशस्तं प्रशस्यते
एवं रत्नमयं कुर्यात्स्फाटिकं पार्थिवं तथा
शोभादारुमयं वापि यद्वा मनसि राजते
इति मत्स्यपुराणे शिवता(?)र्चानुकीर्तनं 233 शुभमस्तु ॥ समाप्तमिदं
मत्स्यपुराणमिति शुभं ॥ †

Closely allied to Ś₁ and to some extent to D₂ also.

D₂

Bombay, University Library, No. 4146 (Iccharam Desai Collection). Dated Sainvat 1672 (A. D. 1615); date verified from the '*Indian Ephemeris*'. Size 12"×5.5". Lines 10-12 per page. Folios 604. Text complete, but ends with the last (*phala-śruti*) śloka of Ān. Adh. 290, adding three more *phala-śruti* ślokas of its own, omits the *Anukramanī-Adhyāya*. Missing portions—Ān. Adh. 44-71a-85d, 133.67a to 134.1b, 187.20a-51b. Worm-eaten and worn-out.

* Textual peculiarities of this Ms. have been discussed on pp. 58-71 above.

† Another Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa has also the same ending—these same two ślokas (without any variants) are given at the end and the colophon also runs as—इति मत्स्यपुराणे देवतार्चानुकीर्तनम् । संवत् ३६ श्रीशकः १६८३ ॥ मत्स्यपुराणं समाप्तम् ॥

This Śāradā Ms. I saw with Dr. V. S. Agrawal, who had purchased it for the Banaras Hindu University from a collection of Kashmirian Manuscripts.

It gives the last colophon as follows:—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे कल्पातुकीर्तनं नामाध्यायः समाप्तः ॥बा॥बा॥ श्रीमत्स्य-
पुराणश्लोकसंख्या चतुर्दशसहस्रसङ्ख्यं समाप्तम् ॥...॥ राम ॥ संवत्
१६७२ वर्षे फाल्गुन सुदित्थौ १ प्रतिपदा गुरुवासरे श्रीपातिसाह श्रीनूरदी-
जहागीर-राज्यं श्रीसीहनंदानगरे लिखितं मानसिद्ध । लिषावितं गंगादासु-
सूक्ष्म (गंगादासमुक्ष्म ?) गोविन्दमिश्रपुस्तकमिदं पठनार्थम् ॥...॥

Agrees to some extent with S₁ and D₁, but specially with D₁; also with the group D₃₋₇

D₃

Surat, Chunilal Gandhi Vidyā Bhavana, No. 124. Undated. Size 11.5"×5". Lines 10 per page. Folios numbered in three parts—(i) 1-235, (ii) 1-149, (iii) 1-158 (of which ff. 110-143 are missing), total 538. Text complete except for the following missing portions—Ān. Adh. 245.42a-82d, 257.16a to 274.75c. Some marginal corrections. Names of various herbs and medicines of the *Madhuraṅga* are written on the margins in vernacular, e.g., त्रिपुष - नरडु, ब्रह्मी - पीवर, मधू-च्छिष्ट - मीण, etc.

D₄

London, British Museum, microfilm of Ms. No. 108, undated. Folios 531. Text complete.

Closely agrees with D₃

D₅ (eMt in Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text*).

London, India Office Library, No. E 3549. Dated Samvat 1824 (A.D. 1767). Size 13"×7". Lines 16 per page. Folios 334, bound. Text complete. Ślokas and Adhyāyas not numbered, even colophons are not coloured with pigment. Writing poor. Scribal errors, repetitions and omissions abound; lacuna marked with dots. *Prṣṭhamātrās* used for the vowels 'e' and 'o', and rarely for 'ai'. and 'au'. Has preserved some good readings.

D₆

Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, No. 226 of 1895-1902, New. No. 11. Dated Samvat 1680 (A.D. 1623)—संवत् १६८० वर्षे मार्गशीर्षमासे कृष्णपक्षे अष्टम्यां तिथौ बुधदिने—; date verified. Size 11.5"×5". Lines 11 to a page. Folios numbered 1 to 439, of which 13 intervening folios are missing. Text upto the end of Ān, Adh. 291; missing portions of the text—Ān. Adh. 1.1a-13b, 2.5c-32b, 14.9c-21a, 15.1a-28d, 131.1a-40d, 141.1a-29b, 214.11b-23d, 215.1a-16d, 220.15a-45c, 249.1c-73c, 285.2b-last śl. (colophon also missing), 286.1a-8d, 288.2a-last śl (colophon also), 289.1a-12b. Scribal mistakes abound. *Prṣṭhamātrās* used. Margins generally worm-eaten.

Allied to D₅; Mss. D₃₋₆ are also allied and the agreement of this group is very extensive.

D₇

Poona, B O R I, No. 28 of 1871-72, New No. 2. Dated Sainvat 1776 (A.D. 1719)—संवत् १७७६ भाद्रपदवदि ३ भृगुवासरे;—; date verified. Size 10.8"×6.2" Lines 14 to a page. Folios 498. Text complete except for the missing portions—Ān. Adh. 107.1a-15d, 287. 4a to 289. 3d. After the Śl. 28 of Ān, Adh. 291, the heading 'पुराणश्रवणविधिः' is given and then 21 ślokas on this topic are added, after which the text ends. From the Ephemeris it appears that the lunar moth mentioned in its date is *amānta*, hence it appears to have been written in the Western parts of India.

Allied to D₃₋₆; Mss. D₂₋₇, D₃₋₇ and D₆₋₇ form separate groups.

D₈

Poona, BORI, No. 119 of 1884-87, New No. 9. Undated. Size 12"×4.8", Lines 11 to a page. Folios Nos. 41 to 161, folios 126-131 and 141-150 are missing. Text incomplete, extending from Ān. Adh. 25. 4 to 119. 41 only, some intervening portions missing, viz. Ān. Adh. 92. 17a to 95. 1b, and 101. 77a to 113. 2b. Contains a large number of special readings.

Allied mostly to D₅, and to some extent to D₇ also

D₉ (dMt in Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text*).

London, India Office Library No. E. 3548. Dated Sainvat 1582 (A. D. 1525)—'संवत् १५८२वर्षे आषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे शनिवासरे मघानक्षत्रे...'; date verified from the 'Ephemeris' wherein all these details of its date agree. Size 14"×8". Lines 14 to a page. Folios 320, bound. Text complete except for the missing portions—Ān. Adh. 44.38a-85d, 203-210, 213-6c-215.14d, 218.13a-37b, 233-237, 248. 15b-63a. *This is the oldest of the collated Mss. of the Matsya.* Written in Rajasthan during the reign of Rāṇā Śrī Saṅgrāma by two persons (brothers) who were residents of Mahiṣapura. Contains peculiar mistakes, e.g. उस्यते for उच्यते, सैन्नक for सन्नक, etc. The margins contain some notes in English, possibly by Mr. Pargiter.

D₁₀

Poona, BORI, No. 340, New No. 36. Dated Sainvat 1700 (A.D. 1643)—date verified. Size 14.8"×6.3". Lines 12 on an average. Folios 334. Text complete except for the missing portion—Ān. Adh. 66 to 68.29d. Śloks and Adhyāyas numbered. Scribal errors very few. Writing good.

[illegible]

It gives the post-colophon statement as follows:—

संवत् १७०० सुभानु संवत्सर आश्विनवदी द्वादश्यां बुध पुष्यक्ष . . .
श्रीदेवगिरौ वास्तव्य कुलकमलदिनकरवसंतरायप्रभोर्निर्देशात् स्तं(?)तीर्थ-
वास्तव्योदीव्य(च्य ?) गोविन्दभटेन लिखितमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम् . . . ॥

D₁₁

Bombay, University Library, No. 1306. Undated. Size 12.8"×6". Lines 13-15. Folios 239. Text from the beginning upto the 22nd śloka of Ān. Adh. 291, ending in the Śl.—
'पार्वतीऋषिसंवादस्तत्रैवोद्वाहमङ्गलम् । कुमारसंभवस्तद्वत्कुमारसमयस्तथा',
no *virāma daṇḍa* and no colophon. Portions missing—Ān Adh. 106.1a-35d, 150.10a to 153.23b, 153.122a to 161.53d. The Ms. is old, many folios fragmentary. Writing of old type, It seems to be written by more than one copyist.

D₉₋₁₁ form a closely allied group.

D₁₂

Fort Ramnagar, Sarsvatī Bhaṇḍāra, No. 38/182. Undated. Size 12.4"×4.5". Lines 7 to a page. Folios 944 plus 3 additional folios (*śodhapatras*). Text complete.

The post-colophon śloka runs as follows :—

विश्वेशं माधवं ढुंढिं दण्डपाणिं च भैरवम् ।
वन्दे काशीं गुहां गंगां भवानीं मणिकर्णिकाम् ॥

Hence it may be inferred that the Ms. was written in Kāśī.

D₉₋₁₂ form another group, (See also N₁).

D₁₃

Poona, Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute; Manuscripts Library, No. 2288. Undated. Appearance old. Size 14.3"×5.6". Lines 10-12 per page. Folios 454. Text complete. The post-colophon statement ends with 'श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः'. Adhyāyas and ślokas not numbered. Writing fair and of old type. Scribal mistakes few. Consonants generally doubled after रेफ.

D₁₄ (fMt in Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text*)

London, India Office Library, No. E 3550. Dated Śaṃvat 1852 (A. D. 1795). Size 14"×7". Lines 15 to a page. Folios 354. Text complete. Writing good, in some places decorated. Letters ष and ख often confused and interchanged. Consonants generally doubled after रेफ. Some marginal corections and notes in English by Mr. Pargiter.

D₁₂₋₁₄ are allied and form a group having very extensive agreement.

D₁₃₋₁₄ form another allied group whose agreement is still more extensive.

D₁₅

Tanjore, Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Descriptive Catalogue No. 10443, Burnell's Catalogue No. 1599. Undated, but looks older than D₁₆. Text complete. Adhyāyas not numbered. West Indian Devanāgarī writing. Scribal errors in large number. Purchased from Banaras by Rājā Sarfoji.

Allied to D₁₂₋₁₄.

5. South Indian Devanagari Mss.

D₁₆

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10442, Burnell's 1598. Dated Śaka 1631 (A. D. 1709). Size 14"×5.6". Folios 471. First seven folios contain a table of the names of Adhyāyas. Text complete. Penultimate Adhyāya numbered 240, the last Adhyāya not numbered. Copied in Tanjore by one Venkaṭa Śāstrī for Rājā Tulajā.

Its post-colophon reads:—

येलातोयशके‡ विरोधिरिति विख्याते वरे वत्सरे । . . . तंजानास्मि पुरे
वरेण्यतुलजाराजप्रभोः प्रीतये । श्रीभट्टेन्द्रान्निगा विलिखितं मात्स्यं पुराणं
महत् ॥

D₁₇

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10440, Burnell's 1596. Size 14"×5.6". Lines 11 to a page. Folios 405. Granthas 14,000. Text complete. Penultimate Adhyāya numbered 240, the last Adh. not numbered. Seems to have been copied in South India, for the scribe begins it as—श्रीगणेशायनमः । श्रीवेदव्यासाय नमः । श्रीवेङ्कटेशाय नमः ॥, and ends with 'श्रीसाम्ब-शिवार्पणमस्तु'.

D₁₈

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10445, Burnell's 1601. Undated. Size 15.6"×6.6". Lines 11 to a page. Folios 416. Granthas 14,000. Text complete. Penultimate Adhyāya numbered 240, the last Adhyāya not numbered. Seems to be comparatively new.

D₁₆₋₁₈ are allied. D₁₇₋₁₈ also form a separate group.

‡ 'येलातोय' is the number of the year given in the कटपयादि system used generally in the South Indian manuscripts, and means the year 1631 (from right to left—य = 1, त = 6, ल = 3, य = 1). A Śāradā Ms. of Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* also gives its date as रागाविष्टे विक्रमाब्दे (i.e., 1432 V. S.)—See P. K. Gode's *Indian Literary History*, Vol. II,

D₁₉

Madras, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, No. D 2254. Undated. Size $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Lines 11 per page. Folios 603. Text complete except for the missing portion—Ān. Adh. 218.34c to 219.23d. Appearance new.

Allied to D₁₆₋₁₈ and specially to D₁₇₋₁₈.

The group D₁₆₋₁₉ agrees with the Northern group D₃₋₇ in a number of cases.

D₂₀

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10441, Burnell's 1597. Undated. Size $11'' \times 4.6''$. Lines per page 10-12. Folios 520, the last folio is blank. Text complete. The penultimate Adhyāya numbered 240, the last Adh. not numbered. It also ends with the words 'श्रीसाम्बसदाशिवार्पणमस्तु'.

D₂₁

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10444, Burnell's 1600. Undated. Folios 489, of which folios 1-288 are old and the rest are new, has a number of śodhapatras. Text complete. The penultimate Adhyāya numbered but the last not numbered. The name of the scribe is Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa.

D₂₀₋₂₁ are allied.

D₂₂

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10446, Burnell's 1602. Undated. Appearance old. Size $11'' \times 4.6''$. Lines 10 per page. Folios No. 262 to 556. Text incomplete, begins from Ān. Adh. 145. 110 d and goes up to the end of the Ān. text; Adh. 228-26 b to 230-7 d missing. Writing of old type. Full of scribal errors. Some special readings.

Generally agrees with N₁ and D₁₂.

D₂₃

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10447, Burnell's 1603. Undated. Size small. Folios 1 to 65. Text contains Ān. Adh. 215-242 (Rāja-dharma) only.

D₂₄

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10449. Burnell's 1605. Undated. Size $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Folios 1 to 26. Text contains Ān. Adh. 215-243—'राजधर्मप्रकरणं संपूर्णम्'. Belongs to Rāja Tulajā's collections.

D₂₃₋₂₄ are allied.

D₂₅

Tanjore, T. M. S. Sarasvatī Mahal Library, New Des. Cat. No. 10448, Burnell's No. 1604. Undated. Appearance new. Folios 1 to 13. Text contains Ān. Adh. 253-262 (*Gṛhakāla-vinirṇaya*, *Vāstu* etc.).

6. South Indian Non-Deavnagari Mss.

G₁

Trivandrum, H. H. Mahārājā's Palace Library, No. 402-Undated. Grantha script. Substance palm-leaf. Text up to. Ān. Adh. 142 (मन्वन्तरानुकीर्तनम्); divided into two Khaṇḍas; 29 additional chapters at the beginning of the Uttarakhaṇḍa. Collation done from its Devanāgarī transcript prepared at Trivandrum.*

Last Colophon reads—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे त्रयोदशसाहस्रिकायां मन्वन्तरानुकीर्तनं नाम
अष्टपञ्चाशच्छततमोऽध्यायः श्रिये नमः अनन्तपद्मनाभस्वामिसहायम् ...॥

M₁

London, India Office Library, No. K 6749. Malayālam transcript of a Malayālam Original. Undated. Pages 1 to 382 of foolscap size. Text upto the Ān. Adh. 142.

Last colophon—

इति मत्स्यपुराणे त्रयोदशसाहस्रिकायां संहितायां मन्वन्तरानुकीर्तनं नाम
विंशत्युत्तरशततमोऽध्यायः इति मात्स्यं पुराणं समाप्तम् ॥

Except in the two-khaṇḍa division and the additional chapters, this Ms. is *allied* to *G₁*.

* * * * *

* A statement showing the Ān. Adhyāyas omitted, combined, split, added or transposed in these Mss. is given below, which will further give us an idea of the mutual alliance and also of the individual peculiarities of the Mss.

Adhyayas Omitted.

65	in	N1.O1, Ś1.D1, D8, D9-10, D20-21, G1.M1
226.4a-12d	„	Ś1.D1. D2-7
227.1c-11d	„	Ś.D1, D2
245.42-82	„	D3-4
256.1-22b	„	D5-7
291	„	D2

(For missing *portions* see the account of the Mss. above.)

* The uniqueness of this Grantha Ms is discussed in detail in his article by Dr. V. Raghavan, (see pp. 42-57 *supra*),

Adhyayas Combined.

45, 46	in	N1.O1, D1, D5-8, D9-11, D16-18, D20-21 G1.M1
48, 49	„	N1. O1, D1, D8, D9-11, D12-15, M1
81, 82	„	N1.O1, D7-8, D9-11, D12-15, G1.M1 T (Telugu ed.)
83 - 92	„	N1.O1, D9-10, G1.M1
84 - 92	„	Ś1.D1, D13-14
94, 95	„	O1
99, 100	„	All Northern and Southern Mss.
106, 107	„	D3
111, 112	„	G1
113, 114	„	O1.D2, D7-8, D9-10, D14-15, G1.M1
122, 123	„	Ś1.D1, N1.D9-11, D12-14, G1.M1
126, 127	„	All Northern Mss (D8 missing), G1.M1.
146, 147	„	D1, D21
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230, 231	„	D5-6

Adhyayas Split.

42 (2)	in	D12-15	120 (3)	in	G1
44 (2)	„	Ś1	140 (2)	„	Ś1-D1
47 (3)	„	Ś1	153 (3)	„	Ś1
47 (2)	„	D1	153 (2)	„	D1
50 (2)	„	Ś1.D1	154 (11)	„	Ś1
93 (2)	„	D3-7, D16-19	180 (2)	„	Ś1
108 (2)	„	D16, D20-21	180 (3)	„	D2
113 (2)	„	Ś1.D1	183 (2)	„	Ś
114 (2)	„	Ś1			

Adhyayas added.

After Ān. Adh. 101 D16-18 add one Adhyāya of 50 Ślokas each on *Purāṇa Śravaṇa Vidhi*.

After Ān. Adh. 112 T (Telugu) adds one Adhyāya of 9 ślokas on *Bhūgola*.

After Ān. Adh. 128. G1 adds 29 Adhyāyas on *Narasimha-carita*, *Bhairava-caritā* and *Kalāpi-carita*.

It should be noted here that only the South Indian Mss. have additional Adhyāyas and show a greater tendency for inflation.

Adhyayas transposed.

Adh. 109 and 110 transposed in D1

Adh. 230 and 231 transposed in D16-18, and D23-24.

BOOK REVIEW

STUDIES IN THE UPAPURANAS, VOL. I. By
Dr. R. C. Hazra, Calcutta Sanskrit College
Research Series, No. 11, 1958, Rs. 25-1.

The Purāṇas in general form a long neglected field of Indological study; and this is more so in the case of the Upapurāṇas. Hence the volume under review entitled "Studies in the Upapurāṇas" by Dr. R. C. Hazra published by The Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in their Research Series, will be welcomed by all Indologists. The author has already established a place for himself in this field of Purāṇic Studies by his earlier publication of "Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs" and numerous papers on Purāṇic texts and problems.

He has prepared an extensive study of the Upapurāṇa literature also and of this the first has been published. The present volume starts with a re-assessment of the historical development of the various Upapurāṇas. The traditional view that the Upapurāṇas are only supplements to the Mahapurāṇas and have no independent authoritativeness, has been disproved in this book. The more logical theory that they have originated naturally and simultaneously with the growth of diverse sects and worships like the Śākta, Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra and Bhāgavatā during or before the early days of the Gupta period has been shown. Since they are exclusively "adapted to suit the purposes of local cults and the religious needs of different sects, these Upapurāṇas do not adhere to any conventions with regard to their Content and plan. Incidentally, a study of the textual aspects of these Purāṇas with their subsequent accretions and alterations may afford valuable information about the historical development of the various sects to which they originally belonged.

Under the heading 'Saura Purāṇas' the author traces the origin of Sun-worship to the Magian influence under Scythian kings, since he says, that the worship of the Sun in a definite iconographic form was a later development. A comparative study of the features common to the Sāmba Purāṇa and the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa has revealed the division of the Sun-worshipping

Magas into the two groups of Magas and Bhojakas and the deterioration of the latter as temple priests; the differences between the sun-worshipping Magas and the fire-worshipping Magas of the Zoroastrian school; and the comparatively lower status enjoyed by the latter in society. The origin of the Sāmba Purāṇa is traced to the Punjab and the claims of Orissa for the same are disproved.

The Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara and Narasimha Purāṇas are discussed under the heading "Major Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas". As an introduction to this Chapter, the history of the Pāñcarātra system has been traced with special reference to its metamorphosis from the original non-Vedic or even anti-Vedic character to the later Brahmanic trends. The gradual emergence of the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult and the Bhāgavata school is also traced. The spread of Buddhism under the patronage of Aśoka Maurya gave incentive to many of these Hindu Purāṇas. The Viṣṇudharma is dated not earlier than 200 A.D, and the Āgneya Purāṇa is proved to have borrowed many chapters from it.

From a chapter-wise analysis of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, the author has shown that it is a compilation of summaries of, and extracts and isolated verses from, some of the early works of the different branches of Sanskrit literature. Its date is fixed between 400 and 500 A.D.

The Narasimha Purāṇa, one of the oldest of the extant Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas is next dealt with. Its authenticity, antiquity and non-Tantric character are brought out. The Varāhākhyā Saṁhitā mentioned therein is proved as the common source for the Narasimha as well as the present Varāha Purāṇas.

Under the heading 'Minor Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas', the Kriyāyogasāra, the Ādi, Kalki, Puruṣottama and Bṛhannārada Purāṇas are discussed. The independent origin of the Kriyāyogasāra, wrongly tagged on to the Padmapurāṇa, is established. The Ādya Purāṇa or Ādi Purāṇa found quoted and recognised in early works is proved to be different from both the extant versions of a later Purāṇa bearing the same name. A study of this lost Ādi Purāṇa is attempted by the author from its available remnants in various works.

After a brief survey of the Kalki Purāṇā, the author has given an exhaustive analysis of the Brhannāradiya Purāṇa and with regard to the chapters common to the Brhannāradiya and the Nāradiya, evidence has been produced to show that the latter is the borrower.

In the last chapter, the author has discussed the identity and nature of the lost Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. In the end there is an exhaustive Bibliography and an index is also appended which add to the usefulness of the volume. In every respect this work answers to a long-felt need in the field of Purāṇic research and it is earnestly hoped that the second volume of it will ere long be published.

C. R. SWAMINATHAN

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वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।

(स्कन्द० प्रभासखंड, २।६०)



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I have received the first number of our Bulletin, "Purāṇa", and I am indeed very happy to find that it promises to be quite a learned and useful Journal, provided we can keep up the standard. The quality of the articles, coming as they do from eminent scholars, whom it has been our good fortune to make interested in it, is very high indeed, and it may be hoped that our Journal will make its mark in the domain of Indology. The get-up is very fine, and the importance of Purāṇa studies, as it is now becoming realised, is sure to make this Journal quite a useful and important one.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

I am thankful to you for sending me a copy of the first issue of Vol. I of "Purāṇa". I earnestly hope that succeeding issues would maintain the same standard of excellence.

P. V. KANE.

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EDITORIAL

The first number of *Purāṇa* due on the Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā day (20th July, 1959) was printed at Madras, and published by the end of December, 1959 due to unavoidable delaying factors. To implement faithfully the decision of the Purāṇa Committee of the Kashiraj Trust, His Highness, Maharaja Saheb of Banaras, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, decided on Jan. 3, 1960 that each number of this Journal should be published on the appointed date, viz., on Vyāsa Pūrṇimā and the Vasanta-Pañchamī. Accordingly he took the decision that the work of editing and printing should be done at Varanasi and entrusted the academic part of the job to me. In view of the superiority of the standard attained in the first number by my esteemed colleague, Dr. Raghavan, I have reluctantly agreed to carry out the wish of His Highness. Although the Journal has now shifted its venue from Madras to Varanasi, the constitution of the Editorial Board remains unchanged.

The horizon of the Journal is gradually unfolding before our eyes. The extent of the existing eighteen Mahāpurāṇas is about four lacs of ślokas. To this may be added the extant Upapurāṇas, and the Itihāsa literature of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata which Indian tradition has always regarded as an integral part of the Purāṇa tradition, and the approximate bulk of which adds another couple of lacs of ślokas. Thus this single branch of Sanskrit literature is of very vast dimension, exceeding anything of its kind known in the literature of the world.

The range of themes dealt with in the Purāṇas is kaleidoscopic, the documentation is far-reaching, bold and comprehensive, and hardly any aspect of Indian culture has remained outside its purview. It seems surprising that this branch of literature did not receive the attention which it merited, not only by the extent but also by the importance of its contents. Fortunately Indologists in many a country are now veering

to the due claims of the Purāṇas and some important contributions on this subject have been recently forthcoming; e.g., the writings of Dr. Kirfel, Dr. R. C. Hazra, Prof. D. R. Mankad and others. But the field is large and requires to be cultivated intensively.

In the first instance it is necessary to build up adequately the requisite tools of Purāṇic research, as follows :—

1. A classified Concordance of the contents, subjects, themes and legends of the entire Purāṇic literature. This is a task which has already occupied the attention of His Highness and he has appointed a whole-time scholar, Shri Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, to work on this plan. It is realised that this work alone is quite vast and the resources required for its completion will have to be adequately amplified.
2. A Dictionary of Purāṇic Proper Names, much on the lines of the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* by G. Malalasekera, which is now universally recognised as the best guide and mirror of the factual information in Pāli literature.
3. Critical editions of the important Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas based on the available select manuscripts and accomplished in accordance with the approved methods of collation and text-reconstruction. The Purāṇa Committee of the All-India Kashiraj Trust took it as the first item of its programme, and the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa has fairly advanced under the editorship of Dr. V. Raghavan. The collation work of the Vāmana and the Brahma Purāṇas is under way by the Pandits of the Ramnagar Purāṇa Office.

In the second place it is desirable that canons of higher research be applied to the interpretation of the Purāṇas, and a series of dissertations undertaken with a view to interpret the

specialised contents of this literature. As illustrative of this field the following subjects may be noted for the preparation of theses of varying lengths :—

1. Purāṇic geography
2. Purāṇic chronology
3. Dynastic lists
4. Sarga and Pratisarga or Purāṇic Śṛiṣṭi-Vidyā
5. Manvantara-Vidyā in the Purāṇas
6. The conception of Trideva
7. Gods in the Purāṇas
8. Goddesses in the Purāṇas
9. Śiva-Charita and the iconography of Śiva
10. Viṣṇu-Charita and the iconography of Viṣṇu
11. Śaivism in the Purāṇas (A study of the Māheśvara, Pāśupata, Mahāvratin, Kāpālika, and other forms)
12. Vaiṣṇavism (Pāñcharātra, Bhāgavata, Sātvata, Nārāyaṇīya and other forms).
13. Sūrya, its iconography and religious worship
14. Tīrthas and Sthala-Māhātmyas
15. Sāṅkhya Philosophy in the Purāṇas
16. Yoga, its philosophy and practice
17. Vedic and Upanishadic tradition in the Purāṇas
18. Vratas
19. Dāna
20. Pitris and Śrāddha
21. Daivāsuram (Different motifs of the conflict between the Devas and Asuras)
22. Pratimā-Śāstra and Vāstu-Vidyā (images, temples etc.)
23. Purāṇic legends
24. Yajña
25. Rāja-dharma and Nīti
26. Avatāras

27. Stotras
28. Varṇāśrama-dharma
29. Special subjects like Āyurveda, Jyotisha, etc.
30. Pūjā and Sadāchāra
31. Bhakti-dharma

The above list is only illustrative and topics may be added according to choice.

A serious study of the language, grammar and vocabulary of the Purāṇas is also solicited.

These lines of study are good so far as they go. Their main emphasis is on an exoteric approach to the Purāṇa literature. This kind of intellectual approach forms part of the modern canons of historical research and is designed to extract material for the social, religious, philosophical, political and cultural history of the regions and periods in which these texts were codified or written. But the traditional Indian approach to the study of the Purāṇic lore lays greater emphasis on the esoteric interpretation of the bulk of Purāṇic contents. The basic position is summed up in the following statement :—

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।

That is, the metaphysical truth of the Veda is intended to be demonstrated in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa manner. Veda and the Itihāsa-Purāṇa maintain their distinctive styles of stating the cosmic or metaphysical truth. The method of the Veda employs the technique of direct and explicit expression in a cogent and concise form. The method of the Purāṇa, on the other hand, consists in casting the metaphysical truths in the mould of suitable legends, aiming not at brevity but amplification, caring not so much for succinctness as for clarity and popular comprehension. The Purāṇa was the subject of recitation before popular assemblies and the redactors wisely introduced a substantial element of attraction and flavour for the common mind, at the same time incorporating a mass of material appertaining to the cult aspects of religious beliefs and practices. The Purāṇas thus evolved an ideal and healthy synthesis between

Loka and Veda. Loka constitutes religion in practice and Veda its metaphysical statement. The kernel of Purāṇic lore had its source in the Veda, and this truth can be demonstrated in many ways from direct evidence of the respective traditions. Research into the Purāṇas at its higher level should apply the probe deeper to unravelling the Vedic contents underlying the Purāṇic themes, legends and descriptions. It is our belief that the Purāṇic stories are like exoteric envelopes concealing the mystical meanings of the Vedas which deal with cosmic truths.

V. S. A.

VISHṆU AS KALPA-VRIKSHA

धर्मदृढवद्धमूलो वेदस्कन्धः पुराणशाखाव्यः ।

कलुकुम्भो मोक्षफलो जयति कल्पद्रुमो विष्णुः ॥

Quoted from a Ms. of the Ādi Parva in the footnote of the
Ādi-Parva, Cri. ed., Poona, p. 3).

Vishṇu is the wish-fulfilling Tree.

Dharma is its root.

The Veda is its trunk.

The Purāṇas are its branches.

The Yajñas are its flowers.

Moksha is its fruit.

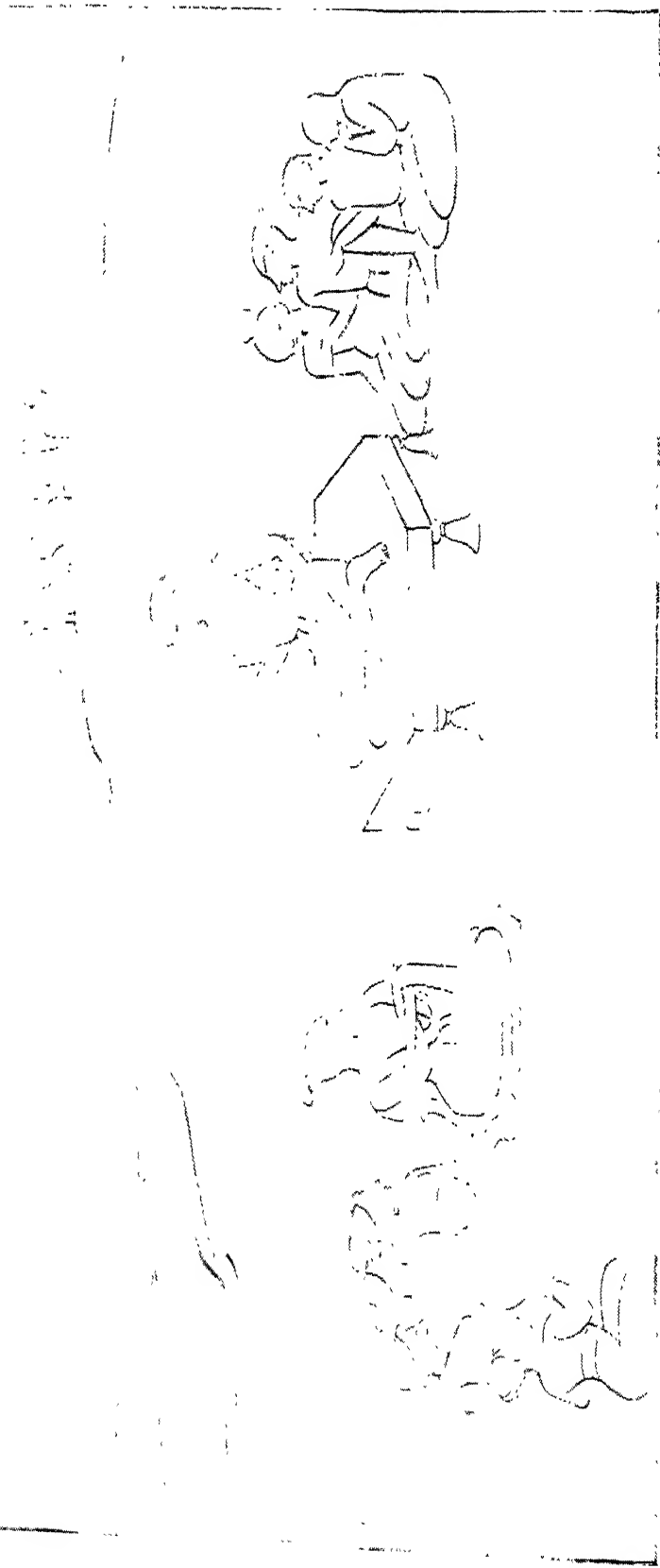
सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्

(मार्कण्डेय पुराण, अ० २३)

जगद्धात्रीमहं देवीमारिराधयिषुः शुभाम् ।
स्तोष्ये प्रणम्य शिरसा ब्रह्मयोनिं सरस्वतीम् ॥ ३० ॥
सदसद्देवि यत्किञ्चिन्मोक्षवच्चार्थवत्पदम् ।
तत्सर्वं त्वय्यसंयोगं योगवद्देवि संस्थितम् ॥ ३१ ॥
त्वमक्षरं परं देवि यत्र सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
अक्षरं परमं देवि संस्थितं परमाणुवत् ॥ ३२ ॥
अक्षरं परमं ब्रह्म विश्वञ्चैतत् क्षरात्मकम् ।
दारुण्यवस्थितो वह्निर्भौनाश्च परमाणवः ॥ ३३ ॥
तथा त्वयि स्थितं ब्रह्म जगच्चेदमशेषतः ।
ओंकाराक्षरसंस्थानं यत्तु देवि स्थिरास्थिरम् ॥ ३४ ॥
तत्र मात्रात्रयं सर्वमस्ति यद्देवि नास्ति च ।
त्रयो लोकास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रैविद्यं पावकत्रयम् ॥ ३५ ॥
त्रोणि ज्योतीषि वर्णाश्च त्रयो धर्मागमस्तथा ।
त्रयो गुणास्त्रयः शब्दास्त्रयो धेदाम्नाश्चाश्रमाः ॥ ३६ ॥
त्रयः कालास्तथावस्थाः पितरोऽहर्निशादयः ।
एतन्मात्रात्रयं देवि तव रूपं सरस्वति ॥ ३७ ॥
विभिन्नदर्शिनामाद्या ब्रह्मणो हि सनातनाः ।
सोमसंस्था हविःसंस्थाः पाकसंस्थाश्च सप्त याः ॥ ३८ ॥
तात्वदुच्चारणाद्देवि क्रियन्ते ब्रह्मवादिभिः ।
अनिर्देश्यं तथा चान्यदद्धमात्रान्वितं परम् ॥ ३९ ॥
अविकार्यक्षयं दिव्यं परिणामविवर्जितम् ।
तवैतत्परमं रूपं यन्न शक्यं मयोदितुम् ॥ ४० ॥

न चास्येन च तज्जिह्वाताम्रोष्ठादिभिरुच्यते ।
 इन्द्रोऽपि वसवो ब्रह्मा चन्द्रार्कौ ज्योतिरेव च ॥ ४१ ॥
 विश्वावासं विश्वरूपं विश्वेशं परमेश्वरम् ।
 मांस्वयमेतन्मन्त्रं देवः ॥ ४२ ॥
 अनादिमध्यनिधनं सदसन्न सदेव यत् ।
 एकत्वंनेकं नाप्येकं भवभेदसमाश्रितम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 अनाख्यं षड्गुणाख्यञ्च वर्गाख्यं त्रिगुणाश्रयम् ।
 नानाशक्तिमतामेकं शक्तिवैभक्तिकं परम् ॥ ४४ ॥
 सुखानुखं महासौख्यरूपं त्वयि विभाव्यते ।
 एवं देवि त्वया व्याप्तं सकलं निष्कलञ्च यत् ॥
 अद्वैतावस्थितं ब्रह्म यच्च द्वैते व्यवस्थितम् ॥ ४५ ॥
 येऽर्था नित्या ये विनश्यन्ति चान्ये
 ये वा स्थूला ये च सूक्ष्मातिमूढाः ।
 ये वा भूमौ येऽन्तरीक्षेऽन्यतो वा
 तेषां तेषां त्वत् एवोपलब्धिः ॥ ४६ ॥
 यच्चामूर्तं यच्च मूर्तं समस्तं
 यद्वा भूतेष्वेकमेकञ्च किञ्चित् ।
 यद्व्यस्ति क्षमातले खेऽन्यतो वा
 त्वत्सम्बन्धं त्वत्स्वरैर्व्यञ्जनैश्च ॥ ४७ ॥

(See *infra*, 'A cultural commentary on the Śarasvatī Stotra').



Suka Deva Ji discoursing on Bhāgavata to King Parīkshit.
From an old Rājasthānī painting of the Kishangarh School, 18th century.

व्यासमहिमा

तपोविशिष्टादपि वै वसिष्ठः सत्सङ्गः ।
मन्ये श्रेष्ठतमं त्वाऽद्य रहस्यज्ञानवेदनात् ।
जन्मप्रभृति सत्यां ते विद्म गां ब्रह्मवादिनीम् ॥
जडान्धबधिरोन्मत्तं तमोभूतं जगद् भवेत् ।
यदि ज्ञानहुताशेन त्वया नोज्ज्वलितं भवेत् ॥
तमसान्धस्य लोकस्य वेष्टितस्य स्वकर्मभिः ।
ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकाभिर्बुद्धिनेत्रोत्सवः कृतः ॥
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षार्थैः समासव्यासकीर्तनैः ।
त्वया भारतसूर्येण नृणां विनिहतं तमः ॥
पुराणपूर्णचन्द्रेण श्रुतिज्योत्स्नाप्रकाशिना ।
नृणां कुमुदसौम्यानां कृतं बुद्धिप्रबोधनम् ॥
इतिहासप्रदीपेन मोहावरणघातिना ।
लोकगर्भगृहं कृत्स्नं यथावत् संप्रकाशितम् ॥

(Ādiṣṭiparva, Poona edn., Appendix I, p. 885).

BRAHMĀ PRAISES VYĀSA

Since now you have realised the mystical knowledge, I consider you to be superior to Vasishṭha, the great sage of yore, celebrated for his austerities.

Since birth your words, full of truth, have been directed to the exposition of Brahman.

The world would have been enveloped in mental darkness if you had not illumined it with the light of your knowledge.

By its deeds enveloped in gloom this world has been treated to a festival of mental insight with the application of the collyrium of knowledge.

The darkness of men's minds has been dispelled by the solar light of the Bhārata, which contains an exposition of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha, both in a concise and expanded form.

The Purāṇas are the Full Moon shining with the light of the Vedas, awakening the intellects of men resembling tender lilies.

The flaring lamp of Itihāsa destroys the veil of Moha and illuminates the (heart-like) inner cell of the shrine of the world.

V. S. A.

पुराणेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्

I

शृणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणानां समुच्चयम् ।
यस्मिन्ज्ज्ञाते भवेज्ज्ञातं वाङ्मयं सचराचरम् ॥
यस्मिञ्श्रुते श्रुतं सर्वं ज्ञाते ज्ञातं कृते कृतम् ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारधर्मं ससंस्कारमुपैष्यति ॥

—बृहदार०, पूर्व खं०, अ० ९.२।२१९

II

आत्मनो वेदविद्या च ईश्वरेण विनिर्मिता ।
शौनकीया च पौराणी च या ॥
तिस्रो विद्या इमा मुख्या सर्वशास्त्रविनिर्णये ॥
पुराणं पञ्चमो वेद इति ब्रह्मानुशासनम् ।
यो न वेद पुराणं हि न स वेदात्र किञ्चन ॥
कतमो सहि धर्मोऽस्ति किं वा ज्ञानं तथाविधम् ।
अन्यद्वा यत्किमत्राह पुराणे यत्र दृश्यते ॥
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः पूर्वं पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥
इतिहासपुराणैश्च कृतोऽयं निश्चयः पुरा ।
आत्मा पुराणं वेदानां पृथगङ्गानि तानि षट् ॥
यच्च दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तद्दृष्टं स्मृतिभिः किल ।
उभाभ्यां यत्तु दृष्टं हि तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥

—स्कन्दपु० रेवा०

III

अन्यो न दृष्टः सुखदो हि मार्गः पुराणमार्गो हि सदा वरिष्ठः ।

गाम्भ्रं विना सर्वमिदं न भाति सूर्येण हीना इव जीवलोकाः ॥

—शिव०, उमा सं०, १३।४२

IV

पञ्चमं हि कामश्च मोक्षश्चैवात्र कीर्त्यते ।

सर्वेषु हि पुराणेषु तद्विरुद्धं च यत्फलम् ॥

एवं पवित्रं यशसो निदानमिदं पितृणामतिवल्लभं च ।

इदं च निदानमिदं च नित्यं त्विदं पापहरं च पुंसाम् ॥

—मत्स्य०, अ० ५३

V

अन्यं यदाम्यमायुष्यं पुण्यं वेदैश्च संमितम् ।

तद्वैः श्रेयोक्तं पुराणं ब्रह्मवादिना ॥

—ब्रह्माण्ड०, उ० भा०, ४।१०

VI

इदं पुराणैः श्रोतव्यं यतिभिर्ब्रह्मचारिभिः ।

उत्तमैश्च नृणां पवित्रं पापनाशनम् ॥

नथा ब्रह्मर्षेर्वै प्रब्रह्मणाद्यैः सुसंयतैः ।

श्रोतव्यं सत्यमेव सम्यक् श्रेयोभिकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥

यं यं कस्मन्निश्चयन् शृणोति पुरुषः शुचिः ।

न तं पश्यन्ति नरो नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥

—ब्रह्म०, अ० २४५

(महाभारत-आय पं० गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी,)

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF MYTHS

‘If then the mythology of the Aryan nations is to be studied to good purpose, the process applied to their legends must be strictly scientific. In every Aryan land we have a vast mass of stories, some preserved in great epic poems, some in the pages of mythographers or historians, some in tragic, lyric, or comic poetry, and some again only in the oral tradition or folklore of the people. All these, it is clear, must be submitted to that method of comparison and differences by which inductive science has achieved its greatest triumphs. Not a step must be taken on mere conjecture ; not a single result must be anticipated by ingenious hypothesis. For the reason of their existence we must search, not in our own moral convictions, or in those of ancient Greeks or Romans, but in the substance and materials of the myths themselves. We must deal with their incidents and their names. We must group the former according to their points of likeness and difference ; and we must seek to interpret the latter by the principles which have been established and accepted as the laws of philological analysis.’

GEORGE W. COX, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*,

1870, p. 13

पुराणसूक्तयः

सत्य-महिमा

(शिवपुराण, उमासंहिता, अ० १३)

- सत्यमेव परं ब्रह्म सत्यमेव परं तपः ।
सत्यमेव परो यज्ञः सत्यमेव परं श्रुतम् ॥ २३ ॥
सत्यं सुप्तेषु जागर्ति सत्यं च परमं पदम् ।
सत्येनैव धृता पृथ्वी सत्ये सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ २४ ॥
तपो यज्ञश्च पुण्यं च देवर्षिपितृपूजने ।
आपो विद्या च ते सर्वे सर्वं सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ २५ ॥
सत्यं यज्ञस्तपो दानं मन्त्रो देवी सरस्वती ।
ब्रह्मचर्यं तथा सत्यमोकारः सत्यमेव च ॥ २६ ॥
सत्येन वायुरभ्येति सत्येन तपते रविः ।
सत्येनाग्निर्निर्दहति स्वर्गः सत्येन तिष्ठति ॥ २७ ॥
पालनं सर्ववेदानां सर्वतीर्थविगाहनम् ।
सत्येन बहते लोके सर्वमाप्नोत्यसंशयम् ॥ २८ ॥
अश्वमेधसहस्रं च सत्यं च तुल्या धृतम् ।
लक्षाणि क्रतवश्चैव सत्यमेव विशिष्यते ॥ २९ ॥
सत्येन देवाः पितरो मानवोरगराक्षसाः ।
प्रीयन्ते सत्यतः सर्वे लोकाश्च सचराचराः ॥ ३० ॥
सत्यमाहुः परं धर्मं सत्यमाहुः परं पदम् ।
सत्यमाहुः परं ब्रह्म तस्मात्सत्यं सदा वदेत् ॥ ३१ ॥
मुनयः सत्यनिरतास्तपस्तप्त्वा सुदुश्चरम् ।
सत्यधर्मरताः सिद्धास्ततः स्वर्गं च ते गताः ॥ ३२ ॥

अप्सरोगणसंविष्टैर्विमानैः परिमानुभिः ।
 वक्तव्यं च सदा सत्यं न सत्याद्विद्यते परं ॥३३॥
 अगाधे विपुले सिद्धे सत्यतीर्थे शुचिहृदे ।
 स्नातव्यं मनसा युक्तं स्थानं तत्परमं स्मृतम् ॥३४॥
 आत्मार्थे वा परार्थे वा पुत्रार्थे वापि मानवाः ।
 अनृतं ये न भाषन्ते ते नराः स्वर्गगामिनः ॥३५॥
 वेदा यज्ञास्तथा मन्त्राः सन्ति विप्रेषु नित्यशः ।
 नो भान्त्यपि ह्यसत्येषु तस्मात्सत्यं समाचरेत् ॥३६॥

पुराण-लक्षणानि

महर्षिः श्रीमद्भगवान् पं० गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी

[This article discusses and explains the five well-known chief topics of the Purāṇas (viz. Sarga, Pratisarga, Manvantaras, Vamśa, and Vamśyānu-charita). Some Purāṇas, such as Bhāgavata and Brahmapurāṇa, give ten topics of the Mahāpurāṇas. It is shown in this article that these ten topics are only an expansion of the five main topics.]

अथास्यां पुराणविद्यायां प्राधान्येन के के विषया अन्तर्भवन्ति, के वा तत्राप्राधान्येन संगृह्यन्त इत्यादि पुराणाधारेणैव निरूपणीयम् । तत्र प्रायेण सर्वेषु पुराणेषु पञ्चलक्षणानि पुराणस्य व्याख्यातानि, पञ्चविषयाः प्राधान्येन पुराण-विद्यायनन्तर्भवन्तीति तत्तात्पर्यम् । तैरेव विधेयं लक्ष्यते-विज्ञायते-इति तानि लक्षणानि । तानि च विद्यास्वरूपान्तर्गतानीति स्वरूपलक्षणानि बोद्धव्यानि ।

“सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंश्यानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

लक्षणमिदं किञ्चित्पाठभेदेन ऐक्यरूपेण वा विष्णुपुराणे (३ अंशे, ६ अ०, श्लो० २४), मार्कण्डेयपुराणे (अ० १३४, श्लो० १३), अग्निपुराणे (अ० १, श्लो० १४), भविष्यपुराणे (अ० २, श्लो० ५), ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे (अ० १३३, श्लो० ६), वराहपुराणे (अ० २, श्लो० ४), स्कन्दपुराणे (प्रभासखण्डे अ० २, श्लो० ८४), कूर्मपुराणे (पूर्व०, अ० १, श्लो० १२), मत्स्यपुराणे (अ० ५३, श्लो० ६४), गरुडपुराणे (आचारकाण्डे अ० २, श्लो० २८), ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे (पूर्वभागे अ० १, श्लो० ३८), शिवपुराणे (वायवीय सं०, अ० १, श्लो० ४१), देवीभागवते तथा अन्यत्रान्यत्रापि च लभ्यते । सर्गो नाम सृष्टिः, जगत उत्पत्तिः ; प्रतिसर्गो नाम दृश्यमानस्यास्य सर्वस्य समये समये प्रलयः ; वंशः—उगदानन्तः तत्त्वानाम्, देवादीनाम्, मनुष्याणां च उत्पत्तिपरम्परा ; वंश्यानुचरितम्-तत्तद्वंशभवानां तत्तेषां विषये

यद्विशिष्य वक्तव्यं तद्विवरणम् (अत्रैव तत्तन्मनुष्यवंशप्रसृतानां महर्षीणां राज्ञां च चरितान्यपि समाविष्टानि) ; मन्वन्तरम्—सृष्ट्यादीनां कालव्यवस्थापनम्— इति सामान्येन शब्दानामेषां विवरणमपि तत्र तत्र प्राप्यते । क्वचित् प्रतिसर्गपदेन आदिसृष्टेरनन्तरं जायमाना अवान्तरसृष्टिरपि व्याख्यायते, प्रलयस्तु सृष्टिप्रातिलोभ्येन व्यवस्थापनीय इति तदाशयः । अत्रार्थे प्रतिसर्गपदस्थाने विसर्गपदं केचिन्निन्देद्यन्ति । वंश्यानुचरितस्थाने वंशानुचरितमिति बहुत्रपाठः । तत्र वंशभवानामनुचरितमिति मध्यमपदलोपी समास आश्चर्यणीयः, वंशे भवानां चरितं वंश एव समारोप्य वा व्याख्येयम् ।

अत्र लक्षणे कुत्र कुत्र कस्य कस्य विषयस्य समावेश इत्यपि तत्र तत्र विवृतम्, यथा विष्णुपुराणे आरम्भ एव प्रश्नमुखेन विवरणम् (विष्णुपुराणं १ अ०, १ अ०, ४-१० श्लो०)—

सोऽहमिच्छामि धर्मज्ञ श्रोतुं त्वत्तो यथा जगत् ।
 बभूव भूयश्च यथा महाभाग भविष्यति ॥
 यन्मयं च जगद् ब्रह्मन् यतश्चैतच्चराचरम् ।
 लीनमासीद्यथा यत्र लयमेप्यति यत्र च ॥
 यत्प्रमाणानि भूतानि देवादीनां च सम्भवम् ।
 समुद्रपर्वतानां च संस्थानं च यथा भुवः ॥
 सूर्यादीनां च संस्थानं प्रमाणं मुनिसत्तम ।
 देवादीनां तथा वंशान्मनून् मन्वन्तराणि च ॥
 कल्पान् कल्पविभागांश्च चातुर्युगविकल्पितान् ।
 कल्पान्तस्य स्वरूपं च युगधर्माश्च कृत्स्नशः ॥
 देवर्षिपश्चिन्वानां च चरितं यन्महामुने ।
 वेदशास्त्राप्रणयनं यथावद् व्यासकर्तृकम् ॥
 धर्माश्च ब्राह्मणादीनां तथा चाश्रमवासिनाम् ।
 श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं सर्वं त्वत्तो वासिष्ठनन्दन ॥

अत्र “यत्प्रमाणानि भूतानि, देवादीनां सम्भवः, समुद्रपर्वतानां भुवश्च संस्थानम्, सूर्यादीनां संस्थानमिति सर्वं सर्गेऽन्तर्भवति ; देवादीनां वंशाः वंशे;

कल्पान्, कल्पविभागानित्यादि सर्वं, युगधर्माश्च मन्वन्तरप्रकरणे ; देवर्षि-
पार्थिवादीनां चरितं वंश्यानुचरिते ; धेनुः, गन्धाधिपः, गङ्गाया अपि च नत्रैवान्तर्भाव्यम् ।
वायुपुराणे (अ० १।१८, १९) चापि—

पुराणवेदो ह्यखिलस्तस्मिन् सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठितः ।
भारती चैव विपुला महाभारतवर्धिनी ॥
धर्मार्थज्ञानगोक्षार्थाः कथा यस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठिताः ।
सूक्ताः सुपरिभाषाश्च भूमावोषधयो यथा ॥

एवमादि विस्ताररूपेणैवोक्तम् । श्रीमद्भागवते ब्रह्मवैवर्ते च पुराणानां
दशलक्षणानि वर्ण्यन्ते । तत्र श्रीमद्भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे १० अ०, १-७
श्लोकेषु यथा—

अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।
मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥
दशमस्य विशुद्ध्यर्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।
वर्णयन्ति महात्मानः श्रुतेनार्थेन चाञ्जसा ॥
भूतमात्रेन्द्रियधियां जन्म सर्ग उदाहृतः ।
ब्रह्मणो गुणवैषम्याद्विसर्गः पौरुषः स्मृतः ॥
स्थितिवैकुण्ठविजयः पोषणं तदनुग्रहः ।
मन्वन्तराणि सङ्घर्म ऊतयः कर्मवासनाः ॥
अवतारानुचरितं हरेश्चास्यानुवर्तिनाम् ।
पुंनारीशकथाः प्रोक्ता नानाख्यानोपबृंहिताः ॥
निरोधोऽस्यानुशङ्कनाशानः सह शक्तिभिः ।
मुक्तिर्हित्वान्यथा रूपं स्वरूपेण व्यवस्थितिः ॥
आभासश्च निरोधश्च यतश्चाव्यवसीयते ।
स आश्रयः परं ब्रह्म परमात्मेति शब्दते ॥

श्रीमद्भागवत एव द्वादशे स्कन्धे सप्तमेऽध्याये अष्टमं श्लोकमारभ्य
किञ्चिद्भेदेन दशलक्षणानि परिगण्यन्ते—

पुराणलक्षणं ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मर्षिभिर्निरूपितम् ।
 शृणुष्व नृदिनाश्चिन्त्य वेदशास्त्रानुसारतः ॥
 सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षाऽन्तराणि च ।
 वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपःश्रयः ॥
 दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।
 केचित्पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥
 अव्याकृतगुणक्षोभान्महतस्त्रिवृतोऽहमः ।
 भूतान्त्रेदिनां भूतानां संभवः सर्ग उच्यते ॥
 पुरुषानुगृहीतानामेतेषां वासनामयः ।
 विसर्गोऽयं समाहारो बीजाद्वीजं चराचरम् ।
 वृत्तिर्भूतानि भूतानां चक्षुषाश्चक्षुः च ।
 कृता स्वेन नृणां तत्र कामाच्चोदनयापि वा ।
 रक्षाऽच्युतावतारेहा विश्वस्यानु युगे युगे ।
 तिर्यङ्मर्त्यर्षिदेवेषु हन्यन्ते त्रैस्त्रयीद्विपः ।
 मन्वन्तरं मनुर्देवा मनुपुत्रा सुरेश्वराः ।
 त्रययोः शावनाश्च हरेः षड्विधमुच्यते ।
 राज्ञां ब्रह्मप्रसूतानां वंशस्त्रैकालिकोऽव्ययः ।
 वंशानुचरितं तेषां वृत्तं वंशधराश्च ये ।
 नैमित्तिकः प्राकृतिको नित्य आत्यन्तिको लयः ।
 संस्थेति कविभिः प्रोक्ता चतुर्धास्य स्वभावतः ।
 हेतुर्जीवोऽस्य मन्त्रिर्गन्धर्वः कर्तृरक्षः ।
 यं चानुशयिनं प्राहुरव्याकृतमुतापरे ।
 व्यतिरेकान्वयो यस्य जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु ।
 मायामयेषु तद्ब्रह्म जीववृत्तिष्वपाश्रयः ।
 एवंलक्षणलक्ष्याणि पुराणानि पुराविदः ।
 मुनयोऽष्टादश प्राहुः क्षुल्लकानि महान्ति च ।

ब्रह्मवैवर्तेऽप्येतानि दशलक्षणानि शब्दान्तरैरुच्यन्ते (कृष्णखण्डे १२ अ०,
 ६-११ श्लोक) —

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
 वंशानुचरितं विप्र पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
 एतदुपपुराणानां लक्षणं च विदुर्बुधाः ।
 महतां च पुराणानां लक्षणं कथयामि ते ॥
 सृष्टिश्चापि विसृष्टिश्च स्थितिस्तेषां च पालनम् ।
 कर्मणां वासना वार्ता मनूनां चाक्रमेण च ॥
 वर्णनं प्रलयाणां च मोक्षस्य च निरूपणम् ।
 तत्कीर्तनं हरेरेव वेदानां च पृथक् पृथक् ॥
 दशाधिकं लक्षणं च महतां परिकीर्तितम् ।

तत्रैतस्मिन् विचार्यमाणे त्रिषु स्थानेषु दशानां लक्षणानुक्तैः शब्दभेद एव, नाभिप्रायभेदः । श्रीनङ्गाग्रन्थे द्वादशे स्कन्धे, सर्गः १, विसर्गः २, वृत्तिः ३, रक्षा ४, अन्तराणि ५, वंशः ६, वंशानुचरितम् ७, संस्था ८, हेतुः ९, अपाश्रयः १०, इति लक्षणान्युक्तानि । द्वितीये स्कन्धे तु सर्गः, विसर्गः, इति द्वौ समानौ शब्दौ, अन्नगणीत्यस्य स्थाने स्पष्टीकृत्य 'मन्वन्तर' इति पदं निवेशितम्, अपाश्रयस्थाने च आश्रय एवोक्तः । हेतुः—जीवस्य जन्महेतुः अविद्याकर्मादिकं यत्, यत् स्थाने तत्र ऊतिपदं निवेशितम्; 'ऊतयः कर्मवासनाः' इति स्पष्टोक्तमेव । एवं पञ्चानां साम्यम् । अनन्तरं वंश-वंशानुचरिते ईशानुकथापदेन गृहीते, 'हरेः, अस्यानुवर्तिनां च कथा ।—इति ऋषिराजादिचरितानामपि संग्रहस्य तत्र स्पष्टमुक्तत्वात्, वंशमन्तरेण वंशानुचरितकथनस्यासामान्येन वंशस्य वंशानुचरित एवान्तर्भावः । संस्थापदेन चतुर्विधः प्रलयो द्वादशे स्कन्धे संगृहीतः, तत्र वैलक्षण्यं बोधयितुमात्यन्तिकलयरूपा मुक्तिर्द्वितीये पृथुगुपात्ता, निरोधश्च नैमित्तिकप्रलयरूपः पृथग् बोधितः । द्वादशे रक्षापदेन अवतारकथाबोधकेन अनुग्रहरूपं पोषणमपि संगृहीतमासीत् द्वितीये तु ईशानुकथा, पोषणं चेति पृथक्-कृत्योक्तम् । एवं द्वयस्यान्तर्भावः, द्वयस्य पृथक्करणमिति नव लक्षणानि सम्पन्नानि । द्वादशे च वृत्तिशब्देन भूतानां परस्परपदमर्देन जीवनरूपा या स्थितिरुक्ता, सा द्वितीये स्थानपदेन समुपात्ता । स्थानं स्थितिः—“वैकुण्ठ-विजयः” इति यदुक्तम्-तस्यायमेवाशयो यत्पालकस्य विष्णोर्वैकुण्ठपदाभिधेयस्यायमेव विजयः-स्वकार्यसाधकता, यद्भूतानि परस्परमन्त्रान्नादभावेन जीवन्तीति । एवं

भागवतोक्तानां दशानां लक्षणानां सामञ्जस्यम् । ब्रह्मवैवर्तेऽपि सृष्टिः १, विसृष्टिः २, स्थितिः ३, कर्मणां वासना ४, मनुनां वार्ताः ५, प्रलयानां वर्णनम् ६, मोक्षस्य निरूपणम् ७, इति सप्त लक्षणानि समान्येव । हरेः कीर्तनम्-इति आश्रयः, पोषणं च तत्रैव संगृहीतम् । वेदानां च पृथक्पृथगिति ईशानुकथा बोधिता क्रमेण-अक्रमेण वा वार्तेति वंशानुचरितं पृथक्कृत्योक्तमिति शब्दान्तरेण तान्येव दशलक्षणान्युपात्तानि ।

वस्तुतस्तु इमानि दश पञ्चानामेव विस्तारमात्रम् । सर्गः, प्रतिसर्गः, (प्रलयः-संस्था), वंशः, वंशानुचरितम्, नन्वन्तराणीति पञ्च लक्षणानि श्रीमद्भागवतस्य द्वादशे स्कन्धे स्वशब्देनैवोपात्तानि । अन्यत्र यथा संगृह्यन्ते तथोक्तान्येव । अवशिष्टेषु पञ्चसु विसर्गः खलु नान्यैश्चान्तरो भेदः, आश्रय-शब्देनोपात्त ईश्वरश्च सर्गकर्तृत्वेन हेतुरित्यूतिरिति वा समाख्याता कर्म-वासना च सर्गहेतुत्वेन सर्ग एवान्तर्भावमर्हतः । वृत्तिरिति स्थानमिति वाभिंसहितः परस्परमुपमर्द्योपमर्दकभावः वंशानुचरिते स्फुटमन्तर्भवत्येव । ईशानुकथा पोषणं च रक्षा वापि वंशानुचरित एवान्तर्भवन्ति, अवताराणां क्वचिद्वंश एव प्रादुर्भावात्, वंशानुचरितपदेन अवतारचरितानामपि संगृहीतत्वात् । तस्मात् पञ्चानां प्रपञ्च एव नान्येषां नात्र परस्परं कोऽपि विरोधः । केवलमीश्वरसततप्राधान्यबोधनाय पृथक्कृत्य भागवतादौ तानि प्रोक्तानि ।

प्रत्येकं हि शास्त्राणां मुख्यप्रतिपाद्याः प्रातिस्विका विषयाः पृथक् पृथक् भवन्ति, बहवस्तु प्रासङ्गिका अन्यदीया विषया अपि तत्रापतन्ति यथा धर्मशास्त्रे मनुस्मृत्यादावपि सृष्टिप्रक्रिया, आश्रयः, दार्शनिकाश्चापि विषयाः प्रसङ्गेन सन्ति निरूपिताः, दर्शनेष्वपि चास्ति धर्मविषयः प्रासङ्गिकः । तत्तच्छास्त्रलक्षणे क्रियमाणे तु यस्तस्य प्रातिस्विको विषयः स एव लक्षणत्वेन निरूपणीयो भवति । सर्गादयः पञ्चैव च पुराणानां प्रातिस्विका विषयाः— एषामन्यत्र नान्येषां कर्म, वासना, ईश्वरः इत्याद्यास्तु विषया न पुराणानां प्रातिस्विकाः तेषां वेदेषु दर्शनेषु उपासनाग्रन्थेषु धर्मशास्त्रेष्वपि च विस्तरेण प्रतिपादनात् । एवन्तु नास्ति विद्यासु स कोपि विषयः, यः पुराणेषु न संगृहीतो भवेत्, परं सर्वेऽपि ते विषयाः पुराणानां लक्षणानि न भवन्ति ।

प्रातिस्विका एव तु सृष्ट्या ये विषया लक्षणत्वेन निरूपयितुमुचिता इति त एव सर्वत्र पुराणलक्षणत्वेन निरूप्यन्ते । श्रीकृष्णभागवतस्य तु प्रादुर्भाव एव भागवतान् धर्मान् व्याख्यातुमिति तदुपक्रम एव स्पष्टम् । तस्माज्जगदीश्वरो भगवानेव तत्र मुख्य प्रतिपाद्यः, अन्येषां निरूपणं तु तस्मात्तदर्थं ।

दशमस्य विशुद्धार्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।

इति तत्र स्पष्टमुक्तम् । मुक्तिरेव तत्र मुख्यतया साध्या, सा च जगदीश्वरानुग्रहमन्तरेण नावाप्येति मुक्तिरेव मुख्यतया कथनं तत्र युज्यत एव । न तु सर्वेषु पुराणेष्वेषां मुख्यता, तथा सति—

“त्वया भागवता धर्मा प्रायेण न निरूपिताः”

इति नारदस्य व्यासं प्रति कथनमसमञ्जसं स्यात् । यद्यपि ईश्वरस्य ईश्वर-भक्त्यादेश्च निरूपणमन्यत्रापि पुराणेषु सुविशदं प्राप्यत एव, विशिष्टं च महाभारते, तथापि पुराणान्तरेषु मुख्यप्रतिपाद्यं नृसिंहात्मिकेन, महाभारते च भरतवंशानामितिहास एव मुख्यः प्रतिपाद्य इतीश्वरस्य तद्भक्तेस्तद्धर्माणां च निरूपणं तत्र तत्रा-प्राधान्येन, भागवते तु प्राधान्येनेति भागवतं स्फुटमभिमन्यते । तत एव तत्रेश्वर-प्रधानानां दशानां लक्षणानां विवरणं कृतम् ।

(दशलक्षणरहस्यम्)

तत्रापि दशलक्षणकथने रहस्यमिदं प्रतीयते—

जन्माद्यस्य यतः

इत्यादिना जगतो जन्मस्थितिसंहारकर्तृत्वमीश्वरलक्षणमभिहितम् अज्ञानं च तदेव श्रुतिषु—

यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, यत्र जातानि जीवन्ति, यत् प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति इति ।

आगमिके प्रत्यभिज्ञादर्शने तु जन्मस्थितिः परमेश्वरस्य पञ्च-कृत्यकारित्वं प्रतिपादितम्, तानि च पञ्चकृत्यानि, सृष्टिः, स्थितिः, संहारः, विलयनम्- (निग्रहः), अनुग्रह इति । अत्र त्रीणि कृत्यानि पूर्वोक्तानि श्रौतान्येव जीवस्य बन्धप्रापणम्, अनुग्रहेण मोचनं चेति द्वयमधिकमुक्तम् । तान्येतानि पञ्च

भगवतः कृत्यानि लक्षणरूपेण श्रीमद्भागवते द्वितीये स्कन्धे सर्गः, स्थानम्, निरोधः, विसर्गः, पोषणम्, इति शब्दैरभिहितानि । विसर्गपदेन पौरुषसर्गस्योक्ततया निग्रहेण जीवभावप्रापणस्यैवाभिसंहितत्वात् । ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय स्पष्टं तत्रोक्त एव । अथास्य पञ्चकृत्यकारिणः परमेश्वरस्य द्वे रूपे—तत्र उपास्यमनुग्राहकं रूपम् आश्रयपदेन, जगत्परिचालकं तु कालरूपम् मन्वन्तरपदेन संगृहीतम् । नन्दिकः पञ्चकृत्यकारिणो सप्त लक्षणानि व्याख्यातानि । निगृहीतस्य जीवभावं गमितस्य तु सम्बन्धेन संसारगर्तपातिका ऊतिः (कर्मवासना) विमोचनसाधिका ईशानुकथा, पोषणफलभूता भुक्तिश्चेति त्रीणि लक्षणानि दशैतानि जीवेश्वर-सम्बन्धेनैव पर्यवस्यन्ति । तान्येतानि प्राधान्येन भगवन्तमीश्वरम्, तदाराधना-धिकारिणं जीवं च प्रकृत्य तन्निरूपणप्रवृत्तस्य श्रीभागवतस्यैव लक्षणानि भवितुर्महन्ति, न तु पुराणसामान्यलक्षणानि । तत एव भागवत एवैतानि निरूपितानि, न पुराणान्तरेषु । यत्तु द्वादशे स्कन्धे द्वादशानां महतां पुराणा-नामिमानि लक्षणानीत्युक्तम्, तत्प्रसङ्गेन कथंचित् सर्वत्रैव तन्निरूपणमभिप्रेत्य, पञ्चानामेव विवृत्तिरूपाणि दशेत्यभिप्रेत्य वेति सम्यगवधार्यम् । ब्रह्मवैवर्तेऽप्येकत्र पञ्चलक्षणान्युक्त्वा परत्र स्वस्य भागवतानुसंगिकानि च दशलक्षणान्यपि तदनुसारीण्युपात्तानि इति कृतं विस्तरेण । एवं देवीभागवतेऽपि (१ स्कन्ध १।१८) पुराणान्तरवत् पुराणानां पञ्चलक्षणान्युक्त्वा सर्गप्रतिमर्त्योः किञ्चिद्वैलक्षण्येन विवरणं कृतम्—

तस्यास्तु सात्त्विकी शक्ती राजसी तामसी तथा
महालक्ष्मीः सरस्वती महाकालीति ताः स्त्रियः ॥ २० ॥
तासां तिसृणां शक्तीनां देहाङ्गीकारलक्षणः ।
सृष्ट्यर्थं च सन्नान्यातः सर्गः शास्त्रविशारदैः ॥ २१ ॥
हरिद्रुहिणरुद्राणां समुत्पत्तिस्ततः स्मृता ।
पालनोत्पत्तिनाशार्थं प्रतिसर्गः स्मृतो हि सः ॥ २२ ॥
सोमसूर्योद्भवानां च राज्ञां वंशप्रकोर्तनम् ।
हिरण्यकशिप्वादीनां वंशास्ते परिकीर्तिताः ॥ २३ ॥
स्वायम्भुवमुखानां च मनूनां परिवर्णनम् ।
कालसंख्या तथा तेषां तत्तन्मन्वन्तराणि च ॥ २४ ॥

तेषां वंशानुकथनं वंशानुचरितं स्मृतम् ।

पञ्चलक्षणयुक्तानि भवन्ति मुनिसत्तमाः ॥ २५ ॥

अत्र प्रधानरूपा शिवरूपैव या चिच्छक्तिः, तस्या वंशानां महालक्ष्म्या-
दीनां निर्गमः सर्गपदेन, ताभिः शक्तिभिः शक्तिमतां ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्राणामविर्भाजनं
च प्रतिसर्गपदेनोक्तम् । तदपि तस्य प्रातिस्विकमेव लक्षणं विज्ञेयम् । सर्वेषु
पुराणेषु तस्याः प्रक्रियाया अनुपलम्भादिति । तथैव

ब्रह्मविष्णुर्वरुद्राणां माहात्म्यं भुवनस्य च ।

संहारश्च प्रदृश्येत पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

(इति स्कन्दपुराणे प्रभासखण्डे २।९४।९५) । मात्स्ये च ५३।६४, ६५
यदन्यथाविवरणं दृश्यते तदप्येकदेशिभूतम् । एषामपि पञ्चानां पूर्वोक्तेषु
पञ्चसु समावेश इति बोधनपरं वा । पूर्वं सर्गादीनि पञ्चलक्षणान्युक्तानन्तरमेव
कथनादिति ।

तद्विधं पुराणसामान्यलक्षणानि सर्गादीनि पञ्चेति स्पष्टीकृतम् । तत्रापि
च सर्ग एव मुख्यः, अन्यानि तु तन्मन्त्ररूपप्रतिपादकानि तच्छेषभूतानि मन्त-
व्यानि । तत एव बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्ये पुराणपदं व्याचक्षाणैः श्रीशङ्कर-
भगवत्पादैः 'पुराणमसद्वा इदमग्र आसीदित्यादि' (२ अ०, ४ ब्रा०,
१० क०), इति सर्ग एव पुराणानां मुख्यं लक्षणमुक्तम्, वेदभाष्यकृद्भिः
श्रीनाथवाचार्यप्रभृतिभिश्चोपोद्घाते तदेवानुसृतम् ।

A CULTURAL COMMENTARY ON THE SARASVATĪ STOTRA

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[इयं सारस्वती स्तुतिर्वेदार्थानवभासयति । देवी सरस्वती वाग्रया परा चापरा च । सा चतुष्पात् परा सती गुणादिना, अपरा च त्रिगुणमयी । इत्थं सा रूपद्वयं बिभर्ति—मूर्त्तं चामूर्त्तं च, सच्चवासच्च, एकं चानेकं च, द्वैतं चाद्वैतं च, स्थूलं च सूक्ष्मं च, भूतात्मकं च प्राणात्मकं च, व्यक्तं चाव्यक्तं च । सैव प्रणवात्मिका, तस्या अपररूपं प्रणवस्य मात्रात्रयं, पररूपं चार्धमात्रात्मकम् । सैव क्षराक्षरात्मिका यज्ञात्मिका च, तथा ऽक्षरात्मिका सती भौमान् क्षरपरमाणून् सृजति । एवं वैदिकप्रतीकानादायेदं सारस्वतं स्तोत्रं निर्मितम् ।]

This sublime Stotra to Sarasvatī (*supra*, pp. 121-122; Mārkaṇḍeya, 23, 30-47) is a work of fine literary art and composed of diverse references to philosophical doctrines. It is also incorporated in the Vāmana Purāṇa, ch. 32. The goddess is said to have sprung from Brahmā (*Brahma-yoni*, 30). Brahmā is the deity or genius of *Brahma-saras*, which, as Kālidāsa explains, is the equivalent of *avyakta sarovara* of *Buddhī* (ब्राह्मं सरः कारणमाप्तवाचो बुद्धेरिवाव्यक्तमुदाहरन्ति । रघुवंश 13-60), or the Universal Mind or Collective Unconscious. Sarasvatī is Brahmā's power substance, represented as his 'daughter.' The etymology of the name—*Saras-vatī*, 'she that wells out from the invisible fountain of knowledge'—is a pointer to her origin. She is the supreme cause of the world combining in her person the two opposite principles of *sat* and *asat*, *moksha* and *trivarya* (= *arthavat padam*, vs. 31); she is one with them (*yogavad*, vs. 31) and also beyond or transcends them (*asamyoga*, vs. 31). This statement is based on the *Sadasad-vāda* doctrine of the Nāsadiya Sukta (Rv. X. 129. 1).

Verses 32, 33 are based on the doctrine of *Kshara* and *Akshara*, originally referred to in the Asyavāmīya Sukta (Rv. I. 164. 42) and elaborated in many subsequent texts, specially

the Upanishads and the Gītā. The latter explains the Five Bhūtas as *kshara* and the Prāṇic power or energy as *akshara* (= *kūṭastha*, so called from its being stationed on *kūṭa* or matter) (क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते, 15-15). The Purāṇa literally renders it as—अक्षरं परमं ब्रह्म विश्वञ्चैतत् क्षरात्मकम् (vs. 33), i. e. Brahman is *akshara*, and the universe is *kshara*. The Goddess is both *bhūta* and *prāṇa*, i. e. both the manifest world and its unmanifest cause.

The unmanifest power is like Fire concealed in the fuel and the manifest is constituted of the material elements which are atomic (*bhaumāścha paramāṇavaḥ*, vs. 33). It is the cosmic energy of *akshara* which assumes atomic formation *paramāṇuvāt*, i. e. indivisible particles endued with gravity and motion. Motion or *gati* is the chief characteristic of *akshara*, which thereby is transformed into *kshara* or matter :—

ततः क्षरत्यक्षरम् (Rv. I. 164, 42).

Fire (Agni) is identical with *Akshara*, also called the Prāṇa and the Yonder Sun : ओमित्येतेनाक्षरेण प्राणेनामुनादित्येन (*Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 10. 11). *Akshara* is energy or Agni, also identified with Vāk, of which the typical and concise symbol is OM, differentiated both as A-U-M and also the unmanifest principle behind it.

This leads the author to refer to the ancient *Trika* doctrine elaborated at different levels as मात्रात्रय, लोकत्रय, वेदत्रय (त्रयी विद्या), अग्नित्रय (अग्नित्रेता), त्रीणि ज्योतीषि, त्रयो गुणाः, त्रयः कालाः, त्रयः शब्दाः (भूर्भुवः स्वः, viz. the three *vyāhritis*). All these formed part of the symbolism of the ancient Vedic metaphysical doctrines or *Vidyās* and are frequently referred to in the Purāṇas. They need to be explained. For example, the three *mātrās* refer to the three metres (गायत्री, त्रिष्टुप्, जगती); that which is *mātrā* or measure is *chhandas* or rhythm. The conjoint doctrine of *mātrā* and *chhandas* is inculcated in the R̥gveda, Asyavāmīya Sukta, I. 164, 23-25, in a rich terminology, as गायत्र, त्रैष्टुभ, जागत, अर्क, साम, वाक्, द्विपदा, चतुष्पदा, अक्षर, सप्तवाणी and मिमीते, each of which needs to be explained. Suffice it to say that by grasping the under-

lying spirit of the Triad the basic metaphysical position becomes integrated and transparent. Three Fires of the ritual correspond to the Three Guṇas of philosophy and the Three Devas of the Purāṇas :

मात्रात्रय = अग्नित्रय = गुणत्रय = देवत्रय = पुरुषत्रय

A clearer statement is found in the Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad :

१. अ-उ-म् = स्वनवती तनू of त्रिपाद् ब्रह्म
२. अग्नि-वायु-आदित्य = भास्वती तनू
३. ब्रह्म-रुद्र-विष्णु = अधिपतिवती तनू
४. भू-भुवः-स्वः = लोकवती तनू
५. भूत-भव्य-भविष्यत् = कालवती तनू
६. गार्हपत्य-दक्षिणाग्नि-आहवनीय = सुखवती तनू
७. प्राण-अपान-व्यान = शक्ति तनू
८. बुद्धि-मन-अहंकार = चेतनवती तनू

These are the Triple Forms of Prajāpati, called his अपररूप immanent in creation. That which transcends these is referred to as पररूप.

As stated here at the end, Goddess Sarasvatī represents this triple concrete form : एतन्मात्रात्रयं देवि तव रूपं सरस्वति (vs 37) The poet then turns to the doctrine of Vāk as correlated with Yajña. Different seers (दर्शिनः here is equal to ऋषि, from ऋषिर्दर्शनात्) have elaborated the timeless and primeval principle of Yajña in diverse forms—here classified as 7 Havir-yajñas, 7 Pākayajñas and 7 Somayajñas. The classification of Yajñas was a topic involving difference of opinion among several Schools, but the Purāṇa writers cite an accepted generalisation. The main point is the invoking of Sarasvatī in the yajñas in the triple forms of Hotṛi recitations, Yajus formulas and Sāman chants. Sarasvatī is Vāk, and Vāk is a form of Agni (दागेवाग्निः, शतपथ ३।२।२।१३). Agni is a terrestrial deity, primarily of material nature as the Vaiśvānara fire kindling within the body, in the form of various secretions. There can be no yajña without Agni and Vāk (वाग्वै यज्ञः, ऐतरेय ५।२।४।), hence it is stated that the

Brahmavādins perform the sacrificial ritual with the aid of Sarasvatī.

Having enunciated the triple aspect of the Goddess immanent in the universe, the poet turns his attention to that aspect of the deity which transcends all categories and is beyond the range of human experience (अनिर्देश्य), for which the silent half mora of Omkāra was accepted as a symbol in all the schools of ancient Indian thought, called here अर्धमात्रान्वित पर, the Supreme Half (cf. अर्थेन दिश्वं भुवनं जजान यो अस्यार्थः कतमः स केतुः) unchanging (अविद्धारि), imperishable (अक्षय), celestial (दिव्य, as opposed to भौम) and devoid of alteration (परिणामविवर्जित). This absolute form of the Divinity is beyond the grasp of thought and expression (तवैतत्परमं रूपं यन्न शक्यं मनोदितम्). This is the incomprehensible aspect and secret nature of the one God and also the many gods, and Sarasvatī is identical with both the One and the many.

This was the position of the metaphysical doctrine as developed in the theistic Sāṅkhya school and in the Vedānta tradition as represented by the pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta of the Upanishads (Cf. वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं in Kālidāsa for the meaning of the term Vedānta). In the Gupta age, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata, Pañcharātra and Veda made a common cause in the revival and reorganisation of Dharma against the Baudhas and the Ārhatas. The Mahābhārata refers to them as concordant parts of one whole¹ (*parasparān-*

1. एवमेकं सांख्ययोगं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।

परस्पराङ्गान्येतानि पञ्चरात्रं च कथ्यते ॥

Also,

(शान्तिपर्व, पूना, 336-76)

सांख्यं योगं पञ्चरात्रं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।

ज्ञानान्येतानि ब्रह्मार्थे लोकेषु प्रचरन्ति ह ॥

किमेतान्येकनिष्ठानि पृथङ्निष्ठानि वा मुने ।

प्रब्रूहि वै मया पृष्टः प्रवृत्तिं च यथाक्रमम् ॥

(शान्तिपर्व, 337. 1-2)

Also,

सांख्यं योगः पाशुपतं वेदा वै पञ्चरात्रकम् ।

कृतान्तपञ्चकं हेतुद् गायत्री च शिवा तथा ॥ (अग्नि० २१९।६९; विष्णु-

धर्मोत्तर २।२२।१३३-३४ with slight variation.)

gānī). The Vedic tradition was also known as Vedāraṇyaka and Vedānta. Principally there were two philosophical traditions, the one of Veda based on the concept of Puruṣha or Brahman and the other of Sāṅkhya based on that of Prakṛiti as the cause of the universe (भुवनारम्भक तत्त्व). The reference to these two traditions in this stotra becomes clear in a historical perspective. The Pāñcharātra Bhāgavatas had no philosophy of their own and the Sāṅkhyas no separate religion ; so the two, as it were, entered into an alliance, as amply shown by the available Pāñcharatra literature and the Purāṇas. But all these new faiths, viz. the Pāñcharātra Bhāgavatas and the Pāśupatas assimilated as much of religion and philosophy as they could from the ancient Vedic tradition which was exceptionally rich both in metaphysical thought and theistic religious observances. Verses 43-47 of the stotra bear ample proof of the use of Vedic terminology for expressing the dual aspects of the Deity who is both सत् and असत्, एक and अनेक, सकल and निष्कल, अमूर्त and मूर्त, स्थूल and सूक्ष्म, नित्य and अनित्य. We have the famous passage in the Upanishad :

द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे, मूर्तं चैवामूर्तं च,

मर्त्यं चामृतं च, स्थितं च यच्च, सच्च त्वं च । (बृ० उ० २।३।१)

That which is externalised as the concrete form in the material world, is perishable, moving and existent ; that which is unmanifest is eternal and stable.

The Purāṇa writer naturally borrowed also a few ideas from his own times; e. g. the dual aspect of the Goddess is referred to as द्वैत and अद्वैत, सुखासुख and महासौख्य (the conception of महासुख savouring of the सहजयान Buddhist development), and she is identified with the many forms of energy (नाना शक्ति) and the one source of Supreme Power (शक्ति वैभक्तिं परम्). She in her unmanifest form is without visual trace (*anākhyā*), but she becomes manifest in the Shaḍ-guṇas (षड्गुणाख्य). The Six Guṇas of Sarasvatī as the Goddess of speech appertain to the triple nature of both sound and meaning. Sound (śabda) is threefold, gross, subtle and

transcendent; and similarly meaning (*artha*) is threefold, which in the Āgamic lore was known as *Bhuvana*, *Tattva* and *Kālā*.¹

1. A detailed discription is found in the Śiva Purāṇa, Vāyaviya Samhitā, ch. 28 :—

वायुस्वाच—

निवेदयामि जगतो वागर्थात्म्यं कृतं यथा ।
षडध्ववेदनं सम्यक् समासाद्यतु विस्तरात् ॥ १ ॥
नास्ति कश्चिदशब्दार्थो नापि शब्दो निरर्थकः ।
ततो हि समये शब्दः सर्वः सर्वार्थबोधकः ॥ २ ॥
प्रकृतेः परिणामोऽयं द्विधा शब्दार्थभावना ।
तामाहुः प्रकृतिं मूर्तिं शिवयोः परमात्मनोः ॥ ३ ॥
मूर्तिः शिवः विभूतिर्या सा त्रिधा कथ्यते बुधैः ।
स्थूला सूक्ष्मा परा चेति स्थूला या श्रुतिगोचरा ॥ ४ ॥
सूक्ष्मा चिन्तामयी प्रोक्ता चिन्तया रहिता परा ।
या शक्तिः सा परा शक्तिः शिवतत्त्वसमाश्रया ॥ ५ ॥
शक्तिः शिवः शिवोऽन्तर्हितोऽन्तर्हितः तथा ।
सर्वशक्तिसमष्ट्यात्मा शक्तितत्त्वसमाख्यया ॥ ६ ॥
समस्तकार्यजातस्य नृलप्रकृतितां गता ।
सैव कुण्डलिनी माया शुद्धाध्वपरमा सती ॥ ७ ॥
सा विभागस्वरूपैव षडध्वात्मा विजम्भते ।
तत्र शब्दाद्वयोऽध्वानद्वयश्चार्थाः समारिताः ॥ ८ ॥
सर्वेषामपि वै पुंसां नैजशुद्धयनुरूपतः ।
लययोगाधिकाराः स्युः सर्वतत्त्वविभागतः ॥ ९ ॥
कलाभिस्तानि तत्त्वानि व्याप्तान्येव यथातथम् ।
परस्याः प्रकृतेरादौ पञ्चधा परिणमतः ॥ १० ॥
कलाश्च ता निवृत्त्याद्याः पर्याप्ता इति निश्चयः ।
मन्त्राध्वा च पदाध्वा च वर्णाध्वा चेति शब्दतः ॥ ११ ॥
भुवनाध्वा च तत्त्वाध्वा कलाध्वा चार्थतः क्रमात् ।
अत्रान्योन्यं च सर्वेषां व्याप्यव्यापकतोच्यते ॥ १२ ॥
मन्त्राः सर्वैः पदैर्व्याप्ता वाक्यभावात्पदानि च ।
वर्णैर्वर्णसमूहं च पदमाहुर्विपश्चितः ॥ १३ ॥
वर्णास्तु भुवनैर्व्याप्तास्तेषां तेषूपलम्भनात् ।
भुवनान्यपि तत्त्वोपैरुत्पत्त्यान्तर्यामिहिक्रमात् ॥ १४ ॥
व्याप्तानि कारणैस्तत्त्वैरारब्धत्वादानेकशः ।
अन्तरादुत्थितानीह भुवनानि तु कानिचित् ॥ १५ ॥

पौराणिकानि चान्यानि विज्ञेयानि शिवागमे ।
 सांख्ययोगप्रसिद्धानि तत्त्वान्यपि च कानिचित् ॥ १६ ॥
 शिवशस्त्रप्रसिद्धानि ततोऽन्यान्यपि कृत्स्नशः ।
 कलाभिस्तानि तत्त्वानि व्याप्तान्येव यथातथम् ॥ १७ ॥
 परस्याः प्रकृतेरादौ पञ्चधा परिणामतः ।
 कलाश्च ता निवृत्त्याद्या व्याप्ताः पञ्च यथोत्तरम् ॥ १८ ॥
 व्यापिकातः परा शक्तिरविभक्ता षडध्वनाम् ।
 परप्रकृतिभावस्य तत्सत्त्वच्छिवतत्त्वतः ॥ १९ ॥
 शक्त्यादि च पृथिव्यन्तं भिन्नतत्त्वसमुद्भवं ।
 व्याप्तमेकेन तेनैव मृदा कुम्भादिकं यथा ॥ २० ॥
 शैवं तत्परमं धाम यत्प्राप्यं षड्भिरध्वभिः ।
 व्यापिकाव्यापिकाशक्तिः पञ्चतत्त्वविशोधनात् ॥ २१ ॥
 निवृत्त्या रुद्रपर्यन्तं स्थितिरण्डस्य शोध्यते ।
 प्रतिष्ठया तदूर्ध्वं तु यावदव्यक्तगोचरम् ॥ २२ ॥
 तदूर्ध्वं विद्यया मध्ये यावद्विश्वेश्वरावधि ।
 शान्त्या तदूर्ध्वमध्वान्ते विशुद्धिः शान्त्यतीतया ॥ २३ ॥
 यामाहुः परमं व्योम परप्रकृतियोगतः ।
 एतानि पञ्चतत्त्वानि त्रैवर्ग्याप्तमखिलं जगत् ॥ २४ ॥

पुराण-विषयसूची (Purāṇa Concordance)

प्रथमः खण्डः (सर्ग-प्रतिसर्गौ)

रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य

[As is well known the original contents of the Purāṇa literature were marked by a five-fold classification called *Pancha-lakṣaṇa*. These included—1. Sarga, 2. Pratisarga, 3. Manvantaras, 4. Vamśa, and 5. Vamśānucharita. Sarga and Pratisarga constitute the two sides of the same medal, viz. an account of the creation and dissolution of the universe. These two formed the early Śiṣṭi-Vidyā of the Purāṇa literature which largely borrowed the accounts of Vedic cosmogony. Later on, this was supplemented by a free borrowing from the philosophy of the Sāṅkhya school. The Sarga and Pratisarga material occurs in most of the Purāṇas, and possesses special significance for investigating into the chronological stratification of this literature. Hence a detailed concordance of this material is contemplated, of which this first instalment here lays down references to the Pratisarga evidence.]

टिप्पणी

(१) पुराणलक्षणभूते 'सर्गश्चप्रतिसर्गश्चे'त्यादिश्लोके प्रतिसर्गोऽपि पुराणप्रतिपाद्यभूतो मुख्यो विषय इति प्रतिपादितम् । प्रतिसर्गपदेन दृश्यजातस्य प्रलयो गृह्यते इति पुराणात् एव गम्यते । स्कान्दे उक्तम् 'सृष्टिसंहारवंशानां वंशानुचरितस्य च'.....' (२।१।१।४); अत्र प्रतिसर्गस्थाने संहारपदं प्रयुक्तमिति स्पष्टमेव । वेदान्तकल्पतरु-कारोऽपि पुराणलक्षणव्याख्याप्रसंगे प्रतिसर्गः = प्रलय इत्यभाषिष्ट । दक्षादिप्रजापतिभिः या सृष्टिः कृता, सापि प्रतिसर्गपदेनाभिधीयते इति कालिकापुराणे कथितम् । तथाहि— 'प्रतिसर्गः स्मृतः सो वै दक्षाद्यैः यः कृतः पृथक् । रुद्रो विराट् मनुर्दक्षो मरीचायास्तु मानसाः । यं यं सर्गं पृथक् चक्रुः प्रतिसर्गः स स स्मृतः॥' इति । मत्स्यपुराणे (८।१-१३) यत् प्रतिसर्गवर्षनं दृश्यते, तत्तु न प्रलयसंबद्धं प्रत्युत सृष्टिदिन-वर्षाभिः निर्विवादम् । अत्र प्रतिसर्गपदेन कालिकापुराणदर्शितोऽर्थ एव ग्राह्य इति सुव्यक्तम् । श्रीधरोऽपि 'प्रतिसर्गोऽनुसर्ग एव' इति स्वीचकार (भाग. ४।८।५) ।

अथ प्रतिसर्गविभागः

(२) पुराणेषु प्रतिसर्गपर्यायवाचिनः प्रलयावस्थाविशेषवाचकाश्च बहवः शब्दा दृश्यन्ते, यथा—

अन्तरप्रलयः (ब्रह्म २३२।११)

आन्तराला (विष्णु ६।२।४०)

(उपसंहृतिः)

आभूतसंप्लवः (बहुत्र)

उदाहृतम् (भाग ३।८।१०)

उपसंहारः (विष्णु ६।१।७)

उपसंहृतिः (बहुत्र)

एकार्णवावस्था (बहुत्र)

तत्त्वप्रसंयमः (वायु १०२।४७)

ब्रह्माण्ड ३।३।२५)

प्रतिसंक्रमः (भाग ३।१०।१४)

प्रतिसंचरः (बहुत्र)

प्रतिसंसर्गः (बहुत्र)

प्रत्याहारः (बहुत्र)

प्रलयः (बहुत्र)

महाप्रलयः (भाग. १२।९)

लयः (बहुत्र)

संहरणम् („)

संहारः („)

सम्प्लवः (भाग. १२।४।३४)

(एते शब्दाः प्रलयप्रकरणे सृष्टिप्रकरणे च प्रायेण प्रयुज्यमानाः सन्ति ; क्वचित् तेषामाकरस्थलनिर्देशः सुखबोधाय कृत इति)

(३) प्रायेण प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणं त्रिधा [नैमित्तिक-प्राकृतिक-आत्यान्तिक-भेदेन] चतुर्धा (नित्यप्रलयेन सह) वा विभक्तं दृश्यते । तेषां लक्षणादिकं प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणारम्भे अन्यत्र वा विवृतं वर्तते । प्रलयकालिकानां मेघादीनाम् एकार्णवावस्थायाश्च वर्णन-प्रकरणेऽस्मिन् दृश्यते । सृष्टिविवरणेष्वपि प्रायेण प्रलयप्रसङ्गो वर्तते सामान्यतः, क्वचिद् विशिष्टं वर्णनमपि दृश्यते, तदिदं अधोलिखितसूचीतोऽवगन्तव्यम् ।

(४) आख्यायिकास्वपि क्वचित् प्रलयप्रसङ्गो दृश्यते यथा मार्कण्डेयचरितवर्णने मार्कण्डेयकृतं भगवन्मायानिर्मितप्रलयलीलादर्शनम् (भाग. १२।९-४९) । यतो हि पुराणविषयसूच्या निर्माणमद्यापि असमाप्तमेव, अतः एतादृशानि विवरणानि नात्र संश्रूयितानि ।

पुराण-नाम	प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणम् (त्रिविधस्य चतुर्विधस्य वा प्रतिज्ञापूर्वकं विवरणम्)	नित्यप्रतिसर्गः सर्गः (ब्राह्मः)	प्राकृत प्रतिसर्गः (प्राकृतिकः)	आत्यन्तिक प्रतिसर्गः (मोक्षाख्यः)	अप्राकराणिकं प्रलयविवरणम् प्रलयसम्बद्धं सामान्य विवर- णम् (गौणदृष्ट्या)
ब्राह्म० (मोर- संस्करणं)	२३११६- २३३१७५	×	२३११३- २३२१११ (कालावयववि- चारोऽपि)	२३२१११-७५ (दुःखदुःखनाशो- पायौ च)	×
विष्णु० (जीवा- नन्द०)	६१३११- ७११०४ ६११११-७ (प्रतिसर्गवर्णनोपक्रमः)	×	६१३११-४ ६१३१११ (परार्थकालाव- यवविचारोऽपि)	६१५११- ७११०४ (दुःखदुःखना- शोपायौ)	×
कूर्म० (वेङ्कटेश्वर०)	२१४५१४- ४६१२५	२१४५१६	२१४५१०-६१	२१४५१२-५	×
मार्कण्डेय० (जीवा०)	४६१११-४४ (सृष्टि-कालावयवाभ्यां सह)	×	द्र० प्रकरणम् (अत्र प्राकृत- प्रलयोऽपि)	×	×
लिङ्ग० (जीवा०)	(प्रलयविवरणं नास्ति सृष्टिप्रकरणे क्वचित् सामान्यतो विवृतम्)	....	द्र० प्रकरणम् (अत्र प्राकृत- विचारोऽपि)	....	....
चायु० (आनन्दा- श्रम०)	१००१३३- १०२१३५ (कालावयव-ब्रह्मायुर्विचार- परार्थादि संख्या-परमाण्वा- दिविचार-भूलाकादि-व्यव- स्थापन-शिवपुरवर्णनैः सह)	×	१००१३२- १००१२४६	१०२१४८-१३३ (ज्ञानविचारमोक्ष- विवरणाभ्यां सह । यद्यपि नात्र नामो- ल्लेखः तथापि एत- द्विषयमिदं प्रकरणं)	९११-११ (सुख्यन्तर्गत- प्रलयप्रसङ्गः)

अग्नि० (आनन्दा०)	३६८।१- ३८२।३७	३६८।१	३६८।१-१५	३६८।१५-२७	३६९।१- ३८२।३७	X	X
वामन० (वैकटे०)	(प्रलयविवरणं नास्ति)	....	....	....	....	....	....
वराह० (वैकटे०)	(प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणं नास्ति)	....	....	....	....	....	....
गरुड० (जीवा०)	१।२१५।४- २१७।१७ (युगवेदपुराणादि- विचारैः सहः)	१।२१६।१-६	१।२१६।५-२२	१।२१७।१-१७	X	X	X
नारदीय० (वैकटे०)	(अत्र प्रलयविवरणं नास्ति)	....	....	....	....	....	१।५।२७-३१ (ब्रह्मदिनरात्रि- प्रसङ्गः)
मत्स्य० (जीवा०)	८।१-१३ (अत्र प्रतिसर्गवर्णनं सर्गसम्बन्धि अधिपत्य- प्रदानात्मकं न प्रलय- सम्बन्धि)	....	....	....	....	....	१६५।१-२४ (जगतसंहार- एकाग्रैवावस्था विवरणम्)
भागवत० (गीता- प्रेस०)	१२।१।१-३८	१२।४।३५-३७	१२।४।१-४	१२।४।५-२२	१२।४।२३-३४	११।३।३-१६ (आभूतसंस्तुति प्रसङ्गः, व्यक्- त्य विवरणं च)	X

पुराण-नाम	प्रतिसर्गप्रकरणम् (त्रिविधस्य चतुर्विधस्य वा प्रतिज्ञापूर्वकं विवरणम्)	नित्यप्रतिसर्गः सर्गः (ब्राह्मः)	प्राकृत प्रतिसर्गः (प्राकृतिकः)	आत्यन्तिक प्रतिसर्गः (मोक्षाख्यः)	अप्राकराणिकं प्रलयविवरणम्	प्रलयसम्बद्धं सामान्य विवर- णम् (गौणदृष्ट्या)
ब्रह्माण्ड० (बेंकट्टे०)	३।१।१२८- ३।१।१३ (वायुपुराणवत्)	×	३।१।१३०- १।२।४३	३।३।१-२५	×	×
हरिवंश० (चित्र- क्षाला प्रेस०)	....	....	...	...	....	३।८।२१-२६ (मत्स्यपुराणवत्) ३।९।१-२३ (मत्स्यपुराणवत्)

स्तोत्रसूची

पद्मपुराण (आनन्दाश्रम संस्करण)

रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य

[A Khaṇḍa-wise index of the stotras from all the six Khaṇḍas of the Padmapurāṇa is given here. The six Khaṇḍas of the Padmapurāṇa are:— 1. Ādikhaṇḍa, 2. Bhūmi Khaṇḍa, 3. Brahma Khaṇḍa, 4. Pātāla-Khaṇḍa, 5. Sṛisṭi Khaṇḍa, and 6. Uttara Khaṇḍa. The reference is to the Khaṇḍa, Adhyāya and Śloka]

पुराणस्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
१।१५।५२-६०	शिव	बाण
१।३५।३४-४३	शिव	शङ्कुकर्ण
२।१८।१६-३५	हरि	सोमशर्मा
२।१८।४४-६७	हरि	सोमशर्मा
२।२०।१६-२२	कृष्ण	सुव्रत
२।२१।२०-२८	कृष्ण	सुव्रत
२।३१।३१-५८	हरि	अङ्ग
२।९८।३९-७७	वासुदेवामिधस्तोत्र	

The third Khaṇḍa contains no stotra

४।१।१	नारायण	(नमस्कार)
४।३।२७	राम	सूत, मागध, वन्दीगण
४।५।२-१०	राम	देवगण
४।७।११	शिव	ब्रह्मादि देवगण
४।७।१८	हरि	ऋषिगण
४।२१।२०-२८	हरि	राजा सुमति

पुराणस्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
४।२२।२८-३५	हरि	सुमति (नृप)
४।८८।७२-८८	हरि	(पापप्रशमन स्तोत्र)
४।९३।१५-२२	यम	एक ब्राह्मण
४।१०१।१९१-१९७	शिव	विष्णु
४।१०३।८०	वीरभद्र	देवयोषिद्गण
४।११०।२७५-२८१	शिव	हनूमान्
४।११०।३६६-३६८	शिव	द्विजगण
४।११२।८५	शिव	विदेह नृप
४।११२।१८१	शिव	राम
५।२।१-६	(नमस्कार)	सूत
५।३।२६	वराह	पृथिवी
५।३।३८-४५	वराह	मुनिगण
५।४।१०७-११२	विष्णु	ब्रह्मा
५।४।११६-१३१	विष्णु	नारद
५।५।७९-१००	शिव	दक्ष
५।१४।१०२-१०३	शिव	देवगण
५।१४।११६-११९	शिव	देवगण
५।१४।१२४-१२९	रुद्र	ब्रह्मा
५।१४।१४०-१५४	हरि	रुद्र
५।१६।६८-७०	विष्णु	ब्रह्मा (नमस्कारात्मकम्)
५।१७।३०९-३३७	गायत्री	रुद्र
५।२६।१३३-१३९	शिवदूती	रुद्र
५।२७।११६-११९	गङ्गा	देवगण
५।२७।१५७-१७५	शिव	राम
५।२९।३७-४६	सावित्री	विष्णु
५।२९।९७-११५	ब्रह्मा	विष्णु

पुराण स्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
५।२९।११८-१२८	ब्रह्मा	रुद्र
५।३०।१५८-१६७	क्षेमंकरी देवी	देवगण
५।३५।१३९-१४७	शिव	राम
५।३६।१६३-१७९	ब्रह्मा	राम
५।४०।९-१८	ब्रह्मा	देवगण
५।४०।५७-८३	भगवती रात्रि	ब्रह्मा
५।४०।२५५-२६३	शिव	रति
५।४१।१०९-११७	गौरी	वीरक
५।४१।१५४-१५७	कार्तिकेय	देवगण
५।४१।१८१-१८४	स्कन्द	बन्दिगण
५।४२।३०-३१	हरि	देवगण
५।४३।१९०-१९३	हरि (नृसिंह)	ब्रह्मा
५।४३।५१-७४	सूर्य	शिव
५।४३।८९-९५	शिव	अन्धक
५।५९।५-४२	तुलसी (वृक्ष)	(शतानन्दप्रोक्त)
५।६२।२-११	गणाधिप	(व्यासप्रोक्त)
५।६३।३४-३६	गणेश	देवगण (नमस्कारात्मकम्)
५।७३।९०-९९	हरि	देवगण
५।७५।२४-३२	सूर्य	ब्रह्मा
५।८१।६६-७०	दुर्गा	(पूजाविधौ)
५।८२ अ० में	बुध-शनि	(अर्चने)
६।१०।७	शिव	देवगण
६।२३।१५-६०	गंगा, यमुना	महादेव
६।३४।२७-३५	शनि	दशरथ
६।३६।४२-४८	हरि	इन्द्र
६।४०।५७-६३	विष्णु	इन्द्र

पुराण स्थल	स्तुति-देवता	स्तोता
६।४१।१	विष्णु	युधिष्ठिर
६।४७।२७-२८	हरि	ऋषिगण
६।७२ अ०	(विष्णुसहस्रनाम)	
६।७४।१-१२	(रामरक्षास्तोत्र)	
६।७७।१-२९	(अभ्युदयस्तोत्र)	(महादेवप्रोक्त)
६।७९ अ०	(अपामार्जन स्तोत्र)	
६।८१।१४१-१४९	हरि	पुण्डरीक
६।९९।११-१३	शिव	वृहस्पति
६।१००।२-४	विष्णु	देवगण
६।१०६।१८-२०	मूलप्रकृति	देवगण
६।१३६।२६-२९	गुरु	मङ्कि
६।१४६।१३-१४	शिव	वृत्र
६।१५२।९-१०	(कोटराक्षी स्तोत्र)	(अनिरुद्ध कृत)
६।१७३।४९-५५	हरि	यम
६।१८०।२९।-३७	शिव	पक्षी
६।१८२।१५-३१	महालक्ष्मी	राजपुत्र
६।२०८।३५-४३	हरि	ब्राह्मणगण
६।२१२।८४-९२	कपिल	कलिङ्गक
६।२१७।३४-४१	हरि, ब्रह्मा	वीरवर्मा
६।२२२।४१-५४	हरि	मृगशृङ्गमुनि
६।२२५।१-२८	यम	मृगशृङ्गमुनि
६।२३६।७५-९०	शिव	मार्कण्डेय
६।२४९।७२-११९	विष्णु	लोमश
६।२५६।७५-९३	ईश्वर	महामाया
६।२५७।८-१५	विष्णु	ब्रह्मा
६।२५८।१५-२५	शिव	ब्रह्मा

पुराण स्थल	मृति-देवता	स्तोता
६।२६४।२०-२५	वराह	देवगण
६।२६६।१४-२४	हरि	कश्यप
६।२७०।२४-४१	राम	शिव
६।२७२।४१-४३	कृष्ण	वसुदेव
६।२७२।११०-१२४	कृष्ण	ब्रह्मा
६।२७२।१८९-२१३	कृष्ण	इन्द्र
६।२७२।३०६-३१६	हरि	अक्रूर
६।२७२।३२६-३२७	कृष्ण	अक्रूर
६।२७३।६१-६६	कृष्ण	मुचकुन्द
६।२७७।२७-५४	हरि	शिव
६।२८२।५३-८४	हरि	भृगु
६।२८२।१०९-११०	भृगु	ऋषिगण

THE STOTRAS IN THE MATSYA PURĀṆA: AN ANALYSIS

AND

A NOTE ON THEIR TEXTUAL ASPECT

By

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA.

[मत्स्यपुराण स्तोत्राणि बाहुल्येन शिवस्तुतिपराणि विष्णुस्तुतिपराणि च,
तानि च सर्वाणि भक्तिभावोद्बोधकानि । तेषामत्र पाठसम्बन्धी विचारोऽपि
कृतः, काव्यदृष्ट्या धार्मिकदृष्ट्या च तेषां महत्त्वं च प्रदर्शितम्]

The Matsya Purāṇa stotras contain about 253 ślokaś. The Deities praised are Brahmā, Śiva, Pārvatī, Skanda, Viṣṇu, together with the various manifestations or Avatāras of Viṣṇu, such as Narasiṃha, Vāmana and Varāha. The chief Deities, however, are Śiva and Viṣṇu. Śiva is praised on seven occasions in seven separate Adhyāyas, and Viṣṇu together with his above mentioned Avatāras is praised on eight occasions in different Adhyāyas. Viṣṇu is praised even by Brahmā and Śiva, by the former on two occasions in the form of Nṛsiṃha (Adh. 163) and Vāmana (Adh. 245), and by the latter in the form of Nṛsiṃha (Adh. 179); but Viṣṇu nowhere praises Brahmā or Śiva. The ślokaś devoted to the stutis of Śiva are 99, while those devoted to the stutis of Viṣṇu (and his Avatāras) number 126. The Śaiva stotras are interspersed with the stotras of Viṣṇu.

All these stotras are written in an elevated and inspiring language and in an elegant style. Though some of the stotras are written in the usual Purāṇic Anuṣṭup metre, they are generally written in epic or classical style and in musical tones resonant of inspired devotion. They form so many lyrical pieces of beautiful and sublime poetry, incorporating in them, abundant matter, both spiritual and philosophical. They also provide a useful basis for the study of the religious tendency of the Purāṇa, and contain doctrinal principles of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, the two most important and extensive religions of ancient times.

A list of stotras in the Matsya Purāṇa (Ānandāśrama edition) is given below :—

<i>Stotra</i>	<i>Adhyāya</i>	<i>Ślokas</i>
1. शुक्रकृता शिवस्तुतिः	47	128-168
2. देवैः कृता शिवस्तुतिः	132	21-28
3. देवैः कृता ब्रह्मस्तुतिः	154	7-15
4. रतिकृता शिवस्तुतिः	154	260-270
5. सप्तर्षिकृता शिवस्तुतिः	154	397-404
6. वीरकृता पार्वतीस्तुतिः	158	11-19
7. देवैः कृता कुमारस्तुतिः	159	13-18
8. सिद्धवन्दिजनकृता स्कन्दस्तुतिः	159	40-43 (Gāthās)
9. ब्रह्मकृता नृसिंहस्तुतिः	163	96cd-103
10. मत्स्यकृता नारायणस्तुतिः	164	19-28
11. शंकरकृता नृसिंहस्तुतिः	179	55-60
12. बाणासुरकृता शिवस्तुतिः	188	67-72 (Tōṭakas)
13. भृगुकृता रुद्रस्तुतिः	193	34-45
14. देवासुरकृतं शिवस्तोत्रम्	250	28-40
15. अदितिकृता हरिस्तुतिः	244	12-34
16. प्रह्लादकृतं विष्णुस्तोत्रम्	245	17-28
17. ब्रह्मकृता वामनस्तुतिः	245	67-80
18. पृथिवीकृता महावराहस्तुतिः	248	12-56
19. देवदानवैः कृता जनार्दनस्तुतिः	249	37-44

These Matsya Purāṇa stotras have a large number of variant readings found in the various manuscripts which have so far been collated in the Purāṇa Department of the Kashiraj Trust for preparing the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa. Almost every pāda of a stuti-śloka has some textual variant or variants, many of which are quite important and effect the sense of the text also; e.g. for the Ān. reading ह्रस्वाय मुक्तकेशाय (47. 131a), the Oriya Ms. gives द्रुन्नाय मुक्तकेशाय, and seven Mss. read ह्रस्वाय व्युत्तकेशाय.

Some Mss. (specially the Ujjain Śāradā Ms.) add some additional stuti-ślokas after some of the Ānandāśrama

śloka; e.g., the Śāradā Ms. adds the following śloka after the Ānandāśrama śl. 19 of Adh. 150 (Pārvatī-stuti):—

नमो नमो दानवदारणायै नमो जगद्भूतिलुप्तैर्गन्धै ।
नमोस्तु लोकस्य भयापदायै नमोस्तु ते देवि जगत्त्रयाश्रयै ॥

and also after the śloka 17 of Adh. 159 (Kumāra-stuti):—

त्वं लोकपालः परमं हविस्त्वं प्रभा विभुश्चाप्यथ शत्रुजेता ।
सहस्रपात्वं गुरुशक्तिधारी अनन्तरूपोऽसि सहस्रशक्तिः ॥

A number of the stuti-śloka of the Ānandāśrama edition are found missing or omitted in some Mss. Out of the 25 stuti-śloka a total of 40 śloka and the equal number of half-śloka are omitted in different Mss.

The order of some of the stuti-śloka, as given in the Ānandāśrama edition and also in some other printed editions, is found altered in some Mss., sometimes in all the Mss. The most striking case of this alteration is the second half (c-d) of the Ān. śl. 26 of Adh. 248, which is given after the śl. 20 of this Adh. of the Ān. ed. in all the Mss. Similarly the first-half (a-b) of the śl. 35 of Adh. 250 comes between the two halves of śl. 40 in most of the Mss. The Ānandāśrama order of śloka 25, 26, 27 of Adh. 245 is also found changed in most of the Mss. as śloka 25, 27, 26 (which seems to be the correct and more probable order). There are other cases also of such alterations.

Some Mss. have given obscure or rather unintelligible readings. But when such readings are uniformly found in all the allied manuscripts, they can not be ignored. As an illustration the following may be given:—

The Ānandāśrama reading of śl. 13 (a-b) of Adh. 150 (Pārvatī-stuti) is as follows:

जगति कः प्रणताभिमतं ददौ श्रुतिं सिद्धनुते भवती यथा

(All the Mss. give 'का' in place of Ānandāśrama-reading 'कः')

In place of the above reading the four Northern Mss. and the one Southern Ms. give the following somewhat obscure reading :—

जगत्सुवासि गता यदा मरति सिद्धिमुना भवती यथा

The readings of some stuti-ślokas as given in Ān. ed. of the Matsya Purāṇa also are peculiar and obscure, while the corresponding readings of most of the Mss. are quite clear. The readings of some of the stuti-ślokas in the Ān. ed. are peculiar to it only, and are not supported by manuscript evidence. Such readings of these stotras may be taken as spurious or emended.

सुभाषितानि

पुण्यफलम्

सुवर्णमणिरत्नादिवाहनं गृहमासनम् ।

स्त्रियोऽन्नपानं पुत्राश्च चारुमाल्यानुलेपनम् ॥

एते च विविधाः कामा गीतवाद्यादिकं च यत् ।

सर्वमेतन्मम मतं फलं पुण्यवनस्पतेः ॥ (मार्क० २४।२०-२१)

BHUKTI-MUKTI IDEAL IN THE PURAÑAS

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[पुराणेषु 'भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदमि'ति वचनं बहुत्रोपलभ्यते । एतस्य कारण-
मस्मिल्लेखे स्पष्टीक्रियते । वैदिकपरम्परायां 'प्रवृत्तं च निवृत्तं च द्विविधं कर्म
वैदिकमि'ति पुरातनमभिमतमासीत् । तदेवाश्रित्य प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिपर उभयात्मको
मार्गः सांख्यैर्योगाचार्यैः पाशुपतैरथ विशेषतः पञ्चरात्रभागवतैः प्रचारितः ।
तथा कुर्वद्भिस्तैः श्रमणमार्गिणां निर्वाणैकपरः पन्था न्यक्कृतः ।]

Bhukti denoted the householder's way of life leading to the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. It implied the acceptance of the Dharma-Artha-Kāma ideal of Trivarga as one whole. *Mukti*, on the other hand, signified the ideal of renunciation proper to the life of a recluse. The two were thought of as mutually exclusive or contradictory in the Buddhist tradition which held aloft the conception of Nirvāṇa, or attainment of blissful extinction by entering the Śramaṇic order. There the householders were invited to enter the order of monks and join the monasteries in search of the final goal of extinction. But the ideal inspiring the Bhāgavatas was different from this. They believed in the path of *Pravṛtti* and also reconciled it with that of *Nivṛtti*, leading to a complete scheme of life. Each individual should serve both ends, viz. of realising the perfection of the householder's life, and then moving on to the goal of liberation or *Moksha* by giving up the pleasures of sense and worldly attachments in favour of Yoga and Brahma realisation. As significant of this happy synthesis a new formula was perfected by the Bhāgavatas in the form of

भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदम् (Brahma, 27. 1).

Also, स्याद् भुक्तिमुक्तिभाक् (Agni, 202. 16).

This ideal lays stress on the attainment of happiness in his world and of bliss in the life hereafter. It was the ancient

Vedic inspiration inculcated in the Pṛithvī Sūkta of the Atharvaveda :

संविदाना दिवा कवे श्रियां मा धेहि भूत्याम् ।

(Atharva, 12. 1. 63)

O Earth, my mother, set thou me happily in a place secure. Of one accord with Heaven, O Sage, set me in glory and wealth.

The भुक्ति-मुक्ति formula is repeated hundreds of times in the Purāṇas. The Agni Purāṇa starts with it as a preamble :

अग्निनोक्तं पुराणं यदाग्नेयं ब्रह्मसम्मितम् ।

भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं दिव्यं पठतां शृण्वतां नृणाम् ॥ (१।१०)

Being an encyclopaedic compilation (विद्यासारपुराण, १।१३), at the root of each good act or pious deed it enjoins the conception of भुक्ति-मुक्ति, or which is the same as the synthesis of ज्ञान and कर्म :—

मनुर्वैवस्वतस्तेपे तपो वै भुक्तिमुक्तये । (अग्नि० २।४)

According to it, even the recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa by Nārada to Vālmiki is a similar act :—

रामायणमहं वक्ष्ये नारदेनोदितं पुरा ।

वाल्मीकये यथा तद्वत् पठितं भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥ (अग्नि० ५।१)

The Brahma Purāṇa styles itself as a भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रद text :

शृणुध्वं मुनयः सर्वे यद्वो वक्ष्यामि साम्प्रतम् ।

पुराणं वेदसम्बद्धं भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं शुभम् ॥ (ब्रह्म० २७।१)

Both भुक्ति and मुक्ति live together in the *kamanḍalu* of Brahmā which is the source of the Gaṅgā (Brahma, 72. 29). It was an over-riding ideal dominating each act of piety, be it a visit to a sacred spot, or a dip in a holy stream. The Koṇārka-kshetra of Sūrya on the sea-shore (Brahma, 28. 64), the Brahma-tīrtha (ib. 113.1), the Maudgalya-tīrtha (ib. 136.41), the Sāras-ya-tīrtha (ib. 163.1), etc., are brought within the orbit of the

भुक्ति-मुक्ति ideal. Its climax is reached in the Gṛihastha āśrama being declared as the summum bonum of भुक्ति and मुक्ति :

चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां च गार्हस्थ्यं पुण्यदं स्मृतम् ।

तस्माद् भुक्तिश्च मुक्तिश्च भवतीति मतिर्मम ॥ (ब्रह्म० ८८।१५)

Kālidāsa echoes this Bhāgavata sentiment in the following :

अपि प्रसन्नेन महर्षिणा त्वं सम्यग्विनीयानुमतो गृहाय ।

कालो ह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षमं ते ॥

(Raghu. 5. 10)

The householder's way renders service to all (सर्वोपकारक्षम ; cf. also Śanti-parvan 321.25). The Purāṇa writers return again and again to the theme of exalting the Gṛihastha āśrama by means of edifying legends, with the burden of directing a misguided recluse back to the haven of home and the service of parents ; e. g. Ruchi possessing the status of a Prajāpati turns back from mendicancy and restarts the purposive life of a householder (Mārka. ch. 95). The Gārhasthya life was declared in the Bhāgavata scheme to be the focus of both this life and the life beyond, i. e. in all manner 'True to the kindred points of heaven and home'.

As against this, the Buddhists preached the miseries (अदीनव) of Gṛihastha life and tried to wean people away from that path :

तेन राज्ञा तस्य जनस्य तावदेवंविधा धर्मदेशना कृता कामेष्वदीनवकथा
गृहाश्रमपदस्यादीनवो भाषितस्तथा कामो जुगुप्सितो यथानेकानि प्राणिशतसहस्राणि
ऋषीणामन्तिके प्रव्रज्य गृहाश्रमपदान्यपहाय वनं संश्रिताः ।

(दिव्यावदान, Cowell's edn., p. 224)

The Purāṇas restated the ancient Vedic faith as the Bhukti-Mukti ideal of the new age of Hindu renaissance in order to combat the pseudo-monasticism of the Buddhists.

[illegible]

Last Page of A Śāradā Manuscript from Kashmir, newly acquired for the Manuscripts-Dept. of the Banaras Hindu University, dated Śaivav 36, Śaka 1683.

DEVANĀGARĪ SOURCE OF THE UJJAIN ŚĀRADĀ MANUSCRIPT OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[मत्स्यपुराणस्यैकः शारदालिपिकोश उज्जयिनीस्थायां 'सिंधिया-ओरियन्टल इंस्टीट्यूट' संस्थायां संरक्षितोऽस्ति । स कोशस्तत्र काश्मीरदेशात्प्राप्तः, मत्स्य-पुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठपरम्परां चानुसरति । शुद्धश्चायं कोशः, तथापि लेखकप्रमाद-जन्याः काश्चिदशुद्धयस्तत्रोपलभ्यन्ते, तास्वनेका अशुद्धयः केषांचित् शारदाक्षराणां नागराक्षराणां च परस्परं समानाकृतित्वाद्देतोर्भ्रान्तेन लिपिकरेण जनिताः । देवनागराक्षराणामेव शारदालिप्यां प्रतिलिपिकरणे एता अशुद्धयः संभवितुमर्हन्ति नान्यथेत्यत्र प्रदर्श्य काश्मीरपाठानुसारी कश्चित्प्राचीनो देवनागरीकोश एवास्य शारदाकोशस्याधार आसीदित्यस्मिन्नविबन्धे प्राचीनलिपिविज्ञानमाश्रित्य प्रतिपादितम्]

The Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa deposited in the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, and bearing No. 4481 contains important textual peculiarities, some of which have already been discussed.¹ It also contains certain peculiar scribal errors and textual corruptions which can be explained palaeographically only if we suppose that some Devanāgarī original was the direct or indirect source of this Śāradā Ms. And as this Ms. comes from Kashmir and represents a Kashmirian version of the Matsya Purāṇa, its supposed Devanāgarī original also must have belonged to the same version, and also must have been written in Kashmir or the North-western parts of India. From this it may also be inferred that the Devanāgarī script was in use in Kashmir prior to or side by side with the use of the Śāradā script.

The Devanāgarī script has been used in India since about the 8th century A. D. For a long time it has generally been cognised as an all-India script for writing Sanskrit works and

1. *Vide my article 'A study of the Textual Peculiarities of a Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa' published in 'Purāṇa' Vol. I, pp. 58-71.*

inscriptions. Devanāgarī and Śāradā are two sister scripts, both being evolved from the *Kuṣṭha lipi* which was in use in Northern India from Nepal to Kashmir between the 6th and the 9th centuries A. D. But Devanāgarī seems to be the older of the two. The Śāradā script is found used in an inscription of the Chamba state of the 10th century A. D.¹, when Devanāgarī was already in use both in Northern and Southern India. The Devanāgarī script has been used in some of the inscriptions and grants of South India about the 10th century A. D.² About this time Devanāgarī had its full sway in Gujarat, Malwa, Rājasthān, Madhyadeśa (including the modern U.P.) and Berar. Even in Bengal and Nepal Devanāgarī was the script which was used for writing Sanskrit upto the 10th or 11th century A. D.³, when the Bengālī and Nevārī scripts were evolved. As regards the use of the Devanāgarī script in Kashmir about this time, no documentary evidence is perhaps available; but in order to explain the above-mentioned textual corruptions of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. we have to start with the hypothesis that there was a time when in Kashmir the Devanāgarī script was in use prior to or side by side with the Śāradā script, and that the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. is either a direct or an indirect transcript from some non-extant Devanāgarī original. In the present article an effort is made to show that some of the corrupt readings of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. are really the corrupt forms of the corresponding correct readings of the supposed Devanāgarī original.

There are certain Devanāgarī letters or symbols which, through a little carelessness of the scribe, may be written as resembling each other; e. g. न and त, च and ज, प and य, etc. frequently interchange in Devanāgarī manuscripts. Confusion between such letters may easily arise in the case of a scribe who, though being less familiar with the Devanāgarī script, is transcribing from a Devanāgarī original in his own script or in some other more familiar script.

1. Cf. G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipimālā* (2nd ed.), p. 73.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 68 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 77; also cf. Plate XXIV for a Nepal Ms. of the 10th century A. D.

Below are given some of the cases of such confusion which have been found in the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa (hereafter referred to as Ś)—

1. *The Letter त confused as न*

(a) Ān.,¹ 152. 36—

अथ संज्ञामवाप्याशु गरुडोऽपि सकेशवः ।

पराङ्मुखो रणात्तस्मात् पलायत महाजवः ॥

Ś— ” ” ” पलायन ”

[Here, the reading 'पलायत' (*palāyata*) is the past imperfect tense (लङ्) in the *atmanepada*, of the root अय् to go with परा as an *upasarga*, and agrees with its subject *Garuḍaḥ*. Obviously it is the correct reading and is found in all other Mss., both Northern and Southern. The Ś-reading पलायन (*palāyana*) is clearly the result of the confusion between the Devanāgarī letters त and न]

(b) Ān., 154. 526 cd —

कामरूपा महोत्साहा नन्दान्गुणान्दिनः (गणेशः) ।

Ś— ” महान्साहा ”

[Here, it may be noticed that the scribe first confused the letter त् of the original reading महोत्साहाः (*mahotsāhāḥ*) as न्, by which the correct original reading became corrupt as महोन्साहाः (*mahonsāhāḥ*); he then might have emended the portion महोन् (*mahon*) as महान् (*mahān*), and thus the corrupt reading महान्साहाः (*mahānsāhāḥ*) was the result. Thus महोत्साहाः > महोन्साहाः > महान्साहाः might have been the process.]

(c) Ān., 220. 6 cd —

अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीर्यते ॥

Ś—अविनीन० ” ” ”

1. Ānandāśrama edition of the Matsya Purāṇa, Poona, 1907.

2. *The letter न confused as त*

(a) Ān., 127. 19 ab—

एवं ध्रुवनियुक्तोऽसौ अमते ज्योतिषां गणः ।

The Devanāgarī Ms. (No. 4646) of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain,¹ which is closely allied to Ś, reads as follows:—

एवं ध्रुवनिबद्धोऽपि अमति ज्योतिषां गणः ।

Ś—एवं ध्रुवतिबद्धोऽपि ” ” ”

(b) Ān., 191. 118 ab—

अङ्गोलस्य समीपे तु नातिदूरे तु तस्य वै ।

Ś— ” ” तातिदूरे ” ”

In all these instances the confusion occurs between the two letters 't' (त) and 'n' (न). This confusion is possible only in the case of the Devanāgarī letters—त and न—and never in the case of the Śāradā letters; for in the Śāradā script these two letters do not resemble at all, and so they can never be confused with each other. Hence, it may be inferred that Ś is a copy of some Devanāgarī original, or of some intermediate Śāradā exemplar which was itself a direct or an indirect descendant of the supposed Devanāgarī original. This inference may further be strengthened by the following instances—

3. *The conjunct त्प (tpa) confused as त्य (tya)*

Ān., 153.24 ab—

तस्याङ्गत्पदं सव्यं मारुतोऽमितविक्रमः ।

D reads—

तस्यारक्षत्पदं सौम्यं०

But Ś reads—

तस्यारक्षत्यदं सौम्यं०

1. This Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. will be referred to as D.

[Here, it may be seen that the readings of both the Ujjain Mss.—D and Ś—represent the same version, but while the reading of D is correct, that of Ś is quite defective and corrupt and carries no sense at all. The reading तस्यारक्षत्पदं (*tasyāraṁkṣatpadam*) is given by all other Mss. The defect in the Ś-reading; (*tasyāraṁkṣa-tyadam*) is clearly the result of confusion arising between the Devanāgarī conjuncts त्प (tpa) and त्या (tya) owing to their deceptive similarity. The Śāradā conjuncts tpa and tyā are so distinct from each other that they can never be confused. Hence the creeping of this textual error in Ś can be explained only if we assume some Devanāgarī original as its source.]

4. The letter त (t) confused as व (v)

Ān., 191, 29 a b—

ततो गच्छेत्तु राजेन्द्र तुरासङ्गममुत्तमम् ।

Ś— ” ” ” वुरीकच्छमनुत्तमम् ॥

[Here, some of the Mss. read नदीसंगम for तुरासंगम, and the three Devanāgarī Mss.—No. E. 3550 of the India Office Library, London, No. 2288 of the Deccan College Manuscripts Library, Poona, No. 10443 of the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore—read वुरीकच्छ (*turīkacchha*), but the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. reads वुरीकच्छ (*urīkacchha*),¹ and the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (mentioned above) also gives this reading in an emended form as वरीकच्छ (*varīkacchha*). The Ś-reading वुरीकच्छ is clearly the corrupt form of the Devanāgarī reading वुरीकच्छ which must have been the reading of its hypothetical Devanāgarī original also, and which

1. In the Colophon of its Adhyāya 198 (corresponding to the Ān, Adh. 191) which deals with the *mahātmya* of the various *tīrthas* in connection with the नर्मदामाहात्म्य the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. (Ś) again gives the same reading वुरीकच्छ and the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (D) which closely follows Ś in giving the same detailed Colophon of this Adh. gives the reading उरीकच्छ (*urīkacchha*) instead of its previous reading वरीकच्छ—See my article referred to in footnote I

has fortunately been preserved in the above-mentioned three Devanāgarī Mss. There is no possibility of confusion between the Śāradā symbols for the letters त and व; but the Devanāgarī letter त (t) if written hurriedly and carelessly may look like न (n) or व (v) and may easily be confused with these letters.]

There is also some similarity between certain letters of the Devanāgarī and Śāradā scripts. Thus the Śāradā symbol for the letter ञ (ṇ) resembles the Devanāgarī letter भ (bh), and similarly the Śāradā symbol for the letter ण (ṇ) resembles the Devanāgarī letter म (m). Now a scribe who is more familiar with the Śāradā script, and is more accustomed to use it, may easily confuse the Devanāgarī letters भ (bh) and म (m) with the Śāradā symbols for ञ and ण respectively, for these Śāradā symbols with which he is more familiar may intrude into his memory owing to their deceptive resemblance with the Devanāgarī symbols भ and म which he actually wants to copy, and then he may copy these Śāradā symbols of his memory instead of the Devanāgarī letters भ and म of the original. The opposite may also be true; that is, a scribe who is transcribing in Devanāgarī from a Śāradā original may also be subject to similar psychological or visual confusion. But then we have to decide whether a particular reading in a manuscript is a correct or probable one. If it is not, then we shall have to assume that it is a corrupt form of some original correct reading of the scribe's exemplar which might have been in a script different from the one in which he has transcribed, and then we shall have to show that the corruption was also palaeographically possible.

Below are given a few instances of such psychological confusion, which will further corroborate the

inference that Ś is a descendant of some Devanāgarī original :—

5. *The Devanāgarī भ (bh) confused with the Śāradā symbol for स (s).*

Ān., 153.22cd, 23—

ऐरावते चतुर्दन्ते मातङ्गेऽचलसंस्थिते ॥

महामदजलस्रावे कामरूपे शतक्रतुः ।

तस्थौ हिमगिरेः शृङ्गे भानुमानिव दीप्तिमान् ॥

Ś—सानुमानिव for भानुमानिव

[Here, only Ś reads सानुमानिव for भानुमानिव, while all other Northern and Southern Mss. give the same reading as the Ān. But in this context 'भानुमानिव' seems to be the original and correct reading, and the reading of Ś may be taken as a corrupt one resulting from the confusion between the Devanāgarī letter भ (bh) and the resembling Śāradā symbol for the letter स]

6. *Devanāgarī म (m) confused with the Śāradā symbol for श (ś)*

Ān., 206. 41—

कृष्णेप्सितं कृष्णमृगस्य चर्म दत्त्वा द्विजेन्द्राय मनाहितान्ना ।

यथोक्तमेतन्मरणं न शोचतेऽपि मनसः फलं तत् ॥

[Here, Ś and some other Mss. read 'कृष्णाक्षतं' for 'कृष्णेप्सितं', but 'मरणं' is the reading of all the Mss. except Ś which reads śaraṇam in place of maraṇam. Here also the reading of Ś does not seem to be a correct one, and may be the result of the confusion between the two letters—Devanāgarī म (m) and Śāradā श (ś), which resemble each other, for the Śāradā letters 'm' and 'ś' have little chance of being confused with each other.]

These are some of the instances which are sufficient to prove that Ś is a descendant of some Kash-

mirian Devanāgarī manuscript of the Matsya Purāṇa. Now it remains to be ascertained whether Ś is a direct transcript from the hypothetical Devanāgarī original, or is a copy of some intermediate Śāradā exemplar which might itself be a direct or an indirect descendant of the Devanāgarī original. There are certain corrupt readings in Ś which may throw some light on this problem also. The following instances may be studied :—

1. Ān., 154. 188 cd, 189 ab—

यथाहमुक्तवानस्या ह्युत्तानकरतां सदा ॥

उत्तानो वरदः पाणिरेष देव्याः सदैव तु ।

D —

यत्तावदुक्तवानस्या उत्तानकरता मया ॥

उत्तानो वरदः पाणिरेष देव्याः सदैव हि ।

Ś —

यत्तावदुक्तवानस्या उत्तानकरजा मया

उत्तानो वरदः पाणिरेष देव्याः सदैव हि

[Here, the reading 'उत्तानकरता' must be the original correct reading, for it is supported by the next line 'उत्तानो वरदः पाणि०'; it is also corroborated by the following previous reading :—

उत्तानहस्तता श्रेयता याचतामेव नित्यदा । Ān., 154. 170 c-d.

Here also, both D and Ś give this same reading 'उत्तानहस्तता' which is the same in sense as 'उत्तानकरता'. So it is clear that the Śāradā scribe might have confused the Devanāgarī letter त with the Śāradā symbol for the letter ञ (j), and the corrupt reading 'उत्तानकरजा' was the result.]

2. Ān., 271. 16—

इक्ष्वाकूणामयं वंशः सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।

सुमित्रं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

The reading of all the Mss. except D and Ś is the same as the above Ān. reading. The reading of the first line is uniform in all the Mss. including D and Ś; but the reading of the second line in D and Ś differs from each other as follows:—

D —

यतस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

Ś —

यज्ञस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

[Here the Ś-reading यज्ञस् (*yañśas*) in place of the D-reading यतस् (*yatas*) seems to be corrupt in this context. It may be a transcriptional error of the Śāradā scribe who seems to have confused the Devanāgarī letter त (t) of the original with the Śāradā symbol for the letter ज (j), and then to have given play to his intelligence in emending the reading 'yajas' (thus formed) as 'yañśas'. Thus the process might have been—

यतस्(*yatas*)>यजस् (*yajas*)>यज्ञस् (*yañśas*).]

Now in both these instances the corrupt reading of Ś must be the outcome of the confusion between the Devanāgarī letter त and the Śāradā symbol for ज. The symbols of these two letters of the two scripts, Devanāgarī and Śāradā, though having divergent values, must have had some similarity, so that the confusion between them might have been possible. In this Śāradā Ms. the letter ज is written somewhat like the Devanāgarī ण and has no resemblance with the Devanāgarī letter त. So the confusion between this Śāradā symbol of ज letter and the Devanāgarī symbol त is not possible. Therefore it may be inferred that Ś is not the direct descendant of the Devanāgarī original. Moreover, we find this same form of the Śāradā symbol for ज in a manuscript of the *Atharva-Veda* and also in another manuscript of the *Śākuntala*, both Mss. belonging to the 16th century A. D. So Ś might have been written near

about that date or possibly much later as it appears from its general appearance.

But, in some inscriptions of the Chambā State belonging to the 10th century A.D. we find the Śāradā symbol for ज inscribed as resembling the Devanāgarī letter त of that time,² which was not much different from the modern Devanāgarī त, as is clear from a Nepal Ms. of about the 10th century A.D.,³ and also from an Ujjain inscription of the 11th century A.D.⁴ Anyhow, it is probable that the त letter of the Devanāgarī original might have been mistaken as the Śāradā symbol for ज, by the first Śāradā transcriber, and the corrupt readings such as 'उत्तानकरज' and 'यज्ञस्' might have resulted. Then these corrupt readings might have been continued in the subsequent Śāradā Mss. until they appeared in Ś.

Thus all such corrupt readings of Ś can be palaeographically explained only if we assume that Ś is the descendant of some remote Devanāgarī original, between which and Ś several successive intermediate Śāradā manuscripts might have passed.

The Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (referred to as D) is closely allied to the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. (referred to as Ś). It seems to be the Devanāgarī transcript of some Śāradā Ms., for in one place it confuses the letter ञ (ṣ) as च (ch), which in the Śāradā script closely resemble each other, and so gives the corrupt reading प्रपच्यति (*prapachyati*) for the correct reading प्रपश्यति (*prapaśyati*). Moreover, both these manuscripts (D and Ś) come from a big collection purchased by the Scindia Oriental Institute in 1936 from Srinagar (Kashmir)⁵. So both these Mss. represent the same version of the Matsya Purāṇa, and as already mentioned they are closely allied too. But this Devanāgarī Ms. generally contains correct readings in place of

1. Cf. G.H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā* (2nd ed.) Plate XXXI.

2. *Ibid.*, Plate XXVIII.

3. *Ibid.*, Plate XXIV.

4. *Ibid.*, Plate XXV.

5. This information was kindly supplied to me by Sri S. L. Kabre, Curator, Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, in his letter dated 18-7-58.

the above-quoted corrupt readings of the Ś Ms. So one of the two things is possible – either the scribe of this Devanāgarī Ms. emended all the above-mentioned corrupt readings of its Śāradā exemplar, or there might have been two streams of the Śāradā Mss. of the Matsya Purāṇa issued from the same Devanāgarī original, the one confusing the letters of the two scripts and the other not making such confusion; and D might be the Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā exemplar belonging to the non-confusing stream.

The points discussed in this article may briefly be recapitulated as follows :—

1. There are certain corrupt readings in the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa, which can be explained only if we suppose that it had some Devanāgarī original as its direct or indirect source.
2. The general appearance and the forms of some of the letters of this Śāradā Ms. show that it was written after the 16th century A.D., when Śāradā symbol for the letter ञ resembled the Devanāgarī letter ण.
3. Certain corrupt readings of the Śāradā Ms. show that the hypothetical Devanāgarī original might have belonged to the 10th or the 11th century A.D., when the Śāradā symbol for the letter ञ somewhat resembled the Devanāgarī letter णः.
4. The Ujjain Śāradā Ms. is not the direct or immediate transcript of the Devanāgarī original, but one or more intermediate Śāradā Mss. might have passed between the Devanāgarī original and this Ujjain Śāradā Ms.
5. There might have been two streams of the Śāradā Mss. of the Matsya Purāṇa issuing from the same Devanāgarī source, the one confusing certain letters of the two sister scripts—Devanāgarī and Śāradā—and the other not subject to such confusion and hence preserving the correct readings of the Devanāgarī original.

6. The Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (No. 4646) is the Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā Ms. belonging to the non-confusing group, hence this Devanāgarī Ms. of the Ujjain Oriental Institute generally gives the correct readings in place of certain corrupt readings of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms.

These points require further study based on sufficient manuscript evidence and epigraphic data. Until some more Śāradā Mss. of the Matsya Purāṇa are available and studied thoroughly, these points may be taken as tentative only.

अक्रोधनः क्रोधनेभ्यो विशिष्ट-

स्तथा निम्निगुनितिक्षाविशिष्टः ।

अमानुषेभ्यो मानुषश्च प्रधानो

विद्वांस्तथैवाविदुषः प्रधानः ॥

(मत्स्य०, 37. 6)

THE POSITION AND ANTIQUITY OF PĀTĀLA-KHAṆḌA OF THE PADMA-PURĀṆA

By

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

[अस्मिन्निबन्धे पद्मपुराणान्तर्गस्य पातालखण्डस्य स्थानक्रमविषये मौलिकतायाः प्राचीनतायाश्चविषये विमर्शःकृतः । पातालखण्डस्य स्थानं स्वर्ग-
खण्डात्परतः सिध्यति । मूलपद्मपुराणस्य प्रधानदेवता ब्रह्माऽऽसीदित्यन्यत्र प्रतिपादितम् । तस्य मूलपद्मपुराणस्य कतिचिदध्याया एवावशिष्टाः
सृष्टिखण्डान्तर्गता वर्तन्ते । पातालखण्डं तु मूलपद्मपुराणे नान्तरभवत्,
रामोपासकैस्तस्य रचना कृतेति प्रतीयते । तदपि पातालखण्डं काले काले
उपवृंहणमगमत् । तस्मिन् पातालखण्डे रामस्य पूर्वचरित्तमेव वर्णिनः, पद्मपुराणस्य प्राचीनेषु
वंगदेशीयहस्तलेखेषु पातालखण्डस्य तावानेवांश उप-
लभ्यते; नाधिकः । परन्तु सुदृष्टपद्मपुराणपुस्तकेषु पातालखण्डस्योपवृद्धिर्
रूपमुपलभ्यते; तच्चोपवृंहणं प्रथमं लिंगोपासकैः पाशुपतशैवैः, तदुत्तरं भागवत-
वैष्णवैश्च कृतम् । इत्थं पातालखण्डस्य कालक्रमेण विकासस्य त्रयः स्तराः
सम्भवन्ति—१. रामोपासकानां रामोपाख्यानसंवलितः प्राचीनोऽंशः, २.
पाशुपतशैवानां शिवप्रशंसाप्रधान उत्तरोऽंशः, ३. भागवतवैष्णवैः संयोजितः
कृष्णोपासनाप्रधानोऽन्तिमोऽंशश्च]

The Pātāla-khaṇḍa has unanimously been regarded as a part of the *Padma-p.* both in its Devanāgarī and Bengal recensions. The importance of this khaṇḍa lies considerably in its mention of the subject matters of those khaṇḍas which precede it in the present text of the *Padma-p.* According to it, Vātsyāyana once said to Śeṣha, the Serpent, “O Śeṣha ! I have heard from you in their entirety the stories of creation, destruction, etc. of the universe. You have also spoken to me, O sinless one, on celestial geography, terrestrial geography, determination of circles of luminaries, separate determination of the true nature of the creation of “Mahat-tattva” etc., the lives of various kings, and the splendid careers of the kings of the Solar race ; and among these, the story of Rāma which removes multitude of great sins, has been narrated. I have also heard in brief the story of the

Aśvamedha sacrifice of that hero (named) Rāma.”¹ It is evident from our knowledge of the *Padma-p.* in its present form that the above-mentioned topics formed the nucleus of those parts of the *Padma-p.* which preceded the Pātāla-khaṇḍa; but it will be wrong to say that all these were, without any exception, the subject-matters of the *Padma-p.* in its original form.

We have shown elsewhere² that this Purāṇa was originally a contribution of the Brahmā-worshippers. It is quite natural that these sectaries would not like to propagate the glorification of Rāma (by narrating Rāma-kathā etc.) instead of championing their own views.

It can easily be pointed out that only a few chapters towards the beginning of the Śṛiṣṭi-khaṇḍa have been retained from the original *Padma-p.*, and hence it can be easily averred that as the place of this Pātāla-khaṇḍa in the arrangement of the six khaṇḍas of the *Padma-Purāṇa* is even after Svarga-khaṇḍa, in the matter of originality no great weight should be given to it.

But however late the Pātāla-khaṇḍa may be (we shall presently discuss that point), the information given by it should be taken into serious consideration. It partly settles the vexed problem of the arrangement of the different khaṇḍas of the *Padma-Purāṇa* when it says that the beautiful Svarga-khaṇḍa preceded it.³ It is unhappy to note that in the Ānandaśrama edition of the *Padma-Purāṇa*, there is no such division as the Svarga-khaṇḍa. But the evidence as furnished by the Pātāla-khaṇḍa itself proves clearly that it is the Svarga-khaṇḍa, and not the Brahma-khaṇḍa (as seen in the printed text), which closely preceded it

It is to be noted that all the topics, on which Śeṣha is said to have spoken to Vātsyāyana are found in the khaṇḍas

1. Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 1. 4-7

2. See my paper i. e. ‘The Position and Antiquity of the *Padma-Purāṇa*’ in *Our Heritage*, (Bulletin of the Post Graduate and Research Dept. Sankrit College, Calcutta) Vol. II, pt. 1.

3. Ibid., 1. 2 ‘*ṛiṣhaya ūchuh—śrutam sarvaṁ mahābhāga svargakhaṇḍa ān manoharam*’

preceding the Pātāla, the only exception being that accounts of the kings of the solar race occur in the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension about which we shall discuss later on. Thus it can be averred that the writer or compiler of this Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* was conversant with this Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension. Thus to stand to reason, it is evident that the information of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* sets aside the arguments in favour of placing Brahma-khaṇḍa just before it and hints at the correct order of the several khaṇḍas of the *Padma-purāṇa*.

On a scrutinising analysis it can be observed that perhaps the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in its earlier form, was completely a work of the Rāmaites who took a fancy to this khaṇḍa and used it freely to propagate their views. They did not think suitable for them to follow the narration of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* at every step and to be guided always by those narrative elements of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki; on the other hand they have built up several stories which were quite different from that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and have introduced these in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in a very befitting manner. The innovations made by them and their deviations from the main *Rāmāyaṇa* will be discussed in their proper place.

The original portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Rāmaites describes primarily the later portion of Rāma's story which begins from his victory at Laṅkā and return from there to Ayodhyā after placing Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne and extends upto the end of his Aśvamedha sacrifice or (if we take the evidence of the Bengal manuscripts of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa) upto the end of his life. In one place¹ it speaks of the six divisions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz. Bāla, Āraṇyaka, Kishkindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara, and gives a very brief summary of the contents of each Kāṇḍa. It is to be noted here that although it does not mention the name of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, its summary of contents of the Bāla-Kāṇḍa from Daśaratha's Putreshtī sacrifice

1, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66. 163-168,

down to Rāma's advent to Chitrakūṭa with Sītā and Lakshmaṇa, his refusal to go back to the capital even though entreated by Bharata and his abode at Nandigrāma includes the contents of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa also. The information about the number of ślokaś of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is also given in it¹. Thus we see that this portion was purely Rāmaite. But this Rāmaite influence on it was not made to be the alpha and omega of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. On the other hand, as is the case with most of the Purāṇas, this Rāmaite influence on the Pātāla-khaṇḍa did not find favour with the supporters of the other sects who in their spirit of adherence to their particular sects tried to replace the whole of the latter half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa with fanciful glorifications of Liṅga and Śiva who was according to them much superior to Rāma who often bowed down to the Great Omniscient and Omnipotent Lord Śiva. It is interesting to note that the first half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa (which ended in ch. 68 from the beginning of the Ānss. edition of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p*) was left untouched by the staunch Śaiva worshippers who perhaps did not venture to replace it on account of its growing popularity among the people. It is also possible that the original portions (by which we mean those portions which were written by the Rāmaites) actually ended with the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma (ch. 68) or with the passing of Rāma to heaven.² Thus the Liṅga-worshippers may not have altered the portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa following chap. 68 but added some new chapters of their own interest to the then recognised Pātāla-khaṇḍa as its latter half. It is evident that if a portion ends with Rāma's passing to heaven, it is self-contained and complete and needs no further additions; that this portion was spurious and superfluous is further proved by the Bengal manuscripts which do not contain a single line of these. In their zeal to propagate their view-points the Liṅga

1. *Chaturvīṃśatisūhasraṃ śaṭ-kāṇḍa-parichikṣitam*, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66. 183a.

2. The account of Rāma's passing to heaven is not found in any of the printed editions of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa*, but it is preserved in the Bengal Mss. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which give it in their first twenty-eight chapters

worshippers wrote some chapters and added these to the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in such a hopeless way that the spuriousness of these later chapters is easily observable. The following lines of this latter half show the complete disconnection of this half with the first half of the Rāmaites. It says that once Śaṅkara came to Ayodhyā to meet Rāma. The latter, after due reception and worship of Śaṅkara, asked Him to tell him about some Māhātmyas. He said, "The method of worshipping a liṅga; the glorifications of the same; praise of (uttering) the name of Maheśa and of worshipping, saluting and seeing Him; praise of giving water, offering incense, lamps, scents, etc., glorification of flowers; sanctifying narration or various anecdotes and historic tales; (discourses on) Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Moksha and the ways of attaining them— all these I wish to hear from you, O! Greatest of the great sages and one of celebrated vow".¹ But besides these this half deals with many other topics of interest such as bhasma-māhātmya etc., which have been introduced here and there in this half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. Here the sole endeavour of the liṅga-worshippers is confined to showing greatness of Śiva— His greater power than that of Rāma or Viṣṇu. It will be a matter of no mean interest to refer to some relevant verses to show how Rāma or Viṣṇu was much below the status of Śiva. While praising Śiva highly, Viṣṇu says "O Lord! I have devoutly worshipped you for a thousand years, daily with a thousand

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1. *Liṅgārchana-prakāraṁ cha Liṅga-māhātmyam eva cha |*
Maheśanāma māhātmyaṁ pūjāmāhātmyam eva cha ||
namaskārasya-māhātmyaṁ drishṭimāhātmyam eva cha |
jaladānāsya māhātmyaṁ dhūpadānāsya sattama ||
diṇḍīpandhādīdānāsya puṣhpamāhātmyam eva cha |
nānākhyānetihāsanāṁ kathāṁ pāpa-praṇāśinīm ||
dharmārtha-kāmamokṣhāṁścha tadupāyāṁścha suvrata |
tatsarvaṁ śrotumichchāmi tvatto munivarottama ||

Ibid. 100. 23-26

The verses from 23b-25a do not occur in the Vaṅga. ed. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. The Venkaṭ. ed. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa possesses all the verses, see Venkaṭ. ed. 104. 23-26.

lotuses, still you have not shown your feet to me.”¹ While Śiva and Viṣṇu were engaged in mirthful water sports many a time Viṣṇu was drowned by Śiva who jumped upon the shoulders of Viṣṇu, caught his head and made him sink.² It has been said that once while worshipping Śiva, Hari had offered his eyes to Him for want of flowers.³ Once in the body of Rāma there appeared a shadow of Maheśa four armed and three-eyed.⁴ After beautifully eulogising Śiva, Śrīviṣṇu fell down at the feet of Him⁵. Once Pārvatī rebuked Śiva. Hearing his blame, Viṣṇu who was present there was about to put an end to his life by tearing away his head with his nails as he did not like to live at a place where Śiva was decried; but he was prevented from doing so by Śiva Himself⁶. In ch. 112. vs. 181, Rāma glorifies Śiva with great respect. He recites fifty-seven names of Śiva (the name ‘subhacharita’ has been mentioned twice) in address and bows down to him saying ‘namaste’ ‘namaste’. It has been said that as Rāma was not conversant with the Purāṇas, he had invited Śiva to teach him the Purāṇas; but it is interesting to note that although Śiva has approached Rāma for an instruction of the Purāṇas still Rāma asks him to tell him something about Liṅgārchanaprakāra etc. and the mātmyas of the Purāṇas, although related, have been only of secondary importance. The Liṅga worshippers were so anxious of propagating their sectarian motive that they could not resist themselves from

1. Ibid. 110. 187.

*mayā varshasahasraṁ tu sahasrābjais-tathānvaham |
bhaktyō saṁpūjito piśa pado na darśitas-tyayā ||*

2. Ibid. 110. 151b-152.

*atrāntre hareḥ skandham āruroha mahesvaraḥ |
haryuttamāṅgaṁ bāhubhyāṁ grihitvā so nyamajjayat ||
unmajjayitvā cha punaḥ punaśchāpi punaḥ punaḥ |*

3. Ibid. 106. 34b. *puṣhpābhāve harir netram*

4. 101. 111.

*pratibimbem atho gātre rāmaṣya samadriṣyata |
driṣṭvāiva bimbitam sambhūm chaturbāhūm trilochanam ||*

5. Ibid. 101. 232b, “ityudīrya mahāviṣṇuḥ śivapāde papāta ha’; for the glorification see Ibid. 101. 191-232.

6. Ibid. 110. 267-270

saying that it is Maheśvara, who is the speaker of the *Padma-purāṇa* and in it the characteristics of the Pramathas have been described.¹ Thus they tried to convince the people that the whole of the *Padma-purāṇa* was originally a contribution of the Śaivaites. It is true that here and there stray references to the worship of Hari are not wanting², but these are very few in number and need no particular attention.

Thus we see how this part was utilised for propagating the sectarian doctrines of the Liṅga worshippers. But the compiler or writer of this half thought himself to be too clever, in as much as he, in order to give it the appearance of a portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story as dealt with in the first half, and in order to establish a link with the first-half, and to wipe out the marks of spuriousness in its character, had dealt at length with the *Rāmāyaṇa* story beginning from the birth of Rāma and three brothers down to his victorious return from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā after destruction of Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa and performance of his mother's Śrāddha sacrifice at Ayodhyā in a very gorgeous and befitting manner, introducing innumerable deviations³ from the original *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. But he

1. Pātāla-khaṇḍa 109. 22,

'purāṇam pādman.....maheśvareṇa kathitam pramathākṛitivarṇanam

2. See, e.g. Ibid., 110-390

*'dhyānameva kṛite śreṣṭham tretāyām yajñameva cha
dvāpare chārchanam tiṣṭhe dānam cha harikīrtanam*

See also Ibid. 110. 430a etc.

3. According to this, Daśaratha had four wives, viz. Kauśalyā (mother of Rāma), Sumitrā (mother of Lakṣmaṇa), Surūpā (mother of Bharata), and Suveshā (mother of Śatrughna) (Ibid. 112. 26, 31). But before the birth of these sons, Daśaratha had a son who had been killed by a bear (Ibid. 112. 12.). Bālī had taken away Ruṇā, the lawful wife of Sugrīva (112. 160). Rāma had worshipped Śiva before the advent of his march to Laṅkā and Śiva told him to place His Pināka bow over the two sides of the ocean and advised him to walk over that bow and to cross the ocean. Rāma did the same (Ibid. 112. 180-191). Indrajit fell down from the sky while fighting there with Hanumān and Jāmbavān and then Lakṣhmaṇa killed him (Ibid. 112. 200-210). Atikāya told Rāma that if he would be able to pierce the wooden image of Pañchānana which is placed at the doorway of Laṅkā and cut it into five pieces, then there is a chance of Rāvaṇa being killed (112. 208). Kumbhakarṇa was killed after Rāvaṇa (112. 222-224). Besides these there are a few minor innovations which are of not such importance.

had perhaps not seen that the first portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Rāmaites did contain such matter as has been repeated in this portion. He had perhaps not also understood that this tautology or repetition would go against him and doubly prove the superfluosness and spuriousness of the second portion. Moreover, the author has not succeeded in creating a proper occasion for introducing this Rāmāyaṇa story.

Thus we see that the present Pātāla-khaṇḍa which was perhaps not so voluminous in the beginning was originally a contribution of the Rāmaites. Later the Liṅga worshippers took it and most injudiciously wrote some new chapters and added these to the same. But this was not the only change that was brought in to form the present day Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* A third and last attempt was made by the Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavas to put a stamp of Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavism on it by supplementing it with some new chapters of their own interest. In the second recast it has been shown how the Liṅga worshippers of the Pāśupata sect made Śiva to be eulogised by Rāma. Now in this third attempt of the Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavas, the Liṅga-worshippers have been paid back in their own coin. Here it is seen that Pārvatī and Īśvara (i. e. Śiva) were glorifying the Māhātmyas and celebrity of Kṛiṣṇa and Rādhā, His eternal consort, and Vṛindāvana, their eternal blissful abode. Rādhā has been highly praised.

She is Śivānandā in Śivakuṇḍa, Nandinī in Dehikālātā, Rukmiṇī in Dvārāvātī, Devakī in Mathurā, Sītā in Chandrakūṭa, Vindhya-vāsini in the Vindhyas, Viśālākṣhī in Vārāṇasī and Vimalā in Purushottama. But as Vṛindāvana is the resort of supreme bliss and Rādhā is eternal bliss as such, so it is highly justified that Vṛindāvana has been regarded as the suitable abode of the Supreme Being. The celebrity of Vṛindāvana has also been highly spoken of. It has been regarded as situated above this Brahmāṇḍa. It is much superior to ever blissful Vaikuṇṭha and other similar places of the universe. It is the playful abode of Lord Kṛiṣṇa and has been worshipped by the

devoted Vaishṇavas who are absolutely pure in mind. It is an outward expression of the Pūrṇa Brahma as such and an abode of charming Rasa of evershining bliss. Even Brahmā and other gods and the Siddhas pay homage to that Vṛindāvana. There is no anger, sense of egoism and of difference there. It is famous as it carries the touch of dust from the feet of Govinda. It is secret among secrets, pleasant, most sacred and ever blissful.¹

Thus we see the three attempts of the different sectaries to control this Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa.

(To be continued.)

पदार्थशक्त्यो या यास्ता गौरीति विदुर्बुधाः ।

शक्तिमन्तः पदार्था ये स च सर्वो महेश्वरः ॥

गौरीरूपाणि सर्वाणि शरीराणि शरीरिणाम् ।

शरीरिणस्तथा सर्वे शंकरांश व्यवस्थिताः ॥

(लिङ्गपु०, उत्तरा०, अ० ११)

1. It should however be noted in this connection that the Bengal Iss. of the Pāt-kh. do not contain all these references as they end in ch. 80 of the Anss. ed. of the Pāt-kh.

पुराणप्रसङ्गः

महामहोपाध्याय पं० मधुसूदन ओझा

[The accounts of cosmogony are known as Purāṇa, and the deeds of men are called Itihāsa. The Purāṇa-Vidyā dealing with the origin of the Universe is Sṛisṭi-Vidyā. It is fivefold ; (1) Knowledge about Creation and the Triple Worlds ; (2) Astronomy ; (3) Geography and Cosmology ; (4) Miscellaneous (Prāsaṅgika) and (5) Dynastic History. Each one of these is explained. Prāsaṅgika is fourfold, viz. Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāthā and Kalpaśuddhi, the last including the different metaphysical doctrines and religious cults. The eighteen Purāṇas are then classified into four groups. It is stated that from the point of view of contents the existing texts of the Purāṇas have got mingled up. Finally the Purāṇa is said to be '*Vedānām Vedam*', that is a veritable source of information about the Veda itself.]

विज्ञानशस्त्रे प्रतिपादनीये लोकेतिवृत्तस्य भवत्यपेक्षा ।

तच्चेतिवृत्तं द्विविधं गुणैः त्रैभिः प्रवदन्ति वृद्धाः ॥ १ ॥

यद् विश्वसृष्टेरिति वृत्तमासीत् पुरातनं तद्धि पुराणमाहुः ।

यच्चेतनानां तु नृणां चरित्रं पृथक् कृतं स्यात् स इहेतिहासः ॥ २ ॥

अनाद्यनन्तं यदिह प्रदृश्यते विश्वं विचित्रं बहुरूपमद्भुतम् ।

कदा कथं वा तदभूत् कुतः कुतस्तदित्थमग्रे ऋषिर्निर्दिशति ॥ ११ ॥

तद् विश्वसृष्टेर्बहुधा निरूपणं पुरातनं यत्कृतमादिसूरिभिः ।

सा सृष्टिविधेह पुराणसंज्ञया ख्याता विभक्ता बहुधा च पञ्चधा ॥ २ ॥

१

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३

त्रैलोक्यविश्वविद्या ज्योतिश्चक्रं च भुवनकोशश्च ।

४

५

प्रासंगिकं च वंशावली, पुराणं तु पञ्चविधम् ॥ ३ ॥

या विश्वसृष्टिविद्या साऽष्टादशधा परिच्छिन्ना ।
 सृष्टिपरिच्छेदानां पुराणसंज्ञा पुराणत्वात् ॥ ४ ॥
 ग्रहनक्षत्रज्ञानं ताराविज्ञान - गोलविज्ञाने ।
 स्मारकचरित्रकलसिज्योतिश्चकं जगत्त्रयविद्याऽस्ति ॥ ५ ॥
 वर्षविभागो गिरि-वन-समुद्र-नद्यः सरांसि चाखाताः ।
 नगरस्थानावासा भूमितिर्स्थं च भुवनकोशोऽस्ति ॥ ६ ॥

१ २ ३ ४

आख्यानोपाख्याने गाथा अथ कल्पशुद्धिश्च ।
 प्रासंगिकं चतुर्धा प्रश्नग्नमाग्निप्रसंगतोऽधीतम् ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रौतः स्मार्तः समयश्चाचारो धर्मभेदास्ते ।
 नानोपासनभेदा दर्शनभेदाश्च कल्पशुद्धिरिह ॥ ८ ॥
 स्वायम्भुवर्मादिगणानुदंशः वैवस्वतो वंशः ।
 सूर्याग्निचन्द्रवंशा उक्ता वंशावलिग्रन्थे ॥ ९ ॥

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६

ब्रह्मा पद्मं विष्णुर्वायुश्चापश्च नारदश्चेति ।
 षट्कं सृष्टेरुक्थं ब्रह्मादीनां परं परं तूक्थम् ॥ १० ॥
 ७ ८ ९ १०

त्रैगुण्यमग्निसूर्यौ ब्रह्मविवर्तोऽन्य उक्थमतभेदाः ।
 प्रकृतेरग्नेः सूर्यात् सृष्टिरियं ब्रह्मणो विवर्तो वा ॥ ११ ॥
 ११ १२ १३ १४ १५ १६
 लिंगं वराह - वामन - कुमार - कूर्माश्च मत्स्यश्च ।
 एते षष्ट् त्ववताराः सन्ति विराजोऽनु सृष्टिविधाः ॥ १२ ॥
 संचरतः प्रतिसंचरकर्मार्थोक्तान्यनुत्क्रान्ती ।

१७

अपि संपरायविद्या गरुडपुराणे पुनर्जन्म ॥ १३ ॥
 विश्वस्य रूपमस्ति ब्रह्माण्डं, तस्य यादृशी संस्था ।

१८

तत्र यथा ये लोकास्तदिदं सर्वं पुराणेऽन्त्ये ॥ १४ ॥

एवं पुराणमेकं कृष्णद्वैपायनेन संग्रथितम् ।
वेदग्रन्थादुद्धृतं दशमस्कन्धतः परिच्छिन्नम् ॥ १५ ॥

प्रचलितपुराणग्रंथानामेकैकस्मिन् सर्वपुराणार्थानां साङ्कर्यम् ।

पौराणसंहिता सा सूतेनासीत् प्रचारिता लोके ।
तिस्रोऽन्यसंहिता अपि शिष्यैः सूतस्य निर्मिता अभवन् ॥ १ ॥
पौराणिकस्तु सूतः स रोमहर्षण इति श्रुतस्तेन ।
सप्त पुराणग्रन्थाः षट्संवादिप्रकारतो रचिताः ॥ २ ॥
उग्रश्रवास्तु सौतिः पुनर्द्वितीयं व्यधाच्चतुर्थं च ।
अपि पञ्चमं स चक्रे शेषपुराणानि चाष्टमादीनि ॥ ३ ॥
तस्मात् पद्मपुराणं द्विविधं द्विविधं चतुर्थं च ।
द्विविधं च पञ्चमं तच्छेषाणां ग्रन्थ एकैकः ॥ ४ ॥
प्रश्नानुसारतस्तु ग्रन्थेष्वेषु प्रवर्तमानेषु ।
अन्यपुराणार्था अपि सर्वे सर्वत्र सन्ति संकीर्णाः ॥ ५ ॥
एतत् पुराणशास्त्रं ह्युपजीव्यं सर्वशास्त्राणाम् ।
वेदानामपि वेदं पुराणमितिहासमप्याहुः ॥ ६ ॥
वेदः शास्त्रं तदिदं कदाभवत् कोऽत्र वा विषयः ।
केन च निर्मितमेतज्ज्ञानं शास्त्रस्य शास्त्रं स्यात् ॥ ७ ॥
प्रत्यर्थं या भातिर्या चास्ति सोऽपलब्धिरपि वेदः ।
स कदा कथमभवद्वा तज्ज्ञानं वेदवेदः स्यात् ॥ ८ ॥
सन्ति पुराणसमीक्षाग्रन्थं विशदं प्रदर्शिता एते ।
सर्वे विषयास्तस्मिन् दृश्यन्तामिह तु संक्षेपः ॥ ९ ॥

विश्वसंस्थाचतुष्टयम् ।

इह तावदाधिभौतिकमस्ति खलु ब्रह्मचरिणमालोच्यम् ।
तदुपोढलकतयैवाधिदैविकं ब्रह्मचरितमाकल्ये ॥ १ ॥
यद् दृश्यते विश्वमिदं तदेतत् पिण्डगुणनृपक्रमतस्मिन्नास्ति ।
पृथ्वी प्रतिपद्यत्र पशुदुजन्तुग्रामस्तदित्थं द्विविधोऽस्ति पिण्डः ॥ २ ॥

ततश्चतुःसंस्थमिदं हि विश्वं ब्रह्माण्डं पिण्डशरीरपिण्डैः ।
 आत्मा चतुर्धाऽस्ति ततोऽनुपाख्यो हिण्यगर्भोऽथ च धिष्यहृद्यौ ॥ ३ ॥
 यो दैहिकस्तेजस एष हृद्यो धिष्यः पृथ्व्यादिषु योऽन्तरस्थः ।
 हिण्यगर्भोऽण्डगतोऽस्ति सूर्योऽव्ययोऽनुपाख्यो विरजो द्युपृष्ठे ॥ ४ ॥
 पिण्डे शरीरे हृदयस्थ आत्मा धातून् सृजत्यस्थिपलासृगादीन् ।
 एवं पृथिव्या अपि नभ्य आत्मा धातून् सृजत्यभ्रकगन्धकादीन् ॥ ५ ॥
 ब्रह्माण्डनभ्यो रविरेष आत्मा ज्योतिश्च गामायुरुताण्डधातून् ।
 यथा सृजत्येवमसावनन्तः सूर्यश्चेन्दुमृतीन् ससर्ज ॥ ६ ॥
 सृष्टिश्च तत्र प्रतिसृष्टिरेवं पुनः पुनः संभवति स्वभावात् ।
 प्रत्यर्थभेदाद् प्रतिसूर्यभेदाद् व्यष्ट्या समष्ट्या प्रलयोदयौ स्तः ॥ ७ ॥

[From his *J. ...*, pp. 4-6.]

PADMINĪ VIDYĀ OF THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA PURĀṆA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

['पद्मिनीविद्या' नामेदं वर्णनं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे (अ० ६८) लभ्यते अत्र देवी श्रीलक्ष्मीरेव पद्मिनीत्यभिधीयते । साऽष्टानां निधीनामधिष्ठात्री देवी, सर्वेषां भोगानुपपादिका च । अस्मिन् लेखे तस्या विद्याया इतिहासपरा व्याख्या प्रस्तूयते । गुप्ताभिधाने स्वर्णयुगेऽस्मिन् राष्ट्रे पूर्वापराभ्यां समुद्राभ्या-
मानीय महान् स्वर्णराशिः संचितः । लोके सर्वत्र तस्य वितरणं संजातम् । तस्यैव यानि विविधानि रूपाणि तामाढ्यताम् एकैकेन निधिना वर्णयन्ति तेषां सुस्पष्ट-
मुपलक्षणं पुराणकारेण प्रदत्तम्]

Chapter 68 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa contains an account of the Padminī Vidyā, which although cast in a mythical mould really describes the ideals of wealth and richness as entertained in the Golden Age of the Guptas. It is stated that king Svarochis, lustrous as the immortals, accompanied by his wives, enjoyed life in fulness. His knowledge of the Padminī brought the Eight Nidhis in his power, which secured for him gems for every kind of enjoyment, sweet melodies, garlands, raiments, ornaments, richly scented unguents, brilliant golden seats according to desire, golden pots and vessels, and also beds of diverse kinds arrayed with heavenly coverings.¹ Here ten items of enjoyment of the best quality are enumerated

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- १ ततः स तामिः सहितः पत्नीभिरमरद्युतिः ।
रराम तस्मिन् शैलेन्द्रे रम्यकानननिर्झरे ॥ १
सर्वोपभोगरत्नानि मधूनि मधुराणि च ।
निधयः समुपाजहुः पद्मिन्या वशवर्तिनः ॥ २
स्रजो वस्त्राण्यलंकारान् गन्वाढ्यमनुलेपनम् ।
आसनान्यतिशुभ्राणि काञ्चनानि यथेच्छया ॥ ३
सौवर्णानि महाभाग करकानि भाजनानि च ।
तथा शय्याश्च विविधा दिव्यैरास्तरणैर्दुताः ॥ ४

(मार्कण्डेय पुराण, अ० ६५)

which then constituted the paraphernalia of *Bhoga* for wealthy persons.

Svarochis continued to enjoy the pleasures of sense with his wives, until he was awakened to the illusory nature of life. He then, by the power of the Padminī, which accomplishes all pleasures, built for his three sons three cities conducive of all enjoyments. The poet then records a concise statement of the ideal of *Bhoga* as the Gupta citizens looked upon it :

‘What time is unfit for pleasures? The world is all composed of pleasures. Brāhmaṇas with souls subdued perform *Yajñas* in order to get pleasures. Moreover people of discrimination (*vivekinaḥ*), being eager for pleasures experienced and not yet experienced, give alms (*dāna*) and perform the full round of righteous acts (*pūrṇa-dharma*). Pleasure is the reward of effort among men (भोगद्वेषाफलं नृणाम्, मार्क० 66. 33-55).

The two ideals of कर्मभूमि and भोगभूमि are often referred to in the Purāṇas. Bhārata is कर्मभूमि and स्वर्ग is भोगभूमि, and even the gods wish to be born in Bhārata to earn new merits for potential enjoyment. Kālidāsa speaks of a prosperous kingdom as being the very heaven on earth :

ऋद्धं हि राज्यं पदमैन्द्रमाहुः । (रघुवंश II. 50)

The *Varāṅga-charita* of Jaṭānandi, a beautiful poem of the seventh century, gives a charming description of भोगभूमि and कर्मभूमि respectively in cantos VII and VIII.

Padminī is defined as the knowledge which brings all pleasures or secures all enjoyments :—

पद्मिनी नाम या विद्या सर्वभोगोपपत्तिः । (मार्क० ६६।७)

Secondly Padminī achieves this happy condition by putting all the Eight Nidhis within the power of the individual :

सर्वोपभोगरत्नानि मधूनि मधुराणि च ।

निधयः समुपाजहुः पद्मिन्या वशवर्तिनः ॥ (मार्क० ६५।२)

Further clarifying the notion of Padminī it is stated that the presiding deity of the Padminī Vidyā is Lakshmī and the Nidhis are its supporters :

पद्मिनी नाम या विद्या लक्ष्मीस्तस्याश्च देवता ।

तदाधाराश्च निधयस्तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ॥ (मार्क० ६८।२)

Goddess Śrī Lakshmī was the family deity of the Gupta emperors who styled themselves as *Parama-bhāgavata*. She is represented on the reverse of the coins of Gupta kings like Samudragupta, Chandragupta Vikramāditya, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, in both seated and standing poses with several attributes like lotus, cornucopia ('the horn of plenty'), etc. (A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 370-371). This feature of gold coinage continued as a legacy well nigh into the medieval period up to the time of Gāṅgī I. of the Kalachuri dynasty. This goddess was very popular in the Golden Age of the Guptas and has also been found depicted on numerous clay sealings and stone reliefs and statuettes. She became the symbol of the vast wealth amassed by the people in the Gupta period. For several centuries a steady stream of gold had been pouring into India both from the Dvīpāntara or the Indonesian islands in the east and the provinces of the Roman empire in the west through a sea-faring commerce in which the Indian merchants and navigators took a leading part. Kalīdāsa sings of this unprecedented opulence as being due to a rain of gold from above (हिरण्यी कोषगृहस्य मध्ये वृष्टिं शशंसुः पतितो नभस्तः । *Raghuvamśa*, 5. 29). This motif is also referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* where in the kingdom of king Mandhātā a similar phenomenon of *Hiranya-varsha* takes place for a full week (वृष्टं मे रात्राहमन्तःपुरे हिरण्यवर्षम्, Cowell's edn., pp. 213-214). A similar motif is mentioned in the *Harshacharita* (महाकनकावदातो वसुधारामिव द्यौः, N. S. edn., p. 134). The *Śānti-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* records the Rain of Gold motif in a rather elaborate form :—

सुहोत्रं चेद् वैतिथिनं मृतं सञ्जय शुश्रुम ।

यस्मै हिरण्यं ववृषे मघवान् परिवत्सरम् ॥ २२ ॥

सत्यनामा वसुमती यं प्राप्यासीज्जनाधिप ।
 हिरण्यमवहन्नद्यस्तस्मिन्ननपदेश्वरे ॥ २३ ॥
 कूर्मान् कर्कटकान् नक्रान् मकराञ्जिशुकानपि ।
 नदीष्वपातयद्राजन् मघवा लोकपूजितः ॥ २४ ॥
 हैरण्यान् पतितान् दृष्ट्वा मत्स्यान् मकरकच्छपान् ।
 सहस्रशोऽथ शतशस्ततोऽस्मयत वैतिथिः ॥ २५ ॥

(षोडशराजकीय, ch. 29, Poona edn.)

This version of the Shodaśa-rājakīya [Sixteen Great Kings] seems to have been grafted on this Parvan in a subsequent redaction, probably that of the Golden Age. The *Virāṭya-vārāha* was a typical literary motif of that period.

The Padminī Vidyā became popular a symbol of this inundation of the yellow metal amongst rich merchants, landlords and potentates, etc. It is conceived of as a conglomerate of the Eight Treasures (*Aṣṭa-nidhis*) distributed amongst the several classes of moneyed men in society :

यत्र पद्ममहापद्मौ तथा मकरकच्छपौ ।
 मुकुन्दो नन्दकश्चैव नीलः शंखोऽष्टमो निधिः ॥
 सत्यामृद्धौ भवन्त्येते सिद्धिस्तेषां हि जायते ।

(मार्क० ६८-५-६)

Wherever there is prosperity (*satyām riddham*) one or more of these Nidhis are at the root of that good fortune. As a result of divine favour (*devatānām prasādena*) and of attendance on virtuous people (*sādhu-samīvanena*) a man acquires wealth in the form of these Nidhis.

The poet then selects the eight most opulent professions and associates each one with a Nidhi, giving a vivid picture of the typical economic avocations of that age as follows :

1. पद्म—Firstly the Padmanidhi typifies the wealth of those who amass immense quantities of gold, silver, and other metals. This was the class of shroffs

or members of merchant guilds dealing in gold and silver (vs. 10-11), of what is now called the *Sarāfa bazār* and which in ancient times was known as the class of Śresṭhins and Mahājanas. These often enjoy hereditary richness and are the persons who institute *yajñas* with abundant *dakṣhiṇā*, and build temples and mansions (*devaniketa* and *sabhā*). These are men of trustworthy character, perfect politeness and sincerity (दाक्षिण्यसार, सत्त्वाधार, सात्त्विक).

2. महापद्म — The second Nidhi is Mahāpadma. Its possessor is a person of profound goodness (सत्त्वप्रधान) and his *tour de force* is his uprightness and courage (सत्त्वाधार). He deals in precious stones and gems like rubies (पद्मरागादि रत्न), pearls and corals (मौक्तिक, प्रवाल). He patronises devoted persons by building religious establishments for them. This refers to families of distinguished jewellers, whose reputation was hereditary and is said to have lasted for seven generations (पूर्वर्द्धिमात्रः सप्तासौ पुरुषाश्च न मुञ्चति, vs. 16).
3. मकर — The third Nidhi is Makara, having some vile association, although the person who owns it may be of good temperament (सुशील). Such a one gathers a store of arrows, swords, spears, bows, shields and noose (*raśanā*), and seeks friendship with kings and warriors. He finds pleasure in buying and selling weapons as in nothing else. This is rather a unique reference to merchants dealing in military stores, whose wealth is said to have lasted for only a single generation, and not descended to their progeny.
4. कच्छप — The fourth Nidhi called Kachchhapa has in view the type of a rich man who has amassed great wealth but 'who does not give nor enjoy himself, being afraid of losing it' (न ददाति न वा भुङ्क्ते तद्विनाश-भयाकुलः). He is extremely self-centred: 'Just as a tortoise draws all his limbs in, so drawing in all his

11. *Idhāna*: he remains with a selfish mind and confides in no one, not even his own agents (कर्मस्थानखिलांश्चैव न विश्वसिति कर्हिचित् । समस्तानि यथांगानि संहृत्येव कच्छपः ॥ तथारिष्टेष्वचित्तानि तिष्ठत्यायत्तमानसः). Such a one buries his wealth under the earth¹ and his riches are for one generation only, for after him his descendants spend quickly and squander with vengeance. The *Dhārtavīṣa-samvāda* Bhāṇa of Iśvaradatta, a monologue play of the Gupta period, refers to a rich person of such stingy habits by the epithet हैम कूर्म, who when approached with affectionate looks by lovely women, further tightens the strings of his purse, — such a fellow is accursed to a life of gloom like the setting sun (हैमः कूर्म इवावसीदति शनैः संक्षिप्तपादो रविः, verse 70). As the Purāṇa states, his mind remains steeped in darkness (तमःप्रधानो भवति यतोऽसौ तामसो निधिः).

5. **मुकुन्द**—The fifth Nidhi called Mukunda aims at a person who is heir to untold wealth earned and amassed by his forefathers; he is not required to earn himself, and is free to devote his leisure to fine arts like music, dance, drama, poetry, etc. 'He gathers together musical instruments as वीणा, वेणु, मृदंग; he bestows wealth on singers and dancers, and on minstrels and bards, and those who are skilled in drama; he bestows pleasures on them day and night, and enjoys life with them as companions.' This Nidhi was also believed to last for a single generation. In terms of natural temperament, such a person tends to display Rājasic qualities.
6. **नन्द**—The sixth Nidhi called Nanda has in view the wealthy persons represented by the class of landlords, like *zemindārs*, *taluqdārs*, *ṭhikānādars*, *bhūgikas*, *sāmāntas*,

1. निधानमुख्यं कुरुते (vs. 24) is not understood by Pargiter who translates: 'He makes his resting place on the earth'. *Nidhāna* was a well-known term for 'buried treasure', 'treasure trove.'

etc. 'They are the support of their own family and of guests and visitors ; they like to be praised by their bards and cannot brook even small insult. Such persons often enjoy a big harem. They build within their homes big stores of grain, precious stones and metals; they are of haughty temper.' This wealth lasts for seven generations, and confers long life on its owners. Such a person is not much interested in the affairs of the other world.

7. नील—The seventh Nidhi, known as Nila, refers to the class of merchants who do business in general merchandise and building stores., e. g. clothes, cotton, grain, fruits, flowers, pearls, corals, shells, and other similar objects, also timber and other materials. 'He constructs, ponds (तडाग) and tanks (पुष्करिणी) and gardens for pleasure (आराम) ; he makes embankments across rivers (बन्धश्च सरितां) and plants trees. He likes enjoying unguents, flowers and such objects of delight.' This kind of wealth abides for three generations.

8. शंस—The eighth Nidhi is named Śaṅkha, composed of passion and ignorance, enveloping the owner in *rajas* and *tamas*. It has reference to a tight-fisted person of extreme miserliness and despicable nature : 'It is when quite alone that he enjoys food and clothing such as himself has made ; his family eat wretched food and wear miserable clothing ; he makes no gift to friend, wife, brother, son, daughter-in-law or other relatives. He is intent on his own fattening (स्वपोषणपरः).

Each of the above Nidhis is the देवता or presiding deity of that particular kind of wealth. They blend mutually and produce diversified combinations.

As sovereign over them all, presides the goddess Padminī-Śrī or Padmā-Śrī :

सर्वेषामाधिपत्ये च श्रीरेषा द्विज पद्मिनी ।^१

(मार्क० ६८।४६).

पद्मिनीविद्या

(Mārka. Purāṇa, Ch. 68)

क्रौष्टुकिरुवाच ।

भगवन् कथितं सर्वं विस्तरेण त्वया मम ।
स्वरोचिषस्तु चरितं जन्म स्वरोचिषस्य तु ॥ १ ॥
या तु सा पद्मिनी नाम विद्या भोगोपपादिका ।
तत्संश्रया ये निधयस्तान् मे विस्तरतो वद ॥ २ ॥
अष्टौ ये निधयस्तेषां स्वरूपं द्रव्यसंस्थितिः ।
भवताभिहितं सम्यक् श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं गुरो ॥ ३ ॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच ।

पद्मिनी नाम या विद्या लक्ष्मीस्तस्याश्च देवता ।
तदाधाराश्च निधयस्तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ॥ ४ ॥
यत्र पद्ममहापद्मौ तथा मकरकच्छपौ ।
मुकुन्दो नन्दकश्चैव नीलः शंखोऽष्टमो निधिः ॥ ५ ॥
सत्यामृद्वौ भवन्त्येते सिद्धिस्तेषां हि जायते ।
एते ह्यष्टौ समाख्याता निधयस्तव क्रौष्टुके ॥ ६ ॥
देवतानां प्रसादेन साधुसंसेवनेन च ।
एभिरालोकितं वित्तं मानुषस्य सदा मुने ॥ ७ ॥
यादृक् स्वरूपं भवति तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ।
पद्मो नाम निधिः पूर्वं मयस्य भवति द्विज ॥ ८ ॥
सुतस्य तत्सुतानां च तत्पौत्राणां च नित्यशः ।
दाक्षिण्यसारः पुरुषस्तेन चाधिष्ठितो भवेत् ॥ ९ ॥
सत्त्वाधारो महाभोगो यतोऽसौ सार्विको निधिः ।
सुवर्णरूप्यताम्रादिधातूनां च परिग्रहम् ॥ १० ॥
करोत्यतितरां सोऽथ तेषां च क्रयविक्रयम् ।
करोति च तथा यज्ञान् दक्षिणां च प्रयच्छति ॥ ११ ॥
सभां देवनिकेतांश्च स कारयति तन्मनाः ।
सत्त्वाधारी निधिश्चान्यो महापद्म इति श्रुतः ॥ १२ ॥
सत्त्वप्रधानो भवति तेन चाधिष्ठितो नरः ।
करोति पद्मरागादिरत्नानां च परिग्रहम् ॥ १३ ॥

भौक्तिकानां प्रवालानां तेषां च क्रयविक्रयान् ।
 ददाति योगशीलेभ्यस्तेषामावसथांस्तथा ॥ १४ ॥
 स कारयति तच्छीलः स्वयमेव च जायते ।
 तद् प्रसूतास्तथाशीलाः पुत्रपौत्रक्रमेण च ॥ १५ ॥
 पूर्वदिमात्रः सप्तासौ पुरुषांश्च न मुंचति ।
 तामसो मकरो नाम निधिस्तेनावलोकितः ॥ १६ ॥
 पुरुषोऽथ तमःप्रायः सुशीलोऽपि हि जायते ।
 बाणखड्गर्घ्णि धनुषां चर्मणां च परिग्रहम् ॥ १७ ॥
 रसनानां च कुरुते याति मैत्रीं च राजभिः ।
 ददाति शौर्यवृत्तीनां भूभुजां ये च तत्प्रियाः ॥ १८ ॥
 क्रयविक्रयं च शस्त्राणां नान्यत्र प्रीतिमेति च ।
 एकस्यैव भवत्येष न च तस्यानुयानगः ॥ १९ ॥
 द्रव्यार्थं दस्युतो नाशं संग्रामे चापि स व्रजेत् ।
 कच्छपश्च निधिर्यसौ नरस्तेनाभिर्वीक्षितः ॥ २० ॥
 तमःप्रधानो भवति यतोऽसौ तामसो निधिः ।
 व्यवहारानशेषांस्तु पुण्यजातैः करोति च ॥ २१ ॥
 कर्मस्थानखिलांश्चैव न विश्वसिति कस्यचित् ।
 समस्तानि यथांगानि संहृत्येव कच्छपः ॥ २२ ॥
 तथारिष्टस्वचित्तानि तिष्ठत्यायत्तमानसः ।
 न ददाति न वा भुङ्क्ते तद्विनाशभयाकुलः ॥ २३ ॥
 निधानमुच्यते कुरुते निधिः सोऽप्येकपुरुषः ।
 रजोगुणमयदधान्यो मुकुन्दो नाम यो निधिः ॥ २४ ॥
 नरोऽवलोकितस्तेन तद्गुणो भवति द्विज ।
 बीणावेणुवृद्धंगानामातोयस्य परिग्रहम् ॥ २५ ॥
 करोति गायतां वित्तं कृत्स्नतां च प्रयच्छति ।
 वन्दिनामथ सूतानां विटानां लास्यपाठिनाम् ॥ २६ ॥
 ददात्यहर्निसं भोगाच्च भुङ्क्ते तैश्च समं द्विज ।
 कुलटास्वरतिश्चास्य भवत्यन्यैश्च तद्विधैः ॥ २७ ॥
 प्रयाति सङ्गमेकं च यं निधिर्भजते नरम् ।
 रजस्तमोमयश्चान्यो नन्दो नाम महानिधिः ॥ २८ ॥
 उपैति स्तम्भमधिकं नरस्तेनावलोकितः ।
 समस्तमतुरत्नानां पुण्यधान्यादिकस्य च ॥ २९ ॥
 परिग्रहं करोत्येष तथैव क्रयविक्रयम् ।
 आचरः स्वज्जवानां च आगताभ्यागतस्य च ॥ ३० ॥

सहते नापमानोक्तिं स्वल्पामपि महामुने ।
 स्तूयमानश्च महतीं प्रीतिं बध्नाति यच्छति ॥ ३१ ॥
 यं यमिच्छति वै कामं मृदुत्वमुपयाति च ।
 बह्व्यो भार्या भवन्त्यस्य सूतिमस्योऽतिशोभनाः ॥ ३२ ॥
 रतये सप्त च नराब्धिर्नन्दोऽनुवर्तते ।
 प्रवर्द्धमानोऽथ नरमष्टभागेन सत्तम ॥ ३३ ॥
 दीर्घायुष्ट्वं च सर्वेषां पुरुषाणां प्रयच्छति ।
 बन्धूनामेव भरणं ये च दूरादुपागताः ॥ ३४ ॥
 तेषां करोति वै नन्दः परलोके न चादृतः ।
 भवत्यस्य न च रनेहः सहवासिषु जायते ॥ ३५ ॥
 पूर्वमित्रेषु शैथिल्यं प्रीतिमन्यैः करोति च ।
 तथैव सत्वरजसी यो विभर्ति महानिधिः ॥ ३६ ॥
 स नीलसंज्ञस्तत्सङ्गी नरस्तच्छीलवान् भवेत् ।
 वस्त्रकापित्थान्दण्डिस्तु न निमिषः ॥ ३७ ॥
 मुक्ताविद्रुमशंखानां शुक्त्यादीनां तथा मुने ।
 कण्ठादीनां करोत्येष यन्चन्दनजलान्मयम् ॥ ३८ ॥
 क्रयविक्रयमन्येषां नान्यत्र रमते मनः ।
 तडागान् पुष्करिण्योऽथ तथारामान् करोति च ॥ ३९ ॥
 अनुलेपनपुष्पादिभोगं भुक्त्वाभिजायते ॥ ४० ॥
 त्रिपौरुषश्चापि निधिर्नीलो नामैष जायते ।
 रजस्तमोमयश्चान्यः शंखसंज्ञो हि यो निधिः ॥ ४१ ॥
 तेनापि नीयते विप्र तद्गुणित्वं निधीश्वरः ।
 एकस्यैव भवत्येष नरं नान्यमुपैति च ॥ ४२ ॥
 यस्य शंखो निधिस्तस्य स्वरूपं क्रोष्टुके शृणु ।
 एक एवात्मना सृष्टमन्नं भुङ्क्ते तथाम्बरम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 कदम्बभुक् परिजनो न च शोभनवस्त्रधृक् ।
 न ददाति सुहृद्भार्याभ्रातृपुत्रस्नुषादिषु ॥ ४४ ॥
 स्वपोषणपरः शंखो नरो भवति सर्वदा ।
 इत्येते निधयः ख्याता नराणामर्थदेवताः ॥ ४५ ॥
 मिश्रावलोकनान्मिश्राः स्वभावफलदायिनः ।
 यथाख्यातस्वभावस्तु भवत्येव विलोकनात् ॥
 सर्वेषामाग्निपत्ये च श्रीरेषा द्विज पद्मिनी ॥ ४६ ॥

YAKSHA WORSHIP IN VARANASI :

MATSYAPURĀṆA (Ch. 180)

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA AND MOTICHANDRA

[अस्मिन् लेखे मत्स्यपुराणान्तर्गतवाराणसीमाहात्म्यस्याङ्गभूताया यक्ष-
पूजाया ऐतिहासिकी मीमांसा क्रियते । तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे प्राक् कालात् यक्षाणां
पूजा प्रचलिताऽऽसीत्, तामुत्खाय शिवपूजा हरिकेशवयक्षेण प्रतिष्ठापिता ।
नानायक्षाः शिवगणाः संजाताः । हरिकेशवयक्षश्च संप्रत्यपि 'हरसूबरम' नाम्ना
यक्षपूजाविधिना काशिक्षेत्रे पूज्यते ।]

The worship of the Yakshas as a folk-cult was of great antiquity and goes back to the Vedic period. In the Purāṇas also, the Yakshas as a class of deities play an important part, but the available references seem to indicate that the Yaksha cult had receded into the background in the face of the emergence of the well-known Purāṇic gods like Viṣṇu, Rudra and Brahmā. There is in the Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 180, Ānandāśrama edition) evidence which is of value to indicate how the Yaksha cult was superseded by the expanding worship of Śiva.

The legend is that Yaksha Purnabhadra was the king of Yakshas. His son was Harikeśa Yaksha, a devout fellow, who pinned his faith in Śiva. His father, Purnabhadra, became enraged and spoke to his son as follows :—'My dear, this conduct of yours does not fit in with the Yaksha tradition. You should not follow this line. Yakshas naturally are fond of flesh and blood and given to violence. It does not behove you to act like a human being.' When Harikeśa did not submit to his father's admonition, he was turned out of his home. Thereupon he came to Vārāṇasī, and engaged himself in austerities for a thousand years with his mind intent on Śiva. Ultimately Śiva became pleased with his devotion and asked him to choose a boon. Harikeśa requested for himself a

permanent stay in Varanasi, which was granted by Śiva. He was appointed the Kshetrapāla of Kāśī and four other Yakshas were appointed as his assistants, namely Tryaksha, Daṇḍapāṇi, Udbhrama and Sambhrama.

In another place (Matsya, ch. 183) names of other Yakshas are enumerated who had attained the status of the gaṇas of Śiva, e. g. Vināyaka, Kūshmāṇḍa, Gajatuṇḍa, Jayanta, Madotkaṭa, Nandī, Mahākāla, Chandaḡhaṇṭa, Maheśvara, Daṇḍachandaśvara, and Ghaṇṭākārṇa, together with others of grotesque (विकट) and dwarfish form (कुब्ज, वामन), or others having the head of a lion or of a tiger and of pot-bellied or gigantic appearance. It is stated that they were appointed as the guardian attendants of Avimukta ('रक्षन्ति सततं देवि ह्यविमुक्तं तपोवनम्' 183. 66). It is also recorded that they practically existed in every household (द्वारे द्वारे च तिष्ठन्ति शूलमुद्गरपाणयः, ibid. 183. 66).

Several important facts of religious history lie concealed behind the veneer of this story. Firstly, that at one time Harikeśa Yaksha was held in high esteem and worshipped in the Kāśī Janapada. Secondly, this Harikeśa belonged to the cult of Yaksha Pūrṇabhaddra whose worship was of wide distribution, and who was regarded as one of the leading Yaksha companions of Kubera according to the unanimous tradition of the Mahābhārata and the Buddhist and Jain texts. Thirdly, this Yaksha worship was an extremely popular folk-cult with a universal belief in its favour, and this worship covered practically every household either in the form of images or figures painted on the doorway as protective deities.

In the fourth place, the story makes it clear that a landslide occurred against the Yaksha tradition which was supplanted by the rising cult of Śiva, and in this transition Harikeśa who was himself a Yaksha and also the son of a Yaksha king is made the instrument of change, so that the followers of the Yaksha cult meekly accepted and reconciled themselves to the mergence of Śaiva worship.

The story shows further that the Yaksha worship was not violently eradicated, but as has often happened, it was assimilated by the new cult of Śiva and given a place of honour within its orbit. The worshippers of Yakshas and those of Śiva became reconciled to each other. The Yaksha cult was given a definite and orderly place as an integral part of the Śaiva religion, and all the Yakshas were recognised as the Gaṇas and Pārshadas of Śiva. The Matsya Purāṇa goes to the extent of stating that even Kubera, the great Yaksha king gave up all his orgies and attained to the status of the lord of Gaṇas by merely his stay in the Vārāṇasī Kshetra :—

कुबेरस्तु महायक्षस्तथा सर्वापितक्रियः ।

क्षेत्रसंवसनादेव गणेशन्वमवाप ह ॥ (Matsya, 183-182.)

The struggle for supremacy between the Yaksha and Śaiva cults would naturally have taken a long period, and the final triumph of Śaivism in Vārāṇasī may be assined to the Gupta period when the complete religious reorganisation of Vārāṇasī was achieved in terms of the numerous Śiva liṅgas of which a list occurs in the Kāśī-khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa.

Important archaeological evidence comes to our aid in support of the above hypothesis. A number of clay sealings of the Gupta period found in the excavations at Rājghaṭ, the site of ancient Vārāṇasī, are inscribed with the names of numerous Śiva liṅgas which also occur in the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa.

The story of Harikeśa Yaksha also occurs in the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa (ch. 32), but in a revised version where both father and son (Pūrṇabhadra and Harikeśa) are depicted as devotees of Śiva, and even the birth of the son is said to be the fruit of तपस् performed by Pūrṇabhadra in devotion to Śiva. The writer of this version had lost the intimations of the old story of the Matsya Purāṇa where it is expressly stated that bloody offering formed an essential part of the Yaksha cult :—

गुह्यका वत यूयं वै स्वभावात् क्रूरचेतसः ।

क्रव्यादाश्चैव किंभक्षः हिंसाशीलश्च पुत्रक ॥ (Matsya 180.9-12)

The continuity of folk cults is a factor to be reckoned with in religious history. It is therefore not surprising that there are still abundant traces of the survival of Yaksha worship in Banaras. This can be identified in three forms; firstly, there is the god Harsū Baram worshipped at the village Bhabhua, about 40 miles from Banaras. The word 'Baram' stands for Sanskrit 'Brahma' meaning a 'Yaksha' and 'Harsū' is apparently the same as Harikeśa. The shrine consists of a platform (Sanskrit *chatvara*, Hindi *chaurā*) where ceremonious worship to the deity is offered with the necessary elements of Yaksha *pūjā*.

The second form of survival is even more important and wide-spread, consisting of a number of Yaksha shrines in the form of *chaurās* (also called *sthānas*) with conical 'yaksha-piṇḍis' or having the name of Bīra which also was a term for Yaksha. There are four such shrines in the campus of the Banaras Hindu University and many more in the city as Lahura Bīra, Bullā Bīra, etc., and also others in the villages.

The third survival is seen in the names of the different Bhairavas also mentioned in the lists of the Matsya and the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa, all now taken for granted to be attendants of Śiva and subordinate to his authority.

PURĀṆIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE CHATUR-DVĪPAS.

By

RAI KRISHNADASA.

[प्रायः एकादशसु पुराणेषु भुवनकोशवर्णनं प्राप्यते तत्रारम्भे चतुर्धा द्वीपानां कल्पनाऽऽसीत् । अनन्तरं 'सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती'ति परिभाषामाश्रित्य सप्तद्वीपवर्णनं कृतम् ततो वर्णनद्वयस्य सांकर्यं संजातम् तस्माद्दे तोः पुराणेषूपलभ्यमानस्यास्य प्रकरणस्य संगतिरतीव दुर्बोधा । सौभाग्यात् वायुपुराणे चातुर्द्वीपीयभूगोलवर्णनपरम्परा स्पष्टतया लक्ष्यते । तामाश्रित्य वर्णनद्वयं पृथक्कृत्य तयोः सांकर्यं च निराकृत्य भुवनकोशस्य विषयोऽत्र लेखे सुस्पष्टीकृतः]

The following eleven Purāṇas have geographical contents called Bhuvana-Vinyāsa or Bhuvana-Kośa :—

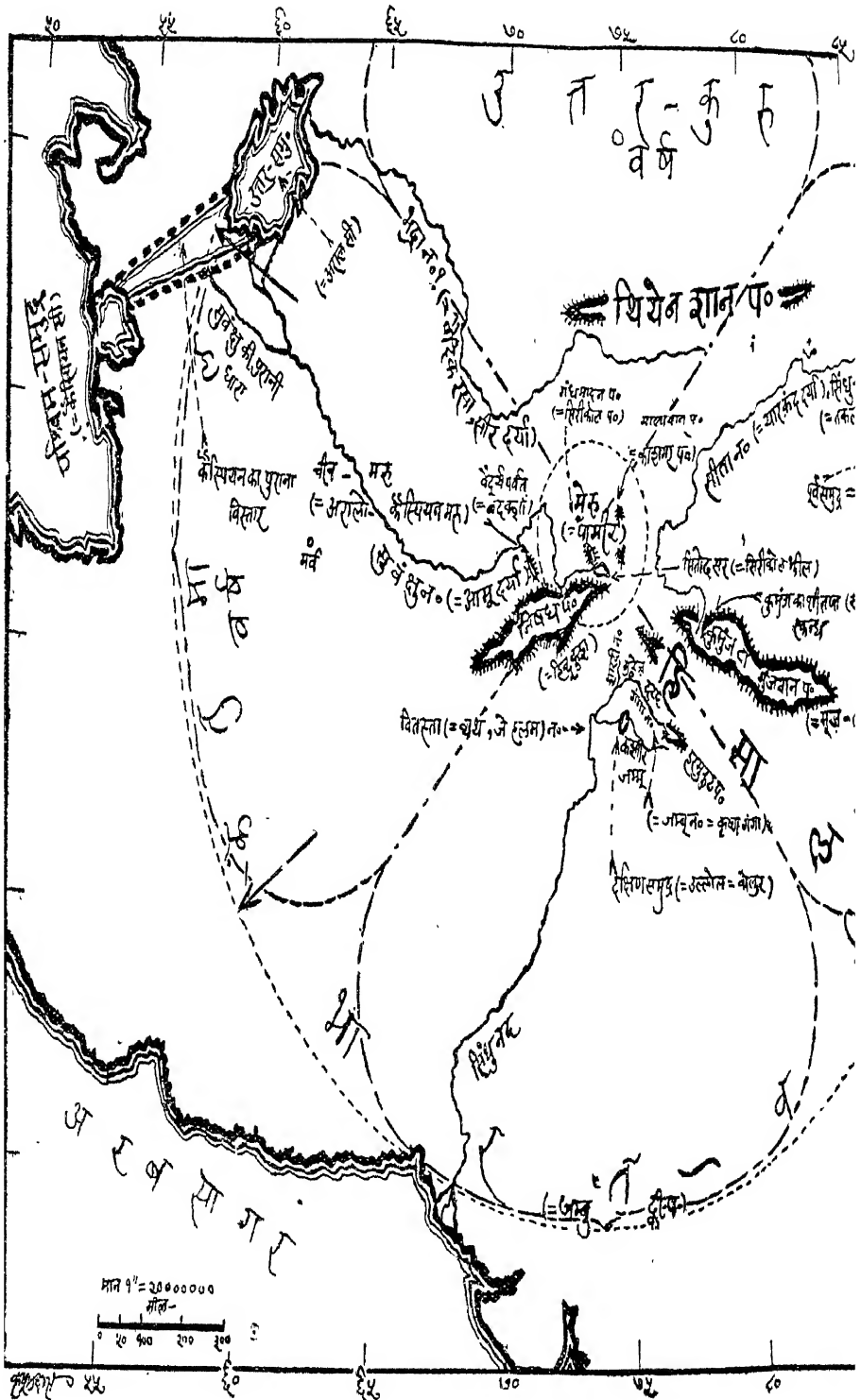
Brahma, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Śiva, Agni, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa, and Liṅga.

Of these the description of the Vāyu is most elaborate and comprehensive, and apparently the oldest. Brahmāṇḍa, a version of this, shows the geographical chapters in a mutilated form. Matsya follows Vāyu but is very brief and also shows some variations. Kūrma is quite elaborate and preserves a slightly different redaction from the Vāyu. Viṣṇu derives its summary contents from Kūrma. The rest are late and much curtailed, and depend on the Vāyu and Kūrma. Historically Vāyu, Matsya, Kūrma and Viṣṇu are of value for us.

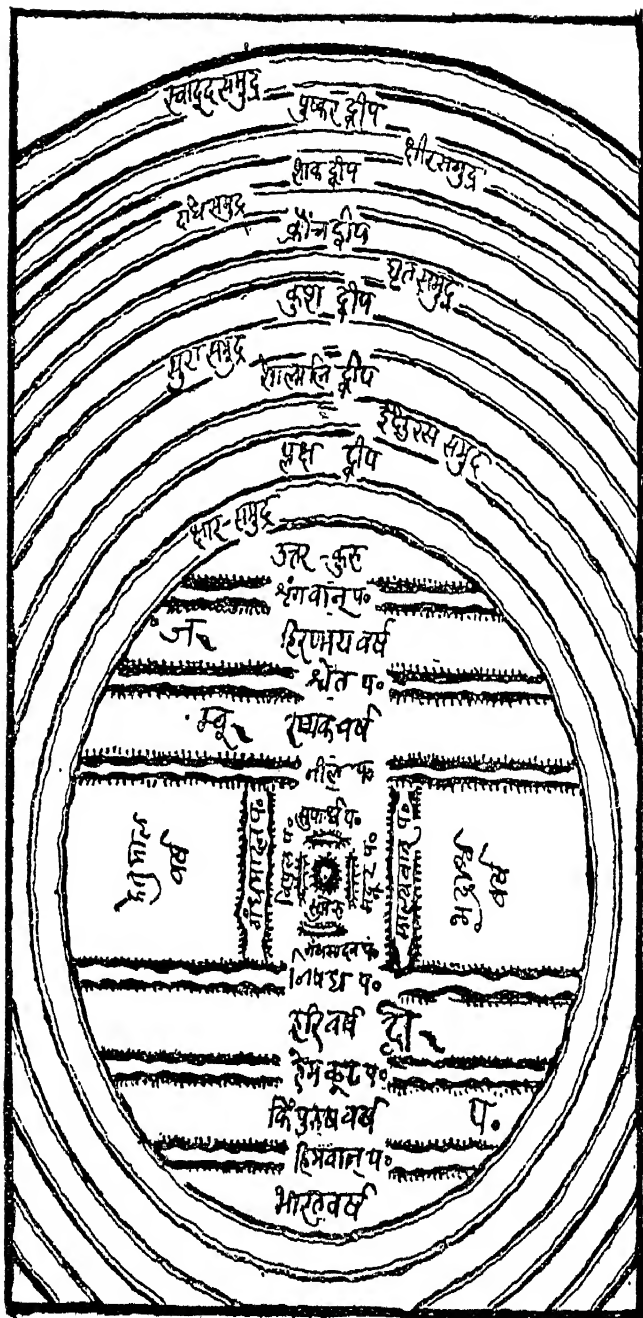
The geographical portions of these Purāṇas contain a number of similar verses, pointing to their being derived from a single original source. In reality, there were two conceptions of the Earth's geography, one based on the Four Dvīpas, and the other on the Seven Dvīpas. At present the two texts have become confused.

Of these two, the one based on Four Dvīpas was more ancient and is found only in Vāyu. Its antiquity may probably

पौराणिक भुवनकोश मानचित्र



चतुर्द्वीपा पृथिवी



सप्तद्वीपा पृथिवी

be traced to the R̥igveda where the four oceans are mentioned. In the old Buddhist literature also the tradition of the Four Dvīpas was accepted in which Jambū Dvīpa is a synonymn of Bhārata Varsha, as was the case in the Chatur-Dvīpa tradition. In the later Sapta-Dvīpa conception Bhārata is only one of the nine Varshas of the Jambū Dvīpa.

Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya refers to *Sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī*. Most probably this new and expanded conception arose in the time of Asoka as a result of his vast missionary activities in foreign countries.

The Purāṇas in their present form lay emphasis on the Sapta-Dvīpa conception and the more ancient Chatur-Dvīpa notion is somehow dovetailed in the new Sapta-Dvīpa frame. It did not meet with success, since the Chatur-Dvīpa basis was so different from the other. The older version much suffered in its new context, and would be unrecognisable if the Vāyu had not preserved it.

The Sapta-Dvīpa version contains speculative elements, as frankly admitted at the outset—

येषां मनुष्यास्तर्केण प्रमाणानि प्रचक्षते ॥ ५ ॥

अचिन्त्या खलु ये नन्दन्मन्तु तर्केण साधयेत् ॥ ६ ॥ (मत्स्य, अ० ११३)

How this occurred may be clarified by an instance. In Matsya, Haimavata Varsha is a name for Bhārata ('इदं हैमवतं वर्षं भारतं नाम विश्रुतम्', ११२। २८; वायु ३४। २८), The same becomes a separate Varsha in the Sapta-Dvīpa geography ('इदं तु भारतं वर्षं ततो हैमवतं परम्', भीष्मपर्व ६। ७)

The Chatur-Dvīpa version was more realistic. It states that the Earth is like a lotus and the four Mahādvīpas are its four petals (चतुष्पत्रं पार्थिवं पद्मं), and Mount Meru is its centre. On its east was Bhadrāśva, on south Jambū-Dvīpa or Bhārata Varsha, on west Ketumāla, and on north Uttarakuru. One end of these four Dvīpas touched Meru and the other the four oceans. Each of these had its own high mountain, river, garden,

lake and incarnation; e. g., River Sitā flowing in Bhadrās̥va to the east, River Alakanandā in Bhārata Varsha to the south, River Svarakshu (a variant of the Vakshu or Oxus) in Ketumālā to the west, but the northern river Bhadrā instead of flowing to the Northern Ocean meets the Western Sea.

In the Sapta-Dvīpa version as elaborated later, Jambū Dvīpa is at the centre of the earth, and surrounded by the Lavaṇa-Samudra; after that surrounded again by a round terrestrial disc called Plaksha Dvīpa, which is enveloped by the Ikshu-Samudra; and so on five more Oceans and Dvīpas follow, named respectively Surā, Ghṛita, Kshīra, Dadhi, and Śuddha Samudras, and Śālmali, Kuśa Krauñcha, Śaka and Pushkara Dvīpas.

The arrangement of Varshas in the Sapta-Dvīpa conception is somewhat tangled and may be clarified as follows. In the centre is Jambū Dvīpa; its focal point is Mount Meru surrounded by Ilāvṛita Varsha (मेरुमध्यमिलवृत्तं). To the south of this central focus are three Varshas; (1) Hṛivarsha (with Nishadha Varsha-Parvata); (2) Kimpurusha Varsha (with Hemakūṭa), (3) Bhāratavarsha (with Himavān). To the north of Meru again are three other Varshas; viz (1) Rāmyaka Varsha (with Nīla as Varsha-Parvata); (2) Hiraṇmaya Varsha (with Śveta); Uttarakuru (with Śṛīṅgavān). The northernmost and the southernmost Varshas are bent like a bow (धनुःसंस्थे) and with the other four varshas which are parallel to Jambū Dvīpa and co-extensive in length with it, they stretch from east to west and touch the two Oceans (जम्बूद्वीपस्य विस्तारात् समेन तु समन्ततः। प्रागायतः सुपर्वणः षड्दिगे वर्षपर्वताः। अवगाढा उभयतः समुद्रौ पूर्वपश्चिमौ ॥ वायु ३४।१३)

The central Ilāvṛita Varsha is of square form and envelops Jambū Dvīpa. To the east of Ilāvṛita is Bhadrās̥va (with Mālyavān as Varsha-Parvata); and to the west is Ketumālā (with Gandhamādana as Varsha-Parvata. Mālyavān and Gandhamādana extend vertically from north to south, and are joined to Nishadha and Nīla mountains making a complete parallelogram for enclosing Ilāvṛita Varsha. Thus Jambū Dvīpa is constituted of these nine Varshas;—

नववर्षं प्रवक्ष्यामि जम्बूद्वीपं यथा तथा ।

विस्तारान्मंडलाच्चैव ॐ नमोऽस्तुते ॥

(See for a full account Vāyu 34.9-35)

Now if we turn to the prior Chatur-Dvīpa conception of the geography of the earth we find much greater clarity based on a realistic description. Here, Jambū is only one of the four Mahā-Dvīpas and is but another name of Bhārata Varsha. In the Sapta-Dvīpa version the extent of Jambū Dvīpa is much inflated and draws within its orbit the other three Dvīpas of the original Chatur-Dvīpa conception ; viz ; Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, and Uttara-kuru, which instead of having independent status are reduced to a subsidiary rank. Bhārata-Varsha which was once synonymous with it now becomes a separate varsha in the Jambū Dvīpa system. We have clear evidence in the revised Sapta-Dvīpa version that the original Bhārata = Jambū-dvīpa was split up into Hari Varsha, Kimpursha Varsha and Bhārata Varsha, all three to the south of Meru (दक्षिणवेद्यर्ध) ; and the original Uttarakuru was split up into Ramyaka, Hiraṇmaya and Uttarakuru Varshas placed in the (उत्तरवेद्यर्ध). Bhadrāśva of the east and Ketumāla of the west remained as they were before with the exception that instead of Mahādvīpa status they were reduced to the rank of a Varsha in the over-all system of Jambū-Dvīpa.

We have thus made an attempt to unravel the tangled skein of those important chapters of the Purāṇas which relate to the geography of the earth (भुवनकोश). The original Chatur-Dvīpa and the later Sapt-Dvīpa conceptions got interminably mixed up and the existing portions of the several Purāṇas are transmitted to us in a state of much confusion. Fortunately the strands of grafting of the one on the other can be perceived with a patient and critical approach to the material as preserved in the Vāyu Purāṇa textual transmission. When once an insight is obtained the two versions become transparent and easily recognisable.

THE SEVEN-SEA GIFT IN THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

[सप्तसागर-महादान]

(Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 287)

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[मत्स्यपुराणे षोडशमहादानप्रकरणमुपलभ्यते, लिङ्गपुराणेऽपि चार्यं विषयः । ततः सप्तसागर महादानमित्यस्य इतिहासपरा व्याख्याऽस्मिन् लेखे क्रियते । सप्तसमुद्रेभ्यः प्रत्यागतानां महर्द्धिकलोकानां रत्नसुवर्णमयानि दानानि यत्र क्रियन्ते स्म ते कृपाः सप्तसामुद्रा इत्याख्यामभजन्त । ईदृशीमभिधां भजमानाः कृपाः मधुना-प्रधान-दन्त-पद्म-गन्ध-लिपुत्रोजयिनीषु पञ्चस्वपि मध्य-देशीयेषु प्राचीनव्यापारिकनगरेषु प्राचीनकाले आसन्, एवमधुनाऽपि प्रसिद्धाः सन्ति ।]

The Matsya Purāṇa in the last lap of its present recension contains a bunch of sixteen chapters, 274 to 289 (Ān. ed.), specifying the details of Sixteen Great Gifts (षोडश महादान) as follows :

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. तुलापुरुषदान (ch. 274); | 9. सुवर्णहस्तिरथदान (282); |
| 2. हिरण्यगर्भदान (275); | 10. पंचलांगलदान (283); |
| 3. ब्रह्माण्डदान (276); | 11. सुवर्णपृथिवीदान (284); |
| 4. कल्पवृक्षदान (277); | 12. विश्वचक्रदान (285); |
| 5. गोसहस्रदान (278); | 13. सुवर्णकल्पलतादान (286); |
| 6. सुवर्णकामधेनुदान (279); | 14. सप्तसागरदान (287); |
| 7. सुवर्णाश्वदान (280); | 15. रत्नधेनुदान (288); |
| 8. सुवर्णाश्वरथदान (281); | 16. महाभूतघटदान (289); |

The Liṅga Purāṇa (Uttarārdha, chs. 28-44) contains in a varied version an account of षोडशदान of which some names are common, as तुलापुरुषदान (ch. 28), हिरण्यगर्भदान (ch. 29), सुवर्णमेदिनीदान (ch. 32), कल्पपादपदान (ch. 33), हेमधेनुदान (ch. 35), गोसहस्रदान (ch. 38), हिरण्याश्वदान (ch. 39), हैमगजदान (ch. 42); some are new in this list as तिलपर्वतदान (ch. 32), गणेशेश or विदेवेश्वरदान (ch. 34), श्रीलक्ष्मीदान (ch. 36), तिलधेनुदान (ch. 37), कन्यादान (ch. 40), हिरण्यवृषदान (ch. 41), लोकपालाष्टकदान

(ch. 43), and ब्रह्मा-विष्णुदान (ch. 44), the last being an extra one (सर्वदानोत्तमोत्तम) to round off the ceremonies.

There is also only reference to some of these, viz. पृथिवीदान कल्पवृक्षदान, कामधेनुदान, in the Agni Purāṇa, ch. 213 (Jivanand edn). These extraordinary gifts involving huge quantities of gold and jewels could be conceived in an age of exceptional prosperity, such as the Golden Age of Indian history. In the paintings of that period we actually find the depiction of विश्वचक्र (e. g. भवचक्र on the ceiling of Ajanta Cave) and रत्नमय कल्पवृक्ष, etc.

The 'Gift of the Seven Oceans' was specially appropriate in an age when merchants and travellers and naval captains crossed the seven seas for trade and commerce, navigation and religious missions. We need consider the significance of such ritual as the सप्तसागर महादान, and specially examine the appropriateness of its name.

In the compound of the present site of the Mathura Museum there is an ancient deep well known as सप्तसमुद्रकूप (popular सातसमन्दरी कुआँ). In a campaign of well-clearance carried out on behalf of the Museum, the well was drained off and a large number of Kushāṇa and Gupta sculptures were recovered, establishing the antiquity of the Well. What probably had happened was that at the time of some devastating raid of the city like that by the Hūṇas in the last quarter of the fifth century, stone statues and reliefs from neighbouring temples were deposited in the Well with the idea of being redeemed later; that contingency, however, never came up.

The Well continued to be used as a place for performing some religious ceremonies until its being closed up recently with a platform of cement-concrete. Its name, however, is a pointer to its real original significance. Sea-faring in those times was fraught with great danger. Those who went out to the sea bade last farewell to their relations and friends and had not much hope of a safe return. In case they came back safe and secure they brought enormous wealth and were greeted with

universal rejoicing amongst their kith and kin. In spite of the naval risks stout hearts were resolved to face them and many a young man of undaunted spirit left their home in search of oceanic markets, inspired by the thought of earning wealth through their own efforts. The belief became common that a sea-voyage alone fetched sufficient wealth. Bāṇa speaks of this motif (अब्ध्रमणेन श्रीसमाकर्षणं, *Harshacharitra*, VI p. 189; अब्ध्रमण = समुद्रयात्रा according to Śaṅkara), and also refers to the massive wealth of the four oceans falling to the share of a person of courageous resolution (चतुःसागरसंभूतस्य भूतिसंभारस्य भाजनं महापुरुषहृदयन्, ib. VI, p. 191). He refers also to the magic ointment which applied to the feet secured peregrination over the oceanic islands (सर्वदीपान्तरसंचारी पादलेप, ib. VI, p. 194). In the *Mṛichekhakapika*, the Vidūshaka overwhelmed by the exceeding wealth in Vasantasenā's house expresses his surprise by asking if the Courtezan also indulged in the shipping trade (भवति किं युष्माकं यानपात्राणि वहन्ति, Act. IV).

In this context the सप्तसागर महादान was formulated as a befitting religious ceremony for those fortunate ones who came back from their oceanic trip loaded with gold and jewels of which a share they disposed of in pious charities. A well was selected to represent the oceans and there the ceremonies were performed. The name सप्तसमुद्र for such wells was thus justified.

With this background in mind, it struck me that the five big commercial cities of Madhyadeśa in the Gupta period, viz. Mathurā, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī, which appear as the starting point in the motif of the sea-voyage in the story literature of that period, should each possess a सप्तसमुद्र well. To my great joy enquiry confirmed this assumption and it acquired for me almost the value of a scientific hypothesis.

The Saptasāmudra Well at Mathurā which provided the first hint has been mentioned above. To my satisfaction a reference to it was subsequently found in the Varāha Purāṇa :

अर्कस्थलसमीपे तु कूपं च विमलोदकम् ।

सप्तसामुद्रकं नाम देवानामपि दुर्लभम् ॥ (वाराह० १५७।१३)

i. e. near the holy spot called अर्कस्थल which is sacred to the Sun-god, is the Well named Sapta-Sāmudraka which is difficult of access even to the gods.

I then turned my enquiry to Prayāga. There we have long known the Samudra Kūpa at Pratiśṭhāna or Jhusi. It is duly mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa as part of the Prayāga-mahātmya :

पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत ।

कूपं चैव तु सामुद्रं प्रतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम् ॥ (मत्स्य० १०६।३०)

The verse with some variation, but conveying additional information, is also found in the प्रयागमाहात्म्य of the Kūrma Purāṇa :

पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गङ्गायास्त्रैलोक्ये याति मानवः ।

अवटः सर्वसामुद्रः प्रतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम् ॥

(कूर्म० पूर्वार्ध, ३७।२२)

To the east of the conjoint stream of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā after their confluence, towards modern Jhusi side (ancient Pratiśṭhāna) a pilgrim finds himself at the spot called Trailokya, and there the Sarva-Sāmudra Well is situated. सामुद्र of the Matsya is named सर्वसामुद्र here, which should be the same as सप्तसामुद्र, and it is probable that the latter may be found in some Mss. as a variant reading for the former. The प्रयागमाहात्म्य is the work of one who was fully conversant with local topography as shown by this and other references in it. At Vārāṇasī which was one of the biggest commercial cities on the Gaṅgā and a starting point for many a naval enterprise, there is a *mohallā* called Sapta Sāgara where there are temples and wells named after the Seven Ōceans.

I owe the information to my friend Shri Surya Narayan Vyās that there is the Sapta-Samudra well at Ujjain also.

Similar information about a Sapta-Samudra Well at Patna has been heard, but details are awaited.

The सप्तसागर महादान consisted of a neat ceremony performed near the Sapta-Sāmudra well by ordering seven golden basins (*kundus*) to represent the Seven Seas. They ranged in size from one *prādeśa* (9") to one *aratni* (18") and the quantity of gold used varied from 7 *palas* to 1000 *palas* (a *pala* being equal to 4 *karsha* or *tola* wt.). These were filled all with precious stones and each with salt, milk, butter, molasses, curds, sugar, holy water, (लवण, क्षीर, घृत, इक्षुरस, दधि, शर्करा, शुद्ध उदक), and the figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Chandra, Lakshmī, Pārvatī respectively were placed in them. Before making the gift, one was devoutly to recite *mantras* to the Oceans :

11. Homage to you, O eternal Seas, the meeting-place of all the flowing rivers, and life-givers to living creatures.

12. You make happy the creatures of the three worlds with your ambrosial gifts of milk, water, butter, curds, sugar, salt, and molasses, and also with treasures. May you effect an end to my miserable condition.

13. In these worlds you alone bestow stable wealth lasting for generations (सुवद् मणिप्रदान) on religious people (तीर्थ), Gods and Asuras. You possess in your womb goddess Śrī-Lakshmī that adorns the bodies of men by applying the ambrosial unguent of wealth and removing wants (पाप = दारिद्र्य);—may that Goddess come to me also.

14. Remaining pure and unperplexed who offers to the Occans surging with ambrosial fluids golden lotuses, he attains to the seat of God Viṣṇu and even the immortals begin to worship him.

15. Himself becoming free from all his sins (in the form of wants and miseries), his merits (earned by virtue of the Great Gift of the Seven Occans) at once transfer his ancestors, sons and wives from burning hell to the abode of God Śiva.

Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 287 (Ānandāśrama edn.)

सप्तसागरमहादानविधिवर्णनम् ।

मत्स्य उवाच ।

नमो वः सर्वनिन्त्रान्तरैः सनातनाः ।

जन्तूनां प्राणदेभ्यश्च समुद्रेभ्यो नमो नमः ॥

अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि महादानमनुत्तमम् ।

सप्तसागरकं नाम सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥ १ ॥

पुण्यं दिनमथासाद्य कृत्वा ब्राह्मणवाचनम् ।

तुलापुरुषवत्कुर्याल्लोकेशावाहनं बुधः ॥ २ ॥

ऋत्विज्जण्डपसम्भारभूषणाच्छादनादिकम् ।

कारयेत्सप्तकुण्डानि कांचनानि विचक्षणः ॥ ३ ॥

तथागन्निऋतिं वै पुनः ।

कुर्यात्सप्तपलादूर्ध्वमासहस्राच्च शक्तिः ॥

संस्थाप्यानि च सर्वाणि कृष्णाज्जितिलोपरि ।

प्रथमं पूरयेत्कुण्डं लवणेन विचक्षणः ॥

द्वितीयं पयसा तद्वत्तृतीयं सर्पिषा पुनः ।

चतुर्थन्तु गुडेनैव दध्ना पंचममेव च ॥ ६ ॥

षष्ठं शर्करया तद्वत् सप्तमं तीर्थवारिणा ।

स्थापयेत्लवणस्थं तु ब्रह्माणं काञ्चनं शुभम् ॥

केशवं क्षीरमध्ये तु घृतमध्ये महेश्वरम् ।

भास्करं गुडमध्ये तु दधिमध्ये निशाधिपम् ॥

शर्करायां न्यसेत्क्षीरं जलमध्ये तु पार्वतीम् ।

सर्वेषु सर्वरत्नानि धान्यानि च समन्ततः ॥

तुलापुरुषवच्छेषमत्रापि परिकल्पयेत् ।

ततो वारुणहोमान्ते स्थापितो वेदपुंगवैः ॥ १० ॥

त्रिःप्रदक्षिणमावृत्य मन्त्रानेतानुदीरयेत् ।

नमो वः सर्वसिन्धूनामाधारेभ्यः सनातनाः ॥

जन्तूनां प्रपदेभ्यश्च समुद्रेभ्यो नमो नमः ॥ ११ ॥

क्षीणेदकाज्यद्विधिमधुरकावणेभ्युन्नागामृतेन भुवनत्रयजीवसंधान् ।

आनन्दयन्ति वसुभिश्च यतो भवन्तस्तस्मान्ममाप्यघविघातमलं दिशन्तु ॥ १२ ॥

गन्तव्यं गन्तव्यं भवन्त एव तीर्थाभिरासुरसुबद्धमणिप्रदानम् ।

प्रादक्ष्यन्तु तद्विधेयं गन्तव्यं लोकस्य विभ्रति तदस्तु ममापि लक्ष्मीः ॥ १३ ॥

इति ददाति रसामृतसंयुतान् शुचिरविस्मयवानिह सागरान् ।

कमलकांचनवर्णभयानसौ पदमुपैति हरेरमरार्चितः ॥ १४ ॥

रक्तलवणैश्चैतद्विगजिनः पितृपितामहपुत्रकलत्रकम् ।

नरकलोकसमाकुलनय्यं झटिति सोऽपि नयेच्छिवमन्दिरम् ॥ १५ ॥

इति श्रीमात्स्ये महापुराणे महादानानुकीर्तने सप्तसागरप्रदानविधिर्नाम

सप्ताशीत्यधिकद्विशततमोऽध्यायः ॥ २८७ ॥

नारायणमहार्णवः

वृन्दं जलमुचां चैव श्वसनेनाभिताडितम् ॥ ३२ ॥

क्षमायां वृष्टिं विसृजते भासयत् तेन भास्करः ।

तोयस्य नास्ति वै नाशः तदेव परिवर्तते ॥ ३३ ॥

अपां त्वधिपतिर्देवो भव इत्येव कीर्तितः ॥ ३६ ॥

भवात्मकं जगत्सर्वमिति किञ्चेह चाद्भुतम् ।

नारायणत्वं देवस्य हरेश्चाद्भिः कृतं विभोः ॥ ३७ ॥

जगतामालयो विष्णुस्त्वापस्तस्याल्यानि तु ॥ ३८ ॥

THE DATE OF THE PURĀNAS

By

SIVA DATT GYANI

[पुराणानां रचना कालः प्रश्नमवलम्ब्य विदुषां गवेषणं
नैकमत्याय प्रकल्पते, यतस्तेषां विवेचनस्य न कोऽपि स्थिर
आधारो दृश्यते, लेखेऽस्मिन् अयं प्रस्ताव उपन्यस्तो यद् एकैकशः पुराणान्य-
नुपगृह्य तेषु प्रतिपादितानां विषयाणां तुलनात्मकविमर्शेन आपेक्षिककालक्रमस्य
मीमांसा यदि क्रियेत तर्हि बहुशः फलवती भवेत्]

The problem of the date of the Purāṇas is very intriguing and controversial. No particular date or period can be assigned to a particular Purāṇa, but the problem of the date may best be solved by evolving a chronological setting for the Purāṇic literature in general, special attention being paid to the individual Purāṇas. The Purāṇic scholars have tackled in their own way this aspect of the Purāṇic studies. Scholars from Wilson to Pargiter as also subsequent writers in the field did not try to study the evolution of the Purāṇic literature as a class by itself. They took into consideration individual Purāṇas, and discussed their chronology in their own way, thus arriving at divergent results.

The earlier scholars stressing on the sectarian and religious matter in the Purāṇas assigned a very late date to them. Colebrooke relying on the tradition that Bopadeva, the grammarian, was the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* assigns it to about the 13th century A. D. Vans Vennedy thinks that like the *Bhāgavata* the other Purāṇas must be of an equally modern date as the Purāṇas are always held to be eighteen and in most of the Purāṇas the names of the eighteen including the *Bhāgavatu* are enumerated. Wilson² realised the difficulty of solving the problem of the

1. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, p. 467; *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 104.

1. *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of ancient and Hindu Mythology*, ch. IV, pp. 19-22 ;

2. *Vishnupurāṇa* Vol. I, Preface, p. XVI ;

date of the Purāṇas and thinks that they are works of different ages compiled under different circumstances. He takes into consideration the religious matter in the Purāṇas smacking of the popular forms of Hinduism, which, in his opinion, took shape not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D., the probable date of Śaṅkarāchārya, and were, perhaps finally established during the period when Rāmānuja (12th cent A. D.), Madhvāchārya (13th cent. A. D.) and Vallabhāchārya (16th cent.) flourished. Thus, he assigns to them 'a very modern date.' According to him, the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* may be assigned to about A.D. 1045. But this view may not be tenable as Alberuni¹ writing in A. D. 1030 gives a list of the eighteen Purāṇas as occurring in the *Vishṇupurāṇa*. Bāṇa, the author of the *Harsha-charita*² (about A. D. 620) refers to a Purāṇa described by *Pavana* or *Vāyu*. Dr. Führer thinks that Bāṇa had used the *Agni*, *Bhāgavata* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* Purāṇas as well as the *Vāyu*.³ Discovery of a Bengal manuscript of the *Skanda Purāṇa* written in the Gupta script shows that the *Purāṇa* was in existence in the 7th cent.⁴ A. D. References to the Purāṇas occur in the *Milindapañho* (earlier than 300 A. D.).⁵ Bühler⁶ collected many early quotations from and references to the Purāṇas and pointed out that the account of the future kings in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* seems to stop with imperial Guptas and their contemporaries. Thus the Purāṇas, at least the earlier ones, may have been finalised during the Gupta period. Pargiter interprets the word *Bhaviṣya* occurring in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Matsya* as the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* and not mere 'future' as Keith⁷ thinks, and suggests that the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* in its early form was the original authority from which the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Matsya* derived their dynastic lists, and the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* are the later condensed

1. Sachaus Translation, Vol. I, pp. 130, 131, 264.

2. Cowell and Thomas : *Transaction*, p. 72.

3. *Transactions of the VIth Oriental Congress*, Vol. III, p. 205.

4. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (London), 1903, p. 193.

5. *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 6, 247.

6. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXV, 1896, p. 323.

7. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1914, pp. 1021-31.

redactions based on the same.¹ As for the date of the Purāṇas, Pargiter² takes into account the historical data available in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata*, and thinks that the first compilation of the historical matter may have been made in the reign of the Andhra king Yajñaśrī about the end of the second century A. D. According to him, the first certain compilation was made in the original *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* about A.D. 260 ; soon after which it was incorporated in the *Matsya-purāṇa*. This account was extended to the rise of the Gupta Kingdom before the year 335 A. D., which augmented compilation is what the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* contain, and the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* have condensed. A critical perusal of the *Bhaviṣhya* account occurring in the *Matsya*³ *Purāṇa* clearly shows that the account ends with the Andhras, Gardabhillas, Śakas, Gurūṇḍas, Yavanas, Tushāras Mlechchhas, Ābhīras and Kilakilās. This clearly reflects the political conditions of India after the down fall of the Kushanas in the second and third century A. D. The *Matsya* account, thus, ends with the mere mention of Kilakilā kings and no manuscript of the *Matsya* contains anything later. The Āndhra kingdom fell about A.D. 236 ; thus the *Matsya* account brings the historical narrative down to about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. and no further. The *Vāyu* *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* carry the narrative to the rise of the Guptas. The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprising Prayāga, Sāketā (Ayodhyā) and Magadha, that is exactly the territory ruled over by Chandragupta I (A. D. 319-20 to 329-30) of the Gupta dynasty. The Nāgas, Maṇḍhānyas, and others are also mentioned as contemporaries of the Guptas ruling over the neighbouring countries. The account takes no note of Samudragupta's conquests and the Gupta empire. Thus it may be concluded that the account was closed soon after the commencement of the Gupta era or by A.D.⁴ 335.

1. Pargiter : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction, pp. VII-IX.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. XII, XIII ; V. A. Smith : *Early History of India* (Fourth edition), p. 24.

3. Chapter. 273.17-26.

4. Pargiter : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introduction, p. XII.

According to S. M. Edwardes¹, the Purāṇas in some shape were already authoritative in the 4th century B. C. on the basis of a reference to *Purāṇa* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which directs the king to spend his afternoon in the study of *Itihāsa* comprising *Purāṇa*, *Itivṛtta*, *Udāharana*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*. Jackson² thinks that Megasthenes was acquainted with part, at least, of a Purāṇic cosmogony and with a Purāṇic description of the upper and lower world. It is a fair conclusion that he had before him the same Purāṇa that has already been shown to have existed from the Vedic times to the second century B. C.; and the contents of which are more or less, reproduced in the more primitive parts of the existing Purāṇas. The common source of the Purāṇas, therefore, was compiled not later than the last quarter of the 4th century B. C.

Macdonell³ regards the Purāṇas as old, perhaps, earlier than the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mausamrīti*. In his opinion, they are connected by many threads with the old law-books (*Smritis*) and the Vedas, representing probably a development of older works of the same class. R. C. Hazra⁴ has tried to fix up the approximate date of the additions of the *Dharmaśāstra* matter to the Purāṇas. In the case of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmaṇḍa*, *Vishṇu*, *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata* such additions were made during the 3rd to the 7th century A. D.

A critical examination of the views of various scholars as stated above would clearly show that the problem of the date of the Purāṇas is far from solved. But a critical examination of the references to Purāṇic literature in other works and a close study of the process of development in the light of the contents of the Purāṇas would supply us a chronological setting for the Purāṇic literature as a whole.

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1. V. A. Smith : *Early History of India* (4th edition), p. 24.
 2. Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, *Centenary Memorial Volume*, p. 72.
 3. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 299.
 4. *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 174-177.

The earliest reference to Purāṇic literature in the sense of a literary composition is to be found in the *Atharvaveda*,¹ where the Purāṇic literature is mentioned along with *Rik*, *Sāman*, *Chkandus* and *Yajus* as produced from *Uchehhishta*. It is also associated with *Itihāsa*, *Gāthā*, and *Nārāśamsi*. This clearly shows that there existed during the period represented by the *Atharvaveda*, a definite literary form going by the name of the *Purāṇa*. In the same Veda a reference to *Purāṇavid*² (one possessing a knowledge of Purāṇa) also occurs which may be associated with *Purāṇa*. The word occurs also in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas³ in the sense of a person well-versed in the Purāṇic lore. In the Brāhmaṇas, the Purāṇic literature is referred to in several places. In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*⁴, the Vedas are described as produced along with *Kalpa*, *Rahasya*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Upanishad*, *Itihāsa*, *Ānuyāgyānt* and *Purāṇa*. In the *Saṃpatha Brāhmaṇa*⁵, *Purāṇa* is mentioned with the Vedas and other forms of literature as produced from the breath of *Mahābhūta*, the Primeval Being. In the same *Brāhmaṇa*⁶, at another place, Adhvaryu is described as reciting *Purāṇa*, and daily study of the Purāṇic literature along with other branches of learning is recommended.

In the Upaniṣads⁷ also, the Purāṇic literature is referred to in several places. In these references, *Purāṇa* is mentioned along with other branches of learning. In the Sūtra literature clear and definite references are found to the Purāṇic literature.⁸ The Grīhyasūtras generally lay down that during the period of impurity due to a relative's death, the accounts of those who enjoyed longevity and the stories from the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* should

1. II, 40, 420;

2. *Matsya*, 60. 1, *Padma*, *Pātālakhaṇḍa*, III, 46, 50.

3. I, 10

4. XIV, 6, 100, 1

5. XIII, 4, 3, 13; XI, 5, 7. 9; XI, 5, 6, 8.

6. *Jaiminiya Up.* I, 53 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* II, 4, 40; IV, 1, 2, IV, 5, 11;

Chhândogya III, 4, 1; III, 2, 4, VII, 2, 1; VII, 7, 1; *Taittiriya Ār.* II, 9.

7. *Saṅkhāyana Grīhya* I, 2, 11; *Saṅkhāyana Śrauta* XVI, 2, 27;

Gautama Dharma, I, 8, 6; II, 2, 19, *Āpastamba Dharma*, I, 6, 19, 13; I, 10, 19, 7; II, 9, 23, 3-6; *Āpastamba Grīhya*, XIV, 4; *Pāraskara Grīhya*, I, 15, 7.

be heard.¹ More definite information about the Purāṇic literature is obtained from the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra*, where verses are quoted from a certain Purāṇa which also occur in the *Manu-smṛiti*.² Then again the same Sūtras³ make a definite reference to a passage from the *Bharishya Purāṇa*. In the words of Buhler⁴ the passage would run—"They (the ancestors) live in heaven until the (next) general destruction of created things. (After the destruction of the world, they stay again in heaven, being the seed of the new creation)."

Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*⁵ mentions *Purāṇa* under *Itihāsa-Veda* which includes *Itivṛtta*, *Ākhyāyikā*, *Udāharāṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* also, and this *Itihāsa-Veda* is assigned an equal position with the *Atharvaveda* (the three Vedas *Ṛik*, *Yajus* and *Sāman* being separately mentioned as scriptures). The *Arthaśāstra* further, refers to *Itivṛtta* and *Purāṇa* as necessary to set a king right, who goes astray ; it also refers to a *Paurāṇik*, whose function was to recite *Purāṇa* to him.

In the epics,⁷ too, several references occur to the Purāṇic literature. The *Mahābhārata*⁸ refers to a *Purāṇa* proclaimed by Vāyu. The Buddhist literature is aware of the existence of the Purāṇic literature.⁹ From the 7th century onwards the Digambar Jains began to compose their own Purāṇas.¹⁰ With the progress of time, the Purāṇic literature became so popular that even the Dravidian south adopted it in its literature¹¹ : The term *Purāṇa*

1. *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya*, IV, 6, 8.

2. IV, 248-249, C. F. *Āpastamba Dharma*, I, 6, 19, 13 ; I, 10, 29, 7 ; Pargiter : *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Chap. III, *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. VIII (Dec. 1932), pp. 749-750.

3. II, 9, 24, 56.

4. *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. II, p. 158.

5. I, 3, 1, 5, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Lon.) 1914, p. 1022.

6. I, 5 ; V, 3, 6.

7. *Bṛhmāyaṇa*, IV, 62, 3 ; *Mahābhārata*, I, 1, 40 ; I, 5, 2 ; I, 5, 6-7.

8. III, 191, 16.

9. *Lalitavistara* calls itself a Purāṇa. Passages in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Kāraṇa-vyūha* and *Mahāvastu* resemble those in the Purāṇas.

10. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 417-504.

11. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII (Dec. 1932) pp. 746-766,

in the sense of 'semi-legendary and legendary tales' is mentioned in the *Silppaddikāram* and the *Manimeklai* which mentions the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* as *Kaḍavaluaṇanpurāṇam*. The Purāṇic teachings were freely adopted by the Nāyanmārs and Ālavārs who preached them throughout Tamil-land. The *Linga Purāṇa* was well-known during this epoch. Besides, the *Śiva*, *Linga*, *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Bhāgavata*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Devībhāgavata*, *Vishṇu* and *Garuḍa* were all translated into Tamil.

These references to the Purāṇic literature occurring in the works dating from the later Vedic period to the seventh century of the Christian era clearly show that during this long period of several centuries, there existed a definite literary form called *Purāṇa* embodying old traditions, stories etc., which in course of time attained religious sanctity. In most of the earlier references, the word *Purāṇa* occurs in singular and not in plural as is the case at a subsequent period. This suggests that *Purāṇa* was originally one but at a later stage it assumed its multifarious form. All this naturally involved a long process of development spreading over many centuries (*circa* B. C. 1000-*circa* A. D. 700).

(*To be continued*)

1. XIII, 1, 98.

2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 370-371,

INVENTORY OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA MANUSCRIPTS

By

V. RAGHAVAN

[श्रीकाशिराजन्यासान्तर्गतेन पुराणविभागेन मत्स्यपुराणस्य संशोधित-
संस्करणाय प्रस्तावे कृते सति श्री वे० राघवनमहोदयाः तस्य सम्पादन-
कार्यं स्वीकृतवन्तः, तत्प्रसङ्गे तैः पुराणानां ये ये कोशाः (हस्तलिखितादर्शग्रन्थाः)
तालपत्रायाः पत्रात्मका वा यत्र यत्र सुरक्षितास्तेषां बृहती सूची संकलिता ।
तस्याः सूच्या मत्स्यपुराणकोशानां सूचीयं संमुद्रयते । यदत्रावशिष्टं
ज्ञायेत तदनुसूचनीयमिति प्रार्थ्यते]

[The Kashiraj Trust having decided on a critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa, Dr. V. Raghavan undertook its editorial work and in that connection prepared a comprehensive *Inventory of the Purāṇa Manuscripts*, both on palm-leaf and paper, deposited in the various collections. The Matsya Purāṇa portion of the same is being printed here with the request that if there be any omissions or additions, they may kindly be intimated.

In the following list the manuscripts collated in the Purāṇa Dept. of the Kashiraj Trust have been marked with an asterisk.

—V. S. AGARWALA]

Banaka	287 (Ng. Pr.	gr. 14,000)
	1070 (" "	" 7,500) incomp.
	2551 (" "	" 14,000)
	9717 (" "	" 14,000)
	11463 (" "	" 9,000) incomp.
Mysore I	369 (Tel.	" ff. 128)
	C. 372 (Ng.	" " 337)
	2166 (Tel.	" " 118)
	1791 (Tel.	" " 68)

Ujjain II	*4481 (Śārdā „	ff. 231) incomp.
	*4646 (Ng. „	„ 398)
R. A. S. B.	3998 (Beng. Pr.	ff. 238) comp.
	3999 (Ng. „	„ 420) comp.
	4000 (Beng. „	„ 343) incomp.
	4001 („ „	„ 248) incomp.
Bombay Univ.	*1006 (Ng. Pr.	ff. 289)
B. B. R. A. S.	957 (Ng. Pr.	ff. 368) some ff. lost)
Br. Museum	*108 (Ng. Pr.	ff. 531)
	109 („ „	„ 186) incomp.
		chs. 25-130
I O	*3548 (Ng. Pr.	ff. 320) comp.
	*3549 („ „	„ 334) comp.
	*3550 („ „	„ 344) comp.
	3551-3552 („ „	„ 459) (in 2 vols)
	3553 („ „	„ 420) incomp.
	*6749 (Mal. Pr.	pp. 383) chs. 1-120
	6750 (Ng. Pr.	ff. 343) comp.
	6751 (Tel. Pl.	„ 64) incomp.
		ch. 1-89
Udaipur	357 (Ng. Pr.) Sam.	1818
(p. 102)	355 („ „) „	1937 (?) 2 ff. missing.
	356 („ „) „	1714
Granthappura	*402 (Gr. Pl. gr.	9000) chs. 1-158
Tanjore D.	*10440-10445 (Ng. Pr. gr.	14000) comp.
	*10446-10449 (Ng. Pr.)	incomp.
Madras D.	*2254 (Ng. Pr. pp.	1204)
Bharatpur II	41	
Trav. Univ.	7849 (Ng. Pr.)	
Kotah	629 (PP. 651)	
Sringeri Math	249 (Ng.) chs.	84
Mithila	1071	
Bhore	119	

- Harshe 263 Owner-Sankar Vinayaka
Nidre, Punatambe,
Ahmadnagar Distt.
- Cabaton I 481 (Beng. Pr. pp. 718)
- Skt. Coll. Ben. (1879-1901), No. 203 (ff. 219, gr. 11000)
(p. 61)
- PUL II 2036 (Ng. Pr. ff. 579) 275 chs., Sam. 1820
2037 („ „ „ 498)
2038 („ „ „ 252-379+16) incomp.
- IL. 291 comp.
356 chs. 181-189
- BORI *28/1871-72 (Ng., Pr., ff. 498) Comp., Sam. 1776
83 Viśrāma (II)
*340/Viśrāma (I) (Ng., Pr., ff. 334) Comp. Sam. 1700
45 Viśrāma (II)
*119/1884-87 (Ng., Pr.) Incomp.
164 1887-91
*226/1895-1902 (Ng., Pr., ff. 439) some ff. missing,
Sam. 1680
158 A. 1881-82
- Mandlik B. H. 35 (p. 66) (ff. 381) Sam. 1804
- B I S M V. 110/32
- Nasik II 90 (ff. 450)
477 (ff. 328)
- Udaipur II 551 (ff. 342)
- Anandāśrama 1165
1381
6945
- Vanguja, p. 93 832 (Ng. ff. 379) Incomp. Chs. 1-273 ; a few
ff. lost.
1400 (Beng. 300) Incomp.
1437 („ 398) Comp. chs. 271

C.P.B.	3779 (The Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur) 3780 (Lakshmi Prasad of Jabalpore) 3781 (Tukaram Pathak of Yeoda, Amaroti Distt.)
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Viśvabharati	2293 (Beng. Pr. pp. 100) incomp.
S. K. Ray	1 (ff. 436) comp.
Wai	361
Mandlik Sup.	161 (ff. 404) 162 (ff. 254) Sam. 1915, Śaka 1780
Ranbir (Jammu)	7705 7755
TPL.	26, 27, 2 Vols.
Navadvipa	39
S. K. Ray, DC	250 (ff. 436)
Bombay Univ. (Ichchharam Desai Collection)	*368 (Ng., Pr. ff. 604) Comp
Surat	*124 (Ng. Pr. ff. 538) Comp. 423 (Ng. Pr.) Comp.
DCRI	2153 2288
Tel. Aca	4226 (a) (ff 59, chs. 13-49)
Cog. App.	95 (ff. 377) A. D. 1729 813-14 (ff. 601)
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 6936 of Southern India
- Rice 76
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- Auf. II 215 b. Ulwar 847 Appendix
- Auf. III 91 b. As p. 135 (3 mss.) 136 (incomp)
 BC. 260
 Bd. 164
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ADDENDA.

- Srinagar, Kashmir Raghunath Mandir Pustakalaya
 Saraswatī Bhāṇḍāgāra
 No. 3854 ff. 262, Comp. Nag. A. D. 1800
 No. 3601 ff. 562, Comp. Śāradā
 No. 3920 ff. 685, with commentary, Śāradā

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE INVENTORY OF PURĀṆA-MANUSCRIPTS

Abbreviations (alphabetically arranged) of the Inventory of Manuscripts of the Purāṇas with their explanation as given in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* and the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, are given below :—

- Adyar I. Adyar Library, Adyar, Catalogue of Sansk. Mss.
Part I, 1926.
- Auf. Theodor Aufrecht : *Catalogus Catalogorum*,
Vols. I, II, III.
- A. K. Report for the search of Sanskrit manuscripts in
the Bombay Presidency by Abaji Vishnu
Kathavade, Bombay 1901.
- Alph. List- An alphabetical list of manuscripts by Haraprasad
Beng. Govt. Shastri Vol. XI, Calcutta 1895. (Also Des-
criptive Catalogues of Manuscripts in the Royal
Asiatic Society of Bengal by Haraprasad
Shastri.
- America A Census of Indic Manuscripts ; American Oriental
Series No. 12.
- Ananda- A hand-list of 8518 manuscripts in the Anandā-
śrama. śrama, Poona.
- Ani A hand-list of manuscripts in the Ani Pandit
Library, P. O. Beani Bazar, Sylhet, Assam.
- Avanappa- A hand-list of Sanskrit Mss. in the Avanappa-
rambhu Mana. rambhu Mankkal, Vadakkanchari, P. O.
Cochin State.
- A. S. Catalogue of printed books and manuscripts in
Sanskrit, Oriental Library of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal.

- B. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. contained in the Private Libraries of Gujarat, Kathiawad. Kachch, Singh and Khandesh, compiled under the superintendence of G. Buhler.
- Baroda. List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Vol. I, 1942.
- BBRAS Catalogue of Sansk. and Prakrit Mss. in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 4 Volumes.
- B. C. Manuscripts presented to India Office Library by A. C. Burnell.
- Bd. Report on the search of Sansk. Mss. in Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar 1997.
- Ben. A Catalogue of manuscripts in Banaras Sansk. College Library, Banaras, 1864-74.
- Bharatpur. A list of Mss. in the State Library, Bharatpur.
- Bhau Daji. Catalogue of Mss. belonging to the Bhau Daji Memorial, Bombay 1882.
- BHK. Report on the Search for Sansk. Mss. during 1881-82 by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- Bhor. List of Manuscripts in the Palace Library, Bhor State.
- Bik. Catalogue of Sansk. Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, compiled by Rajendralal Mitra.
- Bikaner. List of Sansk. Mss. in Anup Sanskrit Library, Fort Bikaner.
- B. I. S. M. List of Sansk. Mss. in Bharatiya Itihasa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.
- BL Lists of Sansk. Mss. in private libraries in the Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- BORI Manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.

- BP. Report on the Search for Sansk. Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1887.
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THE PĀŚUPATA YOGA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[पुराणेषु माहेश्वराख्यानां नैवपाशुपतानां बहुकृत्वो वर्णनं प्राप्यते । पाशुपतानामियं महती परम्परा प्राचीना वैदिकी चासीत् । याजुषे शतरुद्रियाध्याये नमःस्तोत्रे 'पशूनां पतये नमः' इति या नमउक्तिर्विहिता सा रुद्रस्वरूपाय रुद्रापरनाम्ने 'महोदेवाय' अग्नये एव । लिङ्गपुराणे पशु-पाश-पशुपतितत्त्वानां व्याख्या विस्तरतः कृता । तस्मादाकृष्यास्मिन् लेखे सा सुविचारिता । स एव पाशुपतयोगः ३३ नमः रुद्राय नमः इति शतश्लोकः तपश्चरणपरायणैः जीवधारिभिः पशुत्वनिराकरणाय मलव्यपोहनाय क्षेत्राख्यस्वशरीरविशोधनाय वा कृतिभिश्चिद्वदैः संपूर्यते, तदेव पाशुपतं व्रतम् । 'एको रुद्रो न द्वितीयाय तस्थौ' इत्येवाद्वयाख्यं स्वयम्भूपुरुषतत्त्वमव्यक्तं लिङ्गमुच्यते । प्राणरूपस्याग्नेः प्रथमंः सहस्रधा सहस्रात्मिका मानसी सृष्टिर्जायते त एवासंख्याता रुद्राः । तदनु शिवस्यार्धनरनारीवपुषः उदयादवाक् ब्रह्मणा मैथुन्यः प्रजा अग्नीषोमादिमका उत्पाद्यन्ते । अक्षरस्वरूपः प्राणात्मकोऽग्निरेव लिङ्गार्चनेन उपास्यते । अयं लेखः पाशुपतयोगं क्रमशः व्याख्यातुमुपक्रमते ।]

The Pāśupata Śaivas were an ancient cult with widespread distribution. They have left an indelible stamp on the Purāṇas, classical Sanskrit literature and early Indian sculpture of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods. In the Mathura Museum an array of Śiva-liṅgas and bas-reliefs of Śaiva worship greets us right from the Kushāṇa times. They offer a commentary on the Pāśupata influences operative at Mathura, which became an important centre of this religion from about the first century A.D. The Chaṇḍal-Maṇḍal Bagīchī Inscription of Chandragupta II dated 381 A. D., edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, is a Pāśupata document of great historical value found in North India, which records an account of the line of Pāśupata teachers and of Śiva-liṅgas established by them, and on its front side depicts a figure of Lakuliśa, the original founder of the Sect.

The existing Purāṇa literature specialises in an extensive preservation of the Pāśupata doctrines and their religious practices. They believed in Rudra-Śiva as Paśupati and Maheśvara, and were therefore famous under several names, as Raudra-Śaiva, Pāśupata, Māheśvara, etc.

The main emphasis of this religion was on Yoga accepted as a rigorous discipline for the purification of body and mind. This was called *Viśodhana* or *Mala-Vyapohana*, to be achieved by the practice of Ashtāṅga Yoga and a planned system of Vratas based mainly on *upavāsa* or *anaśana*, and *śvalpāhāra*. This earned for them the epithet of Vratins, and also Mahāvratins when the austere practice of denying food was extended over longer periods.

Their metaphysical doctrine was directly derived from the Rudra-Śiva tradition of the Vedas. For them Rudra-Śiva was the same as Agni in its Ghora and Aghora aspects. The worship of Agni was a vital part of their *sādhana*, reflected in the external practices of Agni-tāpana and Bhasma-dhāraṇa, both of which possessed an esoteric meaning, with reference to the purification of Prāṇa or vital energy. They worshipped Śiva in the form of Liṅga. Iconographically Liṅga images were two-fold—Ekamukhī referring to the conception of एको रूद्रो न द्वितीयाय तस्थौ or एक एवानिर्बहुधा समिद्धः, and Pañchamukhī symbolising the पञ्चब्रह्म conception based on the Vedic कामप्र पाङ्क्तयज्ञ of परमेष्ठी प्रजापति (Śatapatha, XI. 1.6.1-40). Liṅga is the symbol of the priac energy of the Creator, the highest principle of cosmic creation, the same as the great immortal god Agni of the Rīgveda (महोदेवो मर्त्या आविवेश, IV. 58.3) and of the Brāhmaṇas, as explained in the formulas :—

अग्निर्वै सर्वा देवताः (ऐतरेय २।३)

सर्वदेवत्योऽग्निः (शतपथ ६।१।३।१०)

यो वै रूद्रः सोऽग्निः (शतपथ ५।२।४।१३,

५।३।१।१०, ६।१।३।२०)

एष रूद्रः यदग्निः (तैत्तिरीय १।१।५।८-९, १।१।६।६)

रुद्रोऽग्निः (तांज्य १२।४।२४)
 सर्वेषामु हैष देवानामात्मा यदग्निः (शतपथ ७।४।१।२५)
 त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महो दिवः (ऋग्वेद २।१।६)

In the Vedic यज्ञविद्या, Agni in its concrete form is the same as पशु :—

अग्निर्वै पशूनामीष्टे (श० ४।३।४।११)
 तऽप्येते सर्वे पशवो यदग्निः (श० ६।२।१।१२)
 अग्निर्ह्येष यत्पशवः (श० ६।२।१।१२)
 पशुरेष यदग्निः (श० ६।४।१।२)
 अग्निर्हि देवानां पशुः (ऐतरेय १।१५)
 ते देवा अन्नवन् पशुर्वाऽग्निः (श० ६।३।१।२२)

(हंसराज, वैदिक कोश)

This ancient doctrine of Paśu was much elaborated in the Pāśupata philosophy and lifted to a metaphysical plane :

रुद्रः पशुपतिश्चैव पशुपाशविमोचकः ।

यः पशुस्तत्पशुत्वञ्च व्रतेनानेन संत्यजेत् ॥ (लिंग० १।७२।४३)

The Devas, Asuras and Manushyas, or the entire creation is Paśu : तस्माद्वै पशवः सर्वे देवासुरनराः प्रभो (ib. I. 72. 42). It is essential to purify the animal or demoniacal nature inherent in all beings by dedicating one's self to the Divine Lord Paśupati, and subjecting it to a course of *Sādhana*. Divine Life is not haphazard or riotous living, but a यज्ञ or planned living in accordance with the cosmic laws. The founders of the Pāśupata system were inspired with the ideal of the highest purity of life and self-realisation through Yoga. The Purāṇas serve as veritable documents of this once powerful and inspiring faith, whose adherents together with the Bhāgavatas established themselves on ancient Vedic foundations and built new edifices of thought and practical religion full of vitality which attracted even the best minds like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa. The Līṅga Purāṇa is a sublime Pāśupata text, specific and clear and singularly free from those

unifying phases which later on marred the history of the faith. This Purāṇa* has preserved the early tenets of the

* The present version of the Liṅga Purāṇa (Jivanand edn.) is divided into two portions, पूर्वार्ध of 108 adhyāyas and उत्तरार्ध of 55 adhyāyas:—

ग्रन्थैकादशसाहस्रं पुराणं लैङ्गमुत्तमम् । अष्टोत्तरशताध्यायमादिमांशमतः परम् ॥ ३६ ॥
षट्चत्वारिंशदध्यायं धर्मकामार्थमोक्षदम् । (उत्तरार्ध अ० ५५)

It appears that this division was arbitrarily imposed on the original unitary text by later redactors who were the Pāsupatas themselves. In the third stage the Vaiṣṇavas added chs. 1-8 at the beginning of the उत्तरार्ध, in which Nārāyaṇa is glorified in a dialogue between Ambariṣa and Nārada. Without this accretion the Uttarārdha is left with about 46 chs. The Uttarārdha also describes the षोडशदान (chs. 28-44) which was based on the षोडशमहादान of the Matsya Purāṇa (chs. 274-239)

The original Liṅga Purāṇa of 108 chs. seems to have been a compact text of the Kuṣāṇa age when the Pāsupatas were in full glory. The उत्तरार्ध of chs. 9-27 was a supplement by the Pāsupata teachers of the Gupta age. The षोडशदान chapters much inferior in spirit and literary skill floated into that text. Chs. 1-8 of the Uttarārdha are lamentably isane and constitute a later Vaiṣṇava grafting. Only the Kausika story in ch. 1, is of value. Tearing the veil of motifs in this story, we may identify Kausika with Kusika, the great founder-teacher of the Lakuliśa sect (I, 24, 181). [The References to Liṅga Purāṇa as I and II denote its पूर्वार्ध and उत्तरार्ध and the next two figures the adhyāya and sloka respectively.] Kuṣasthala seems to be Ujjayinī (See Kuṣasthālī in Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 111), where Malava-Malavi are said to have supported Kausika and his disciples. It appears that Kusika whom Pāsupata history regards to have been a brilliant organiser moved from Kāyāvarohana to Ujjayinī, and thence the faith spread through Dhundhumika, or Rajasthan area. Dhundhu was the presiding spirit of the Marudhanva region (according to Āraṇyaka-parvan) who had been converted to the Vaiṣṇava faith by king Kuvalāśva. This implies that the Pāsupatas first became entrenched in Ujjayinī and then spread towards the Vaiṣṇava centre of Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva in Nagari or ancient Madhyamika near Chittor where an inscription records the building of the Nārāyaṇa-Vāṇaka monument. The Pāsupata teachers then moved northwards—आदाय सर्ववित्तं ततस्ते जग्मुस्तत्राम् । दिशमासाद्य कालेन कालधर्मेण योजिताः ॥ (II, 1. 34-35),

The identification of Kausika with Kusikāchārya becomes quite probable when we remember that the Pūrvardha makes explicit mention of Lakuli born at Kāyāvarohana and to his four disciples named कुशिक, गर्ग, मित्र, and कौस्त्य:—

भविष्यामि तदा ब्रह्म लकुली नाम नामतः ॥ १२९ ॥

Pāśupatas, when they were saturated with the background of Vedic thought which was incorporated freely into this system, as also in that of the Bhāgavatas (cf. Kālidāsa, श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्, रघु० २।२)'

At the outset the त्रिदेव idea is further clarified in terms of the त्रिगुण conception :—

तमसा कालरुद्राख्यं रजसा कनकाण्डजम् ।

सत्त्वेन सर्वगं विष्णुं निर्गुणत्वे महेश्वरम् ॥ (I. 1. 22)

Tamas is Kāla-Rudra, Rajas is Brahmā, Sattva is Viṣṇu, and that who is beyond the guṇas is Mahēśvara. This belief that Mahēśvara transcends the triple qualities is frequently repeated and led to the name माहेश्वर being applied to the Pāśu-patas.

कायावतार इत्येनं सिद्धक्षेत्रञ्च वै तदा ।

भविष्यति सुविख्यातं यावद्भूमिर्धरिष्यति ॥ १३० ॥

तत्रापि मम ते पुत्रा भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।

कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौस्य एव च ॥ १३१ ॥

योगात्मानो महात्मानो ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः ।

प्राप्य माहेश्वरं योगं विमला ह्यूर्ध्वरेतसः ॥ १३२ ॥

एते पाशुपताः सिद्धाः भस्मोद्धूयन्तिविग्रहाः ॥ १३३ ॥

लिङ्गाचर्चनरता नित्यं बाह्याभ्यन्तरतः स्थिताः ॥ १३५ ॥ (I. 24)

Kuśika was a historical person since it is mentioned in the above Mathura Inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (380-81 A.D.) that the two Śaiva pontifs Uditāchārya and Kapilāchārya were tenth in descent from him. What the author of the Kushāṇa period has said in very reverential terms has been put in slighting terms in the Līṅga Purāṇa to paint him as a devotee of Hari.

The Pūrvaṛdha opens not with the usual invocatory verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य, a sure भागवत stamp, but with नमो रुद्राय हरये ब्रह्मणे परमात्मने । अथ त्रिदेवस्य सर्गस्थित्यन्तकारिणे ॥ (I. 1. 1.), a statement of Trideva synthesis, repeated in I. 1. 18. However, the motif of Nārada, who appears as one of the interlocutors in the Pāṇcharātra recensions of a great many Purāṇic works and discourses, is introduced, who after paying reverential homage to Śiva in several tirthas, comes to Naimisha and joins the audience assembled to hear Sūta's discourse.

It was an obligation on the author to define his idea of Liṅga :

अलिङ्गो लिङ्गमूलन्तु अव्यक्तं लिङ्गमुच्यते ।
 अलिङ्गः शिव इत्युक्तो लिङ्गं शैवमिति स्मृतम् ॥ १ ॥
 प्रधानं प्रकृतिश्चेति यदाहुर्लिङ्गमुत्तमम् । २
 विग्रहो जगतां लिङ्गमलिङ्गादभवत् स्वयम् ॥ ४ ॥

(I. 3)

The Unmanifest Principle is अलिङ्ग and the manifest Universe (Pradhāna) is लिङ्ग; Prakṛiti is लिङ्ग and शिव is अलिङ्ग, — such was the basic metaphysical position of the Māheśvara or Pāśupata school. प्रकृति is the consort or शक्ति of शिव and पुरुष or शिव himself is लिङ्ग :—

प्रकृतिस्तस्य पत्नी च पुरुषो लिङ्गमुच्यते ।

(I. 75. 9)

As explained in the Mbh. the व्यक्त is the object of senses and the अव्यक्त is called लिङ्ग :—

इन्द्रियैः सृज्यते यद् यत् तत् तद् व्यक्तमिति स्मृतम् ।

अव्यक्तमिति विज्ञेयं लिङ्गग्राह्यमतीन्द्रियम् ॥

(आरण्यकपर्व, २०२. ॥)

It is the power of अलिङ्ग which transforms its लिङ्ग manifestation into 7, 8, or 11 different forms, which was an obvious reference to the Seven Prāṇas, or Eight Mūrtis of Śiva (called the Eight Names of Kumāra in the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas), or the Eleven Rudras :

सप्तधा चाष्टधा चैव तथैकादशधा पुनः ।

लिङ्गान्यलिङ्गस्य तथा मायया विततानि च ॥ (I, 3, 5)

Whatever be the varying number of Tattvas (सूक्ष्मारम्भ पदार्थs) in earlier literature, the Purāṇas synthesize them into three categories which they designate as त्रिदेव :—

तेभ्यः प्रधानदेवानां त्रयमासीच्छिवात्मकम् ।

एकस्मात् त्रिचन्द्रदिग्मेकेन परिरक्षितम् ॥६॥

एकेनैव हतं विश्वं व्याप्तं त्वेवं शिवेन तु ॥७॥ (I. 3)

What Manu mentions as बीजप्रदः पिता, is called here—‘अलिङ्गी भगवान् बीजी स एव परमेश्वरः’ (I. 3. 8). शिव is पुरुष and प्रकृति is शैवी, also called अजा, as in the Upanishads :—

तामजां लोहितां शुक्लां कृष्णामेकां बहुप्रजाम् ॥१३॥

अजा जनित्री जगतां साजेन समधिष्ठिता ॥१४॥ (I. 3)

This अजा produces for the sake of creation the Primordial Principle of सहत् (I. 3. 15). Then follows the scheme of Sāṅkhya cosmogony which both the Śaivas and the Bhāgavatas accepted *in toto* with their particular retouching. Along with this the scheme of Vedic cosmogony described by Manu in terms of the हिरण्यगर्भ (Golden Egg), the same as the Vedic हिरण्यगर्भ, was also admitted in both the Pāśupata and Pāñcharātra systems.

Out of the Egg is born Brahmā (अव्युद्भूततन्महर्षिः पितामहः, I. 3. 28); he is identical with रुद्र and विष्णु when functioning in the cosmos :

स एव भगवान् रुद्रो विष्णुर्विश्वगतः प्रभुः । (I. 3. 29)

The cosmos is a single Egg, but within it each Prāṇic centre is itself an egg :

कोटिकोटियुतान्यत्र चाण्डानि कथितानि तु (I. 3. 33)

The egg is thus a pulsating unit of life with its throbbing nucleus called Brahmā, from the root बृह् to grow, since it represents the principle of growth which inheres in each egg (तस्यात्मा कमलासनः, I. 3. 33; cf. Manu, तस्मिन्नज्ञे स्वयं ब्रह्मा सर्वलोकपितामहः). Within the Egg is an epitome of the world (तस्मिन्नण्डे त्वमे लोका अन्तर्विश्वमिदं जगत्, I. 3. 29). The inner world of the Egg reflects the enveloping macrocosm outside it. Both comprise seven Principles, viz. The Five Elements, Ahamkāra (the principle of Individuation) and Mahat (of Universalisation) (I. 3. 30-32). These seven enveloping shells are the (सप्ताण्डावरण, I. 3. 33). In each centre th

activating Triad is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the same as the Triple Guṇas, which derive their energy from the Transcendent Principle who is God Maheśvara or Sadāśiva (I. 3.34-38). Then follows a Purāṇic summary of the अहोरात्रवाद, the Vedic doctrine of Time (कालवाद) which dominated the whole field of Vedic cosmogony (cf. the Kālasūktas in the Atharva and the list of कालः स्वभावो नियतियदृच्छा in the Śvetāśvatara Up. where काल heads the list). Creation is अहः and dissolution is रात्रि, but both are only relative (औपचारिक, I. 4. 2) for the Absolute is beyond both. The Kalpa is equal to सहस्रयुग, the period of a thousand aeons, equal to 14 Manus. Vedic मनु-विद्या is the Purāṇic मन्वन्तर विद्या. Both the Śaiva and Bhāgavata schools not only subscribed to the ancient sublime doctrine of काल but also endowed it with amplified versions (cf. I, 4 and 54). In contemporary Persia also the sect of the Zarvanites believed in the doctrine of Boundless Time (*Zārvāno-i-akanarak*) according to which the Creator Ahurmazda produced Light and brought forth a number of persons all of light (The Zaravanite System, *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Sanjana*, p. 72). This corresponds to Sūrya and his sons the Manus of the Indian version. The notion of Infinite Time is artistically woven in the following verses :

कोटिक्रोडिसहस्राणि कल्याणां मुनिसत्तमाः ॥ ४९ ॥
 गतानि तावच्छेषाणि अहर्निश्यानि वै पुनः ॥ ५० ॥
 गुणानां चैव वैषम्ये विप्राः सृष्टिरिति स्मृता ॥ ५२ ॥
 साम्ये ल्यो गुणानान्तु तयोर्हेतुर्महेश्वरः ।
 लीलया देवदेवेन सर्गास्त्वीहगुविधाः कृताः ॥ ५३ ॥
 असंख्याताश्च संक्षेपात् प्रधानादन्वधिष्ठितात् ।
 असंख्याताश्च कल्याख्या ह्यसंख्याताः पितामहाः ॥ ५४ ॥
 हरयश्चाप्यसंख्यातास्त्वेक एव महेश्वरः ॥ ५५ ॥ (I. 4.)

The Vedic doctrine of अदिति and दक्ष (Rv. X, 72) is adapted in the Purāṇas as the story of Dakṣa Prajāpati and his Yajña. Dakṣa had many daughters, the eldest Sati being wedded

to Śaṅkara, but not reconciled to him (I. 5). This refers to अग्नि-सोम विद्या; शिव is अग्नि and सती is सोम, both repelling each other but later on in the अर्धनारी-नरवपु, पार्वती becomes the one-half of him. Śiva is अग्नि and पार्वती is सोम and the Ardhanārīśvara form is the symbol of the eternal Yajña in the universe :—

अहमग्निर्महातेजाः सोमश्चैषा महाम्बिका ।

अहमग्निश्च सोमश्च प्रकृत्या पुरुषः स्वयम् ॥

(Līṅga., I. 34. 7)

The Śaiva tradition specialises in the symbolism of the Vedic Agni-vidyā and the Vaishṇava in that of the Soma-vidyā which were associated in a rich concrete symbolism in the Purāṇas. Rudra is said to be Agni and Kārttikeya as Śiva's son is Agni's son, whose birth is a favourite theme in the Purāṇas. A kindred topic was that of Agni-varṇśa describing the 49 forms of Agni, of which the Sacrificial Three Fires (यज्ञाग्नित्रेता) are पवमान-पावक-शुचि belonging to पृथिवी-अन्तरिक्ष-द्यौः (I. 6. 1-3). These Fires are all forms of one Rudra (रुद्रात्मक; cf. अग्निर्वै रुद्रः in the Brāhmaṇas). Like one Agni there is the One Transcendent Rudra, whose emanations are the numberless Rudras (I. 6. 11-16), all of similar blue-red hue (नील-लोहित, vss. 11, 13); Śiva as Fire is नीललोहित (vs. 25), the one source of the dualism of light and heat, i.e. the ज्योति of सूर्य and अग्नि; or अमृत-मृत्यु, etc.*

* Ch. 1. 7. opens with an account of व्यासावतार and योगाचार्यावतार, the latter of course being the पाशुपतः, whose foundation members comprised 4 Teachers (I. 7. 9):

कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौहल्य एव च ।

शिष्याश्चेते महात्मानः सर्वावर्तेषु योगिनाम् ॥ ५१ ॥

विमला ब्रह्मभूयष्ठा ज्ञानयोगपरायणाः ।

एते पाशुपता सिद्धा भग्नोद्धूतविग्रहाः ॥ ५२ ॥

शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्चैतेषां शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।

प्राप्य पाशुपतं योगं रद्रलोकाय संस्थिताः ॥ ५३ ॥

It is a faithful picture of the Pāsupata Siddha order.

The conception of पशु formed a significant theme of these tenets:

देवादयः पिशाचान्तः पशवः परिकीर्तिताः ।

तेषां पतित्वात् सर्वेशो भवः पशुपतिः स्मृतः ॥ (I. 7. 54)

तेन प्रणीतो रुद्रेण पशूनां पतिना द्विजाः ।

योगः पाशुपतो ज्ञेयः परावरविभूतये ॥ (I. 7. 54-55)

It presents almost a literal translation of the Vedic doctrine of पशुविद्या—

अग्निर्वै पशूनामीष्टे (श० ४।३।४।११)

अग्निर्ह्येष यत्पशवः (श० ६।२।१।१२)

पशुरेष यदग्निः (श० ६।४।१।२; ७।२।४।३०; ७।३।२।१७)

ते देवा अब्रुवन्पशुर्वा अग्निः (श० ६।३।१।२२)

देवा यद् यज्ञं तन्वाना अवध्नन्पुरुषं पशुम् (Rv. X. 9-15)

All manifest life takes the form of a Paśu :—

तस्मादाहुः प्राणाः पशवः । स (प्रजापतिः) प्राणेभ्य एवाधिपशून् निरमिमीत ।

(श० ७।५।२।६)

प्राणाः पशवः

(तैत्तिरीय ३।२।८।९)

Each centre of individual material manifestation is a पशु and a यज्ञ with the dual constituents of Agni and Soma :

कतमो यज्ञ इति पशव इति

(श० ११।६।३९)

पशवो हि यज्ञः

(श० ३।१।४।९ ; ३।२।३।११)

(प्रजापतिः) तेषु (पशुषु) एतं (अग्निं) अपश्यत्तस्माद्वैवैते पशवः

(श० ६।२।१।४)

शिव as पशुपति is सर्वदेवमय (I. 65. 162) and यज्ञपति (I. 62. 169). The animal forms are Paśus by the simple logic of their being concrete or visible forms of Agni or energy :

Wherever there is Agni, there is Yajña, and Yajña builds the पशव्या चिति in the form of the body. The ancient अग्नि-पशु-विद्या became the Pāśupata Yoga of the Purāṇas. Yajña consists of व्रत (अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि) and दीक्षा (व्रतेन दीक्षामाप्नोति); the पाशुपत योग is also a planned session of व्रत and दीक्षा extending over

the period of whole life (वैष्टिक), or 12 years, or 6 years, or 3 years, or 12 months or even 12 days.¹ Seemingly new, this was an old conception of Paśu fully accepted in the Vedic ritual. There were only five मेध्य or यज्ञीय Paśus, viz. पुरुष, अश्व, गौ, अवि, अज (Śatapatha, 6. 2. 1. 2.); of these, पुरुष is the foremost animal, he is the primeval victim fastened to the sacrificial stake :

देवा यद् यज्ञं तन्वाना अवघ्नन् पुरुषं पशुम् । (Rv. X. 90. 15)

Prajāpati himself undergoes the dismemberment of his body for purposes of creation and that is the theme of the Puruṣa Sūkta.

The symbolism of the Five Paśus may be explained as follows :—

1. पुरुष (Man) — Mind, Consciousness (मनः or प्रज्ञा or आत्मा)
2. अश्व (Horse)— Prāṇa, Energy (प्राण or असु)
3. गौ (Cow) — Five Elements (पंचभूत, collectively called वाक्)
4. अवि (Sheep)—Symbol of Agni } असृक् or blood or the
5. अज (Goat)—Symbol of Soma } 'Burning Water of Life'

This symbolism has other explanations also, since, the Paśus correspond to the Five Elements (पंचभूत) which externalise the Unmanifest Principle and are therefore real पशवः, i. e. manifest creatures in flesh and blood, material and earth-bound. As Pt. Madhusudan Ojha has explained :

मृष्टुष्टे उत्पन्ना दूर्वावैषधिवनस्पतिमग्निमीनाय पशवः । त इमे पशवोऽग्निः ।

तेनाग्निना पशुभिर्यज्ञः संपद्यते ।

(आधिदैविकाध्याय, p. 38).

येचाप्यन्ये चरिष्यन्ति व्रतं पाशुपतं मम ॥ ३९ ॥

मोक्षयन्ति ते न सन्देहः पशुत्वात्सुरसत्तमाः ।

नैष्टिकं द्वादशाब्दं वा तदर्धं वर्षकत्रयम् ॥ ४० ॥

शुश्रूषां कारयेद्यस्तु स पशुत्वाद्विमुच्यते ॥ ४१ ॥ (I. 72)

व्रतं पाशुपतं श्रोतं भवेन परमेष्ठिना ।

व्रतेनानेन भूतेश पशुत्वं नैव विद्यते ॥ ४२ ॥

अथ द्वादशवर्षं वा मासद्वादशकं तु वा ।

दिनद्वादशकं वापि कृत्वा तद्व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥ ५० ॥

मुच्यन्ते पशवः सर्वे पशुपाशैर्भवंस्य तु ॥ ५१ ॥ (I. 80)

This was a subject elaborated under Vedic विराज् विद्या, comprising 10 constituent parts, viz. कुमार अग्नि, and 8 forms of चित्राग्नि (also called विष्ण्याग्नि in the Vedic ritual, and अष्टमूर्ति in the Purāṇas and the Pāśupata system) and the last पाशुक्रामि अग्नि (same as the पशव्या चिति) i. e. the animal physical body composed of the Five Elements, which is elaborated in the पंचचितिक अग्नि चयन of the ritual, or the building of the Fire-Altar in five layers (viz. अग्नि चिति or वेदि चिति symbolising the human body).

The principal object of this ancient symbolism is the physical body comprising Life, Mind and Matter, or as stated in the R̥gveda :

भूम्या असुः असृग् आत्मा (I. 164.4)

‘the blood of earth, the life, the spirit.’ (Griffith). These three becoming manifest in the body or in each cell constitute Life or प्राणवान् पशु. प्राण is the Inner Light whose beams oscillate between the two poles :

अन्तश्चरति रोचनास्य प्राणादपानती ।

व्यत्यन्महिषो दिवम् ॥ (Rv. X. 189. 2)

Light is effulgent in the sky and on the earth : He is the Supreme Bull—the Fire, Sun or Prāṇa.

The Pāśupatas borrowing these archaic symbols turned them to new advantage¹ and devised a fresh terminology, e. g. Pañcha-Brahma, and Aṣṭa-Mūrti, both of which are explained at length in the Liṅga Purāṇa. Their view-point is as broad as the old one : the Angels, Titans and Men are all Paśus. Rudra Pāśupati is the Lord of Paśus. He is the Divine Power to unloosen the bonds of the Paśus. A Paśu can get rid of his bonds by means of the Pāśupata Vow.¹ This is a restatement

1. तस्माद्दे पशवः सर्वे देवासुरनराः प्रभोः ।

सुदः पशुपतिश्चैव पशुपाशविमोचकः ।

यः पशुस्तत् पशुत्वञ्च व्रतेनानेन संत्यजेत् ॥

(Liṅga Purāṇa, 2. 42. 43).

of the Vedic idea of the three-fold bonds of Varuṇa with which each Śuṇaḥsepa is tied to the stake. The higher bond (उत्तमपाश) enchains the Mind (मनस्), the middle one (मध्यमपाश) the Prāṇa, and the lower one (अधम पाश) the Body :

उदुत्तमं वरुणपाशमस्मदवाधनं वि मध्यमं श्रथाय ।

अथा वयमादित्य व्रते तवानागसो अदितये स्याम ॥

(Rv. I. 24, 15)

Here also the appeal is to Āditya, viz. Rudra¹, whose व्रत is invoked for emancipation from the bonds of sin (आगस्).

(To be continued)

1. Rudra is termed नीलप्रीव and gliding, in Yajus, XVI. 17 (असौ योऽव-
सर्पति नीलप्रीवो विलोहितः), which Griffith rightly interprets as the Sun or Āditya
who like Rudra is नीललोहित, i. e. of blue and red rays.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE PURĀṆAS

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ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

English Translation of the Matsya Purāṇa

(Panini Office, Allahabad, 1916).

- (1) The Date of the Mahābhārata and the Matsya Purāṇa.
(from the Introduction to the Translation)

[The date has been derived from the astronomical data given in the Matsya Purāṇa, chapter 273, ślokaś 39-44, Ān. edition]

- (2) The Date of the Matsya Purāṇa—The Sacrificial Session. (Appendix X.)

[Extracts from H. H. Wilson's articles.]

- (3) An Account of the Dynasties of the Kali Age after the War. (Appendix III.)

The account is based on chapters 271-273 of the Matsya Purāṇa.]

Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference, Vol. I.

- (4) The Story of Yayati as found in the Matsya Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata. A Textual Comparison. (By Ganga Prasad Dixit)

[The metres and the textual differences arising out of the metrical differences of the two versions of the Story are discussed in detail. Metrical analysis of the trimetre stanzas of both the versions is also given.]

*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V.*

(Edited by M. M. Dr. Haraprasāda Shastri)

(5) The Matsya Purāṇa (Preface, pp. CLCCCVII-CXCI)

[The original MP. consisted only of 103 chapters which contain interlocutions between Matsya and Manu ; then several revisions and additions. The genealogies were added in two instalments, first ending in ch. 51, and the second beginning in ch. 271. The MP. adds many more characteristics to the five ordinary ones (Pañcha Lakṣhaṇas).]

J. G. R. I., Allahabad, Vol. IX., Parts 2-4, Feb.-Aug. 1952.

(6) The Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa. (By Manoranjan Shastri, Assam)

[Two Mss. of this Purāṇa were procured from Kamrupa District. They are written in old Assamese characters. Only some Assamese and Bengali writers in Dharmaśāstra have referred to this work by name; it is compiled in 49 chapters, all except first five deal with Dharmaśāstra. Except the 1st, 2nd, and the last, all are taken from the ritualistic manuals, compiled during the 1st half of the 11th century A. D.]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda

Vol. VI. No. I, Sept. 1956.

(7) The Cult of Manes as Depicted in the Matsya Purāṇa.
(By S. G. Katawala M. A.)

[Various classifications of the S'rāddhas dealt with in the Matsya Purāṇa ; the mode of performing S'rāddha rites also discussed. The importance of the group of three Pitris; emphasis of MP on Sapta-Purusha-Sāpinḍya.

Primitive Community-worship changed to family-worship; some of the elements of *vikīra* rites are probably a remnant of the primitive community-worship.]

The Vishnu Purāṇa, translated by H. H. Wilson, London, 1840.

(Preface.)

(8) MATSYA PURĀṆA.

[The account of the Matsya-avatāra and the preservice of Manu is also given in the Mahābhārata, but in a primitive simplicity, and so is of a much more antique compilation than the mysticism and extravagance of the actual Matsya Purāṇa. This is a miscellaneous compilation, but including in its contents the elements of a genuine Purāṇa. It is indebted to various works, not only for its matter, but also for its words, specially to the Padma Purāṇa which it quotes on one occasion.]

Our Heritage, Calcutta, Vol. II. Part I.

(9) MATSYA PURĀṆA MENTIONED BY NAME IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (from an article by Asoka Chatterji, on the Padma Purāṇa).

[In the course of discussing the early origin of the Purāṇic literature the writer points out that the Mahābhārata knew individual Purāṇas in some form or other at least at certain stages of its growth. The Mahābhārata expressly mentions 'Vāyu-Prokta Purāṇa' and the 'Mātsyaka-Purāṇa' with some of their contents, although very little of these contents is to be found in the present Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas. The verse mentioning the Matsya Purāṇa by name is :—

तपसा महतायुक्तः सोऽथ सृष्टुं प्रचक्रमे ॥

सर्वाः प्रजा मनुः साक्षाद् यथावद् भरतर्षभ ॥

इत्येतन्मात्स्यकं नाम पुराणं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

Poona ed. iii. 185.521539.

Alberuni's India. (Trübner' Oriental Series).

(10) QUOTATIONS FROM THE MATSYA PURĀṆA BY ALBERUNI.

[Alberuni has quoted from the Matsya Purāṇa in the following chapters of his book :—

Ch. XXIII—Mount Meru and the mountains of the earth in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Ch. XXIV—Description of the Devas according to the Matsya and Vālmiki Purāṇas.

Ch. XXV—Quotations from the Matsya Purāṇa on the River of India.

Ch. XXVI—Quotations from the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas on the shape of Heaven and Earth.

Ch. XXVII—Quotations from the Matsya Purāṇa on the two motions of the Universe.

Ch. XXVIII—An extract on Holy Pools from the Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas.

All these quotations are in the form of translation of the ślokas of the Matsya Purāṇa ; but this Matsya Purāṇa must have differed from the present Matsya Purāṇa, for all his quotations are not found in the present MP.]

(To be continued)

Diacritical signs used
same as in the Epigraphia Indica.

ऋ ri as Kṛishna (कृष्ण)

च ch
छ chh } as Kachchhara (कच्छप)

श s
ष sh } as Śesha (शेष)

अनुत्वार m as Samsāra (संसार)

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I, Ramesh Chandra De, hereby declare that the particulars given
above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Ramesh Chandra De,
Publisher.

GOLDEN WORDS

This day may mark the termination of the Banaras State, but it cannot end the existence of that institution which has continued from very ancient times. Kashi Rajya is the outcome of our ancient traditions. The holy city of Kashi is the object of faith and devotion for millions of men and women from all parts of the country. So long as humanity feels proud of its ancient traditions, its religions, its culture and civilization, until that time the name of Kashi will continue to remain immortal. I assure Kashi Naresh and the people of Kashi Rajya that we shall preserve the sacred character of Kashi and its name by the best possible means in our power.

October 15, 1949

VALLABH BHAI PATEL,

Home Minister, Government of India.

As a sequel to this the following practical measure was announced:—

I hope that even after the merger of this State in the Uttar Pradesh it will be possible to preserve suitably the memory of Kashi Rajya. For preserving the peculiar features of this state and for the development of the ancient culture, the great Sanskrit language and the holy institutions which are supported by this State, we contemplate to establish a Trust, so that all those institutions which have been held dear for the sanctity of this place, may flourish and develop under the new set-up.

October 15, 1949

GOVIND VALLABH PANT,

Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh.

[To implement the above, the All-India Kashiraj Trust was brought into existence and the project of publishing critical editions of the Purāṇas and other Purāṇic literature is the outcome of the decision of the Trust.]





महर्षि श्री कृष्णद्वैपायन व्यास
 Maharshi Sri Kṛishṇa Dwaipāyana Vyāsa

*From a painting by
 Jagannath Ahirwasi*

*By courtesy of
 Tata Industries Prvt. Ltd.*

महर्षि वेदव्यास

The great sage Vyāsa was of dark complexion, hence his birth name was Kṛishṇa. His mother Satyavatī begat him on an island in the midst of the river Yamunā, thus he was known as Dvaipāyana. He arranged the Vedas and the Purāṇas in the form of separate Samhitās which earned for him the title of Vyāsa, 'the Arranger'.

He has been one of the most marvellous personalities of all times. In the annals of authorship his record is unique and his achievement most brilliant. His hermitage was located in the Himālayas on the Alakanandā River, where it flows past the Viśālā Badarī Peak. Daily exerting for three years he completed the Mahābhārata in his holy Āśrama. Deeply immersed in the ancient Vedic Brahma-Vidyā and well-versed in the four-fold knowledge of Dharma-Artha-Kāma-Moksha, being equally at home in the secrets of metaphysics and the practical transactions of the world, he has made the Mahābhārata an epic containing the *summum bonum* of all knowledge.

Shri Jagannatha Ahiwasi has drawn in this painting a rare portrait of Maharshi Veda Vyāsa. The dark colour of the body, the tawny matted locks (कपिल जटा), the gray beard (वध्रुस्मश्रु) and above all the deep brilliant eyes (दीप्त लोचन) rivetted to extracting at times profound thoughts through the media of obscure words, are some of the physical features of the Rishi depicted in the painting. He has been caught in a moment of tense concentration. God Gaṇapati, his scribe, is depicted in the mood of some discomfiture, asking the sage for respite to probe into the depth of his कूटश्लोक. The locked sitting posture of the Rishi and his long wiry limbs indicate the stable and bouyant health with which he was able to pile up his literary exertions.

The original painting is now the ownership of M/S Tata Industries Prvt. Ltd. Bombay, by whose courtesy it has been reproduced here, with the special permission of Shri Ahiwasiji.

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EDITORIAL

The Vol. II of 'Purāṇa' Bulletin is a composite number comprising 320 pages. As a matter of fact No. 2 of Vol. I was published on the last Vasanta Pañchamī day and this Volume coming only after about 5 months on the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā day (July 8, 1960) is offering one extra number of the Bulletin. This arrangement was admitted to make the Volume and the year correspond with each other. Thus this Volume is for 1960, and the two numbers of Vol. III will appear in 1961 on the Vasanta Pañchamī Day and the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā Day respectively.

The price of Vol. II which offers a substantial increase in the number of pages is Rs. 12/-. It is contemplated that from Vol. III each Number will consist of 200 pages and the annual subscription for a Volume comprising 400 pages will be Rs. 15 (inland), 25 shillings (foreign)

A particular feature of the present composite number is the coloured, halftone and line-drawing illustrations. It is expected to continue this feature as far as possible.

Indologists and scholars interested in the field of Purāṇic studies have accorded a wide welcome both in India and abroad to the publication of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, which is assuming an increased importance amongst the activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust. The Indian religion in its manifold aspects as believed in and practised by the teeming millions of the country including both great and small, draws its perennial inspiration from the Purāṇas as vivified by the mighty tradition of the Vedas, Śāstras and other literatures of India. It is essential that the Purāṇas should be correctly understood in accordance with the approved canons of the Purāṇa Vidyā as it was developed under a consistent discipline through the ages. This method of Purāṇic interpretation was well understood, so long as the institutions

of traditional expansion (उपबृंहण) and recitation (कथावाचन) were alive. Those methods have now undergone change. The Purāṇic literature like the other branches of Indian literature is now placed on the anvil of scientific research, critical interpretation, comparative assessment and historical perspective, besides the publication of collated editions of the texts with the help of the available manuscript material and testimonia. The coming years will witness an increasing momentum along all these lines of Purāṇic study and text-reconstitution. The Purāṇas are bound to be given an important place and a high priority in the scheme of Indological studies. An exhaustive Concordance of names of places and persons for the Purāṇas, a detailed Subject-Index, exhaustive Dictionary of special Puranic terminology and Critical Editions are the essential tools of research which must be provided in order to create firm objective foundations for future Purāṇic research. It is expected that Indological Institutes now planning afresh their activities will bestow attention on these projects. We also realise that the standard of 'Purāṇa' should grow, for which we earnestly solicit the co-operation of scholars at all places where Indology forms a subject of scientific pursuit.

We record our gratitude to H. H. the Maharaja of Banaras, Chairman of the Kashiraj Trust, whose zealous and intelligent interest in the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin is responsible for enabling it to expand its scope.

कृष्णकृत रुद्रस्तोत्रम्

(हरिवंशपुराण, विष्णुपर्व अ० ७४, श्लो० २२-३४)

रुद्रो देवस्त्वं रुदनाद्रावणाच्च रोख्यमाणो द्रावणाच्चातिदेवः ।
 भक्तं भक्तानां वत्सलं वत्सलानां कीर्त्या युङ्क्ष्वेशाद्य प्रभवाम्यन्तरेण ॥ २२ ॥
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 नात्यद्भुतं त्वत्समं देवभूतं भूतं भव्यं भवदेवाथ नास्ति ॥ ३३ ॥
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A COMMENTARY ON THE RUDRA-STOTRA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[श्रीहरिवंशपुराणे विष्णुपर्वणि कृष्णकृतमिदं रुद्रस्तोत्रमुपलभ्यते (अ० ७४, श्लोक २२-३४) । अत्र रुद्रो देवः बहुभिर्नामभिः स्तूयते । रुदनात्, रावणात् द्रावणाच्च रुद्रशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः निर्दिष्टा । अग्निवै रुद्रः, स एव भूते भूते कुमाररूपेण जायते, तस्यैव जागरणं रोदनमिति कथ्यते । रोदनमेव अशनाया बुभुक्षा वा । अग्निरन्नादः सोमः अन्नं, बाह्यतः सोमाहरणेच्छैव अशनाया रुदनतत्त्वं वा । रुद्रः एव पशुपतिरीश्वरः इत्यपि निगद्यते । भूतस्य जगतः कारणत्वात् रुद्रः अक्षर इति अन्वर्थनाम्नाऽभिहितः । इह अक्षरतत्त्वं किञ्चिद्विस्तरतः व्याख्यायते । त्र्यम्बक इत्यस्य वैदिकशब्दस्य मातृत्रय-मुररीकृत्य व्युत्पत्तिरपि अत्र प्रदर्श्यते ।]

The above Rudra Stotra by Kṛishṇa is inspired by a Vedic spirit and begins by invoking the etymological import of Rudra from the root रुद् 'to weep'. This symbolical meaning (अर्थनिर्वचन) is first recorded in the Śatapatha Br. (VI. 1. 3. 10) :—

यदरोदीत् तस्माद् रुद्रः ।

When Kumāra was born, he wept and, therefore, was named *Rudra* from रुद् 'to weep.' This occurs in the Agni-chayana context, where Agni is the new-born babe (कुमार), the Prāṇic principle of the manifestation of life, that in each birth becomes young or renovated (नवो नवो भवति जायमानः). This Agni or Prāṇa is the pulsating principle of Life which manifests in the plant, animal and human kingdoms. He is named Rudra (अग्निवै रुद्रः, शतपथ ५।३। १।१०). What is the esoteric symbolism of the word Rudra? The name points to a mystical meaning by the well known Vedic dictum इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षद्विषः; 'that which weeps' refers to a child who starts life with weeping. The child weeps because he is afflicted with hunger. Hunger implies the desire for food, or what is called the principle of अशनाया, i. e. assimilation of food from outside. अग्नि is the eater of food and सोम is food; Agni is

अन्नाद् and Soma is अन्न ; अन्न-अन्नाद् is a veritable pair that upholds the law of life. Food (अशन) and nourishment (पोषण) go together ; and it is Agni that is always the eater of रयि or सोम (अग्निना रयिमश्नवत् पोषमेव दिवे दिवे, Rv. I. 1. 2). Assimilation and elimination make up the first law of Life or Prāṇa, upon which depends its second feature, viz. that of growth (वृंहण). Assimilation in symbolical language is रुदन or weeping, i. e. hunger or the crying for food (अशनाया), of which the perfect demonstration is seen in the new born babe. The Śatapatha Br. makes a clear statement about Agni being Rudra for he cries for food as the means of obtaining immortality and the Devas appease him by offering food. Agni longs for food and the gods bestow upon him the highest immortality through food (अन्न or सोम) by which his terrific form becomes appeased, i.e. रुद्रदेवत्य अग्नि becomes शान्तदेवत्यः. This is the mystical import of the शतरुद्रिय litany of Yajurveda, Ch. XVI.¹ Agni grows amongst creatures for the consumption of every kind of food (जायते एव एतद् यच्चीयते स एव सर्वस्माऽअन्नाय जायते श० १।१।१।३). Agni as Life has a hundred heads with a hundred mouths all longing for appeasement through food-offering (शतशीर्षरुद्रशमनीयम्, श० १।१।१।७).

This was the Vedic background of Rudra and his *Rudana*, which is correctly interpreted by Griffith as 'the hundred forms and powers of Rudra representing life and nature', where 'Agni has on completion become Rudra'.

१. अथातः शतरुद्रियं जुहोति । अत्रैष सर्वोऽग्निः संस्कृतः । स एषोऽत्र रुद्रो देवता । तस्मिन् देवा एतदमृतं रूपमुत्तममदधुः । स एषोऽत्र दीप्यमानोऽतिष्ठद् अन्नमिच्छमानः । तस्माद्देवा अविभयुर्यद्वै नोऽयं न हिंस्यादिति । तेऽब्रुवन् अन्नमस्मै सम्भराम तेनैनं शमयामेति । तस्मा एतदन्नं समभरन् शान्तदेवत्यं तेनैनमशमयन् (शतपथ १।१।१।२-२) ।

Here शतरुद्रिय is equated with शान्तदेवत्य or शान्तरुद्रिय ; रुद्र is the 'animal fire', expressing itself as hunger, which is the flare or flame in each individual or creature, referred to as मन्यु in the first mantra (नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवे, Yaj. XVI. 1). It is a नमः स्तोत्र to Rudra comprising a string of नमः offerings, where नमः means 'food' (अन्नं नमः, शतपथ ६।३।१।७) which is the highest kind of 'reverence' offered to the Deity.

The Purāṇas fondly borrowed and repeated this Vedic conception of Rudra, one of the clearest statement being in the Liṅga Purāṇa :

अथैकादश ते रुद्रा रुदन्तोऽभ्यक्रमंस्तथा ॥२३॥

रोदनात् खलु रुद्रत्वं तेषु वै समजायत ।

ये रुद्रास्ते खलु प्राणा ये प्राणास्ते तदात्मकाः ॥२४॥

प्राणाः प्राणवतां ज्ञेयाः सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थिताः ॥२५॥

(लिंग पु० १।२२)

Not only Rudra is derived from रुद्र, but रुद्र is identified with प्राण, a truly Vedic metaphysical doctrine, e.g.

प्राणा वै रुद्राः । प्राणा हीदं सर्वं रोदयन्ति ।

(जैमिनीय उप० ब्रा० ४।२।६)

कतमे रुद्रा इति दशमे पुरुषे प्राणा आत्मैकादशः ।

(शतपथ ११।६।३।७)

Wherever there is a body constituted of the five gross elements (Bhūtas), there inheres within it the Life Principle called Prāṇa, or in its several functioning aspects as Prāṇas. The One Rudra *becomes* many Rudras (रुद्रा रुद्रांशसंभवाः, Liṅga, I. 82. 41). The Harivaṁśa repeats the epithet of रुदन as रोह्यमाण, 'crying day by day, or frequentatively', and also as रावण, i.e. the divine principle of प्राण or रुद्र that makes a ten-headed Asura cry, referring to the Prāṇas within the body (दशमे पुरुषे प्राणाः) whose riotous aspect is Rāvaṇa.

The etymology of Rudra is also connected with द्रावण, which is a new idea :

ते रुदन्तो द्रवन्तश्च भगवन्तं पितामहम् ।

रोदनाद् द्रावणाच्चैव ततो रुद्रा इति स्मृताः ॥

(हरिवंश ३।१४।३९)

What is implied in this idea of द्रावण, 'taking flight'? This too is a Vedic conception, viz. Agni being frightened of the gods fled in the form of a *Mriga* (i. e. animal) and concealed himself. The meaning is quite obvious, viz. that Agni as Prāṇa (Life or Energy) can never be seen in concrete or manifest form unless it incarnates in an animal body. The animal form is material (made of the Five Bhūtas) and Agni comes within the orbit of our experience only on the plane of matter. Agni is visualised not as Prāṇa, but प्राण within the मृग s. It is the same thing as प्राणात्मा and भूतात्मा joined together, Life and Matter integrated in manifestation. This is the principle of *Drāvaṇa* or the flight of Agni as *Mriga*; each such *Mriga* or creature is pierced by Rudra's dart who is the Great Hunter (मृग-हृत्त्रक), for which the Mṛigaśīrsha star in the sky is pointed out as a symbol on the basis of निदान विद्या.

By referring to Rudra as पशुपति, the Vedic invocation of पशूनां पतये नमः and the rich doctrine of Paśu and Paśa and Paśupati as elaborated by the Pāśupata Śaivas is hinted at in Purāṇic terminology, as explained in my article on Pāśupata Yoga (*Purāṇa*, I, pp. 242-243). From Brahmā, the Creator, down to the plants & trees, all are Paśus :

ब्रह्माद्याः स्थावरान्ताश्च देवदेवस्य धीमतः ।

पशवः परिकीर्त्यन्ते संसारवशवर्तिनः ॥

(लिंग० २।९।११-१२)

ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तं पशून् बद्ध्वा महेश्वरः ।

त्रिभिर्गुणनयैः पाशैः कार्यं कारयति स्वयम् ॥

(लिंग० २।९।२१-२२)

Animals from the R̥gveda onwards have been classified as tame (ग्राम्य) and wild (आरण्य, Rv. X, 90-8), the former being fit for यज्ञ and the latter being अयज्ञिय or अमेध्य; the former being symbols of Devas and the latter of Asuras (i. e. of dedicated power and riotous unharnessed power respectively).

Vs. 24 repeats the significant epithets, ईश्वर, ईश, referring to शिव as the paramount Lord ईशान, because of which He was known as महेश्वर in his transcendent form.

Vs. 25 distinguishes between भूत and अक्षर, based on the क्षर पुरुष and अक्षर पुरुष doctrine of the Rīgveda (I, 164-42, ततः क्षरत्यक्षरम्). Bhūta or Matter is called क्षर, as defined in the Gītā (क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि, १५।१६). प्राण or अव्यक्त is called अक्षर (cf. गीता १२।३, ये त्वक्षरमनिर्देयमव्यक्तं पर्युपासते), also called कूटस्थ (कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते, गीता १५।१६). The Purāṇas make very frequent references to AKSHARA—

न क्षीयसे न क्षरसि कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ।

तस्मात्त्वमक्षरत्वाच्च अक्षरश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥

(मत्स्य० २४८।३९)

The Muṇḍaka Up. contains an exposition of अक्षर विद्या, also called परावर ब्रह्मविद्या (I. 1-2) and according to it the source of this Universe is Akshara, also identified with Satya, Amṛita, Prāṇa. A significant term for it is सेतु—

यः सेतुरीजानानामक्षरं ब्रह्म यत्परम् ।

अभयं तितीर्षतां पारं नाचिकेतं शकेमहि ॥ (क० १।३।२)

The अक्षर or प्राण is the Bridge connecting the lower क्षर पुरुष with the highest अव्यय पुरुष called पुरुषोत्तम. Kshara is Matter, Akshara is Energy and Avyaya is Consciousness. Akshara is therefore the connecting link between the two. If we conceive of these three as a circle, अव्यय is its centre, अक्षर the diameter, and क्षर its circumference. It is the activity of the Akshara that measures out the circle :

पंच पदानि रूपो अन्वरोहं चतुष्पदीमन्वेमि व्रतेन ।

अक्षरेण प्रतिमिम एतामृतस्य नाभावधि सं पुनामि ॥

(Rv. X, 13-3)

According to Griffith this stanza is most obscure; his translation is—

‘Five paces have I risen from Earth :

I follow her who hath four feet with devout observance.

This by the Sacred Syllable have I measured :

I purify in the central place of Order.'

Earth here is the symbol of each material creation (भूर्पिंड) ; in its pulsating centre is the creative force or Prāṇa measuring out the Five Aksharas through five steps, viz. Brahmā (स्थिति), इन्द्र (गति), विष्णु (आगति) and अग्नि-सोम. This is the अक्षरविद्या, the pulsating rhythm which measures out the threefold manifestation (मन-प्राण-वाक्) of each life-centre against the background of Rīta. Rīta is Soma and Akshara is Agni, the latter by virtue of its rhythm of expansion and contraction (समञ्चन-प्रसारण, प्राणापान, श्वास-प्रश्वास) is drawing in matter from outside and creating the material body. This was the ancient क्षराक्षरविद्या—

यदक्षरं पंचविधं समेति युजो युक्ता अभि यत् संवहन्ति ।

(ऐतरेय आ० २।३।२०)

The five constituents of अक्षर are enumerated in the following mantra :

त्वमग्न इन्द्रो वृषभः सतामसि त्वं विष्णुरुगायो नमस्यः ।

त्वं ब्रह्मा रयिविद् ब्रह्मणस्पते त्वं विधर्तः सचसे पुरंध्या ॥

(ऋ० २।१।३)

'O Agni, thou art Indra, thou art Vishṇu of the mighty stride adorable :

Thou Brahmanapati (Soma), thou Brahmā ; thou as Agni bringing in Rayi (रयि, the opposite principle of आग्नेयप्राण) : thou Sustainer (विधर्तः) with thy power dwell in our Pura (so that we may become Purusha).'

The invisible or unmanifested centre of Life is essentially the Akshara, the Divine Principle which creates and controls the manifested Bhūtas :

अव्यक्तोऽक्षर इत्युक्तस्तमाहुः परमां गतिम् । (गीता ८।२१) ।

It is rightly said that all creation takes place by virtue of Akshara or the pulsation of Prāṇic rhythm :

तथाऽक्षरम्संनयतीह विश्वम् (मुंडक १।१।७) ।

तथाक्षराद् विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापि यन्ति ।

(मुं० २।१।१)

It is the mighty reality of Akshara or activating Energy that upholds all the material world :

यथा सूच्या पलाशानि संतृणानि स्युरेवमेवैतेनाक्षरेणेमे लोकाः संतृण्णाः

(जैमिनीय उप० ब्रा० १।१०।३)

The अक्षर is both the unifying Thread (सूत्रात्मा = the Thread Spirit) and the dynamic controlling spirit called Antaryāmī Atmā. It permeates each and everything in its hundred, thousand and million manifestations and thus is the basic Immortal Principle (अक्षिति) underlying all space :

तदिदम् इमानतिविध्य दशधा क्षरति शतधा सहस्रधाऽयुतधा प्रयुतधा
(नियुतधा)ऽर्बुदधा न्यर्बुदधा निखर्वधा पद्मम् अक्षितिर्व्योमान्तः ।

Like the mighty irresistible flood it overflows and overtakes each and everything, the lower and the higher ones, as itself being the Supreme Indestructible Reality – this Akshara is the One Divinity :

यथौघो विष्यन्दमानः परःपरोवरीयान् भवति, एवमेवैतद् अक्षरं परःपरोवरीयो भवति ।
(जै० उप० ब्रा० १।१०।५)

In vs. 25 the great Vedic doctrine of अक्षर is invoked by calling Rudra as the Lord of Akshara (अक्षरेश) and the Unmanifest Akshara from whom the Universe emanates in each cosmic aeon.

In vss. 26-27 Rudra is addressed as देवातिदेव, Supreme One God over all the gods and demons, referred to as महोदेव in the Rigveda (IV. 58.3) and महादेव in the Purāṇas. The doctrine of Trika or triple manifestation is the bedrock of

Vedic and Purāṇic metaphysics and in fact of all ancient Indian philosophical thought. The same is frequently mentioned in the Vedas and is the permeating spirit of Purāṇic cosmogony. Verse 28 refers to it under the two symbols of Three Earths (भूमित्रय) and Three Mothers (अम्बक). For the generation of Mind, Life and Matter which constitute the unified Fire of Prāṇa, Three Mothers are essential, as the तिस्रो मातृः of the Rīgveda :

तिस्रो मातृस्त्रीन् पितृन् विभ्रदेक ऊर्ध्वस्तस्थौ नेमवग्लापयन्ति ।

(ऋ० १।१६।१०)

तिस्रो द्यावो निहिता अन्तरस्मिन् तिस्रो भूमीरुपराः षड्विधानाः

(ऋ० ७।८७।५)

त्रिरन्तरिक्षं...त्री रजांसि...त्रीणि रोचना ।

तिस्रो दिवः पृथिवोस्तिष्ठः...त्रिभिर्व्रतैः । (ऋ० ४।५३।५)

तिस्रः पृथिवीरुपरि प्रवा दिवो नाकं रक्षेथे द्युभिस्तुभिर्हितम् ।

(ऋ० १।३४।८)

तिस्रो महीरुपरास्तस्थुरत्या गुहा द्वे निहिते दृश्येका । (ऋ० ३।५६।२)

षडाहुर्द्यावापृथिवी ।

(अथर्व० ८।९।१६)

Earth and Heaven (द्यावा पृथिवी) are the combined units of generation, Universal Parents (द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता), who together form a single Pair spoken of as one Prajāpati. There are the Three Worlds (जगत्त्रय), also called पुरत्रय (जगत्त्रयं रुद्र पुरत्रयं हि, Liṅga Purāṇa, I 72.152 ; I. 71.24), the Triple Cities of Gold, Silver and Copper, symbolising the three states of consciousness, viz the waking state, the dream state and the deep sleep state (जाग्रत-स्वप्न सुषुप्ति). Each of them has its source in a Parental Pair. Śiva as the Lord of Tripura is the supreme controller of those three states of consciousness. He is therefore the son of Three Mothers in his manifest form. Ambaka (अम्बक) also means an 'eye', for each birth is an eye that opens on one of the three worlds (संवोदयितृ चक्षुः). The Three Eyes of Rudra are the Sun, Moon and Fire of the Purāṇas, which the Vedas refer to as the Eye of

Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni (चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः). The Eye of Agni is the ज्ञात्र, the Eye of Mitra is स्वप्न, and the Eye of Varuṇa is the सुषुप्ति state, which sends its unobstructed vision into those deepest regions called the Dark Descent (कृष्णं नित्यान्, Rv. I. 164. 47), or the dark interior of Varuṇa-loka, of which the Seer is the Rishi Dīrghatamas.

The Purāṇic authors very well understood this complex symbolism and their explicit statements are models of brevity and clarity :

त्रयाणामपि लोकानां गुणानामपि यः प्रभुः ॥ १८

वेदानामपि देवानां ब्रह्माक्षत्रविशामपि ॥

अकारोकारमकाराणां मात्राणामपि वाचकः ॥ १९

तथा सोमस्य सूर्यस्य वह्नेरग्नित्रयस्य च ।

अम्बा उमा महादेवो ह्यम्बकस्तु त्रियम्बकः ॥ २०

(लिंग० २।५४)

Three Lokas, Three Guṇas, Three Vedas, Three Devas, Three Varṇas, Three Mātrās of Praṇava, and Three Fires—all these are the visible manifestations of the Great Mother Goddess Umā and of the Triyambaka Lord Rudra.

Śarva as one of the forms of अष्टवृत्ति रुद्र occurs in the list of the eight names of Kumāra in the Śatapatha Br. (६।३।१।१८), and is regularly mentioned in the Purāṇas as a form of Śiva Rudra. Here the name is derived from शत्रूणां शासनात्, 'the chastiser of hostile forces', It is said to symbolise the element of Earth पार्थिवं तद्वपुर्ज्ञेयं शर्वतत्त्वं बुभुत्सुभिः (Linga Purāṇa, II. 13. 19). Similarly new derivations of ईशान and शंकर are offered (vss. 29-30).

The well known exploit of Śiva in drinking the poison and becoming *nīlakaṇṭha* is explained with some difference, viz. that He charred his throat on account of resisting the might of Indra's thunderbolt. Of the five *chakras* in the human body, the विशुद्धिचक्र in the throat is the centre of Ākāśa, which is the first and foremost of the Pañc-bhūtās. The Five Elements represent

the Āsuric aspect of darkness and death, which so long as they are dispersed in the Ākāśa or expanse of space do not harm the owner thereof. If their posion descends to the other lower centres they become fatal. The Asura represents death, darkness, falsehood and sin (मृत्युः तमः अनृतं पाप्मा) and over all of them Śiva has triumphed.

Liṅga and Yoni correspond to Puruṣa and Prakṛiti, the Male and the Female Principles in the universe :

स्त्रीलिङ्गमखिलं देवी प्रकृतिर्ममदेहजा ।
पुलिङ्गं पुरुषो विप्रा ममदेहसमुद्भवः ॥

(लिङ्ग० १।३३। ३४)

In fact they are two forms of one and the same energy and belong to a single Reality without distinction :

उमाशङ्करयोर्भेदो नास्त्येव परमार्थतः ।
द्विधाऽसौ रूपमास्थाय स्थित एव न संशयः ॥

(लिङ्ग० १।८७।७३।१४)

यथा शिवस्तथा देवी यथा देवी तथा शिवः ।
नानयोरन्तरं विद्याच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिकयोरिव ॥

(शिव पु० वायव्यसंहिता, उत्तरार्धं ४।९)

Verse 33 refers to यज्ञ and योग as the two manifestations of the Divinity, both receiving the sanction of the Vedas as the means for crossing the ocean of the world. There is no greater mysterious power then that of Rudra. It becomes the Past, Present and Future, and then vanishes into nothingness. The line of ancient gods like Brahmā, and sages like Kapila, and the many Rishis born from them, of all these the root cause and source is the great Lord Rudra (vs. 34).

पुराणमहिमा

पुरा तपश्चचारोग्रममराणां पितामहः ।
आविर्भूतास्ततो वेदाः सषडङ्गपदक्रमाः ॥
ततः पुराणमग्निलं सर्वशास्त्रमयं ध्रुवम् ।
नित्यशब्दमयं पुण्यं शतकोटि प्रविस्तरम् ॥

(स्कन्द, प्रभासखण्ड, प्रभासक्षेत्र० २।३-४)

भारतव्यपदेशेन ह्याम्नायार्थः प्रदर्शितः ।
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्रसंशयः ॥

(विष्णु पुराण)

वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं वरानने ।
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ॥

(नारदीयपुराण २।२४।१७)

वेदवन्निश्चलं मन्ये पुराणं वै द्विजोत्तमाः ।
वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः ॥ २।९०
यन्न दृष्टं हि वेदेषु न दृष्टं स्मृतिषु द्विजाः ।
उभयोर्यन्न दृष्टं च तत्पुराणेषु च गीयते ॥ २।९२

(स्कन्द, प्रभासखण्ड, प्रभासक्षेत्र०)

पुराणश्रवणे बुद्धिर्यस्य पुंसः प्रवर्तते ।
पुरार्जितानि पापानि तस्य नश्यन्त्यसंशयम् ॥ १।१।६१-६२
वेदार्थश्रवणे बुद्धिः पुराणश्रवणे तथा ।
सत्सङ्गेऽपि च यस्यास्ति सोऽपि वन्द्यः सुरोत्तमैः ॥ १।३।६२
सर्ववेदार्थसाराणि पुराणानीति भूषते ॥ १।९।९७
तर्कस्तु वादहेतुः स्यान्नोतिस्त्वैहिकसाधनम् ।

पुराणानि महाबुद्धे इहामुत्र सुखाय हि ॥ १।९।१००

अष्टादश पुराणानि यः शृणोति नरोत्तमः ।
कथयेद्वा विधानेन नेह भूयः स जायते ॥ १।१०९।३९

(नारदीय पुराण)

(रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य)

व्यास-महिमा

व्यासवाक्यजलौघेन कुतर्कतरुहारिणा ।

वेदशैलवतीर्णेन नीरजस्का मही कृता ॥

(मार्क० १।१०)

पितृणां मानसी कन्या वासवी समपद्यत ।

अपध्याता च पितृभिर्मत्स्ययोनौ बभूव सा ॥

अरणीव हुताशस्य निमित्तं यस्य जन्मनः ।

तस्यां जातो महायोगी व्यासो वेदविदांवरः ॥

तस्मै भगवते कृत्वा नमो व्यासाय वेधसे ।

पुरुषाय पुराणाय भृगुवाक्यप्रवर्तिने ।

मानुषच्छद्मरूपाय विष्णवे प्रभविष्णवे ॥

जातमात्रञ्च यं वेद उपतस्थे ससङ्ग्रहः ।

धर्ममेवपुरस्कृत्य जातूकर्णादवापतम् ॥

मतिं मन्थानमाविध्य येनासौ श्रुतिसागरात् ।

प्रकाशं जनितो लोके महाभारतचन्द्रमाः ॥

वेदद्रुमश्च यं प्राप्य सशाखः समपद्यत ।

नृगिन्मृगजग् प्राप्य बहुशाखो यथा द्रुमः ॥

(वायु, पूर्वार्ध १।३४-३९)*

भारतं भानुमानिन्दुर्यदि न स्युरमी त्रयः ।

ततोऽज्ञानतमोऽन्धस्य काऽवस्था जगतो भवेत् ॥

कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुम् ।

को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद्वेत् ॥

(पद्म ५।१।४ २, ४३)

(रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य)

व्यासः सः सः सः

(Devībhāgavata, I. 14)

व्यास उवाच :—

न गृहं बन्धनागारं बन्धने न च कारणम् ॥
मनसा यो विनिर्मुक्तो गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्यते ॥ ५५ ॥
न्यायागतधनः कुर्वन् वेदोक्तं विधिवत्कृत्वा ॥
गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्येत श्राद्धकृतसत्यवाक्छुचिः ॥ ५६ ॥
ब्रह्मचारी यतिश्चैव वानप्रस्थो व्रतस्थितः ॥
गृहस्थं समुपासन्ते मन्याह्वयिष्ये सदा ॥ ५७ ॥
श्रद्धया चान्नदानेन वाचा सूतृतया तथा ॥
उपकुर्वन्ति धर्मस्था गृहाश्रमनिवासिनः ॥ ५८ ॥
गृहाश्रमात्परो धर्मो न दृष्टो न च वै श्रुतः ॥
वसिष्ठादिभिराचार्यैर्ज्ञानिभिः समुपाश्रितः ॥ ५९ ॥
किमसाध्यं महाभाग वेदोक्तानि च कुर्वतः ॥
स्वर्गं मोक्षं च सज्जन्य यद्यद्वाञ्छति तद्वेत् ॥ ६० ॥
आश्रमादाश्रमं गच्छेदिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥
तस्मादग्निं समाधाय कुरु कर्माण्यतन्द्रितः ॥ ६१ ॥
देवान् पितृन्मनुष्यांश्च सन्तर्प्य विधिवत्सुतः ॥
पुत्रसुत्याद्य धर्मज्ञ संयोज्य च गृहाश्रमे ॥ ६२ ॥
त्यक्त्वा गृहं वनं गत्वा कर्तासि व्रतमुत्तमम् ॥
वानप्रस्थाश्रमं कृत्वा सन्यासं च ततः परम् ॥ ६३ ॥
इन्द्रियाणि महाभाग मादकानि सुनिश्चितम् ॥
अदारस्य दुरन्तानि पञ्चैव मनसा सह ॥ ६४ ॥
तस्माद्द्वारान् प्रकुर्वीत तज्जयाय महामते ॥
वार्षिके तप आतिथेदिति शास्त्रोदितं वचः ॥ ६५ ॥

विश्वामित्रो महाभाग तपः कृत्वातिदुश्चरम् ॥
 त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि निराहारो जितेन्द्रियः ॥ ६६ ॥
 मोहितश्च महातेजा वने मेनकया स्थितः ॥
 शकुन्तला समुत्पन्ना पुत्री तद्वीर्यजा शुभा ॥ ६७ ॥
 दृष्ट्वा दाशसुतां कालीं पिता मम पराशरः ॥
 कमयणार्जितः कन्यां तां जग्राहोडुपे स्थितः ॥ ६८ ॥
 ब्रह्माऽपि स्वसुतां दृष्ट्वा पञ्चवाणप्रपीडितः ॥
 धावमानश्च रुद्रेण सूर्क्षितश्च निवारितः ॥ ६९ ॥
 तस्मात्त्वमपि कल्याण कुरु मे वचनं हितम् ॥
 कुलजां कन्यकां वृत्वा वेदमार्गं समाश्रय ॥ ७० ॥
 (देवीभागवते, प्रथमस्कन्धे चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः)

55. The home is not the place of bondage, nor is it the cause of bondage. Whose mind is free that householder is liberated.
56. Who earns wealth by righteous means and duly performs in their order the ceremonies enjoined by the Vedas, who offers oblations to the manes, and who is truthful and pure—such a householder also attains liberation.
57. The Brahmachārin student, and the forest dwelling recluse observing his vows—both of these approach the householder to beg their food after the mid-day is over.
58. The householders true to their duty give alms and food to all with faith and tender words.
59. No stage higher than that of a householder has been seen or heard. Wise sages like Vasishṭha and others adopted it.
60. What is there impossible of attainment by a householder observing the Vedic injunctions? Heaven, deliverance, and noble birth, all that he desires he attains.
61. Adepts in Dharma declare the precept of proceeding from one stage of life to another in due order. Therefore you should marry and establish the household fires and perform regular sacrifices.

62. O dear Son, propitiate duly the gods, the manes and the guests, beget progeny, O thou who has learnt the Dharma, and having arranged properly your domestic responsibilities,
63. You may leave the home and entering the forest observe the higher vows, and having completed the period of Vānaprastha then enter the stage of Sannyāsa.
64. O pure One, the senses are definitely full of passion ;—those five and the mind are difficult to control for one who has not married.
65. O wise One, you should therefore marry in order to restrain them. The teaching of the holy texts is that one should take to austerity in old age.
- 66-67. O virtuous One, it is said that Viśvāmitra overcoming the senses and denying food performed difficult austerities for three thousand years, but even he of great lustre was charmed by Menakā in the forest, and from their union was born the beautiful Śakuntalā.
68. My own sire Parāśara looking at Kālī, the boatman's daughter, was stung with passion, and entered into union with her even while he was in the middle of the river.
69. It is said that even Brahmā, the Prajāpati, became distressed with passion at the sight of his daughter Sarasvatī, and when in pursuit of her he was stupefied, he was restrained by Rudra. [The primal story of the Creator falling in love with his own creation and fecundating it with his seed was a favourite theme in several traditions.]
70. O virtuous One, you should therefore fulfil my wholesome advice, and having selected for a wife a girl of noble family, follow the path of life as instructed by the Vedas.

[Devībhāgavata, I. 14]

—V. S. Agrawala

DID VYĀSA OWE HIS ORIGIN TO BEROSSUS ?

By

R. C. HAZARA.

[बुद्धिमतां वरिष्ठो भारतीयः कृष्णाद्वैपायनो व्यासः 'वैबिलोनियादेशीयः वैरोसस इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धः ऐतिहासिक एव नान्यः' इति मतं श्रीबुद्धप्रकाशेन विदुषा प्रकटीकृतम् । तस्यैव परीक्षणमत्र श्री हाजरामहोदयेन कृतं तस्य निस्सारता च प्रदर्शिता, अनेकैः प्रमाणैर्व्यासस्य प्राचीनत्वं भारतीयत्वं च प्रतिपादितम् । तेषु मध्ये गोपथब्राह्मणे व्यासस्य स्पष्टतया नामोल्लेखः असांशयिकं प्रबलतमं प्रमाणम् ।]

Indian tradition of a very long standing and wide acceptance connects Vyāsa with the compilation of the Vedas and the authorship of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa. The real name of this venerable sage of uncommon wisdom was 'Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana' (literally meaning 'The Black Island-born one'), because, as the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas say, he was born in an island of the river Yamunā and had a dark complexion. His second name 'Vyāsa' was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into four Vedas, and this name has been used much more frequently in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas than his original name 'Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana'

From a comparative study of the Epics and the Purāṇas both textually and materially and from the early dates to which the oldest of the extant Purāṇas may reasonably be assigned, it appears that Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana had come to be known as Vyāsa much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. But the absence of any such record naming Vyāsa as can be assigned to a definite date and our lack of information about the earliest works containing his name, leave us in absolute darkness about the antiquity of the tradition. As a result, scholars have sometimes differed widely with regard to the age and historicity of Vyāsa who has occupied our mind and enjoyed our veneration for such a long time. Of the views of these scholars the most striking seems to be that of Sri Buddha Prakash, who, in his interesting

and informative article entitled 'Vyāsa (A Study in Indo-Babylonian Cultural Contact)', has tried to show that 'Vyāsa' was indebted for his origin, name and principal activities to Berossus, a Babylonian priest and historian of great fame and learning, who lived immediately after Alexander's conquest of Babylonia about 300 B. C. and wrote in Greek, for the new rulers, a comprehensive history of Babylonia by recording in it the earliest traditions about the local people and their religion and culture. The original work of Berossus is now lost, but quotations from it in the works of later writers still exist to give us an idea of the performance of the noted historian of the past.

The above view put forward by Sri Buddha Prakash deserves credit for its novelty and originality, but in spite of the evidences adduced in its support we cannot accept it for reasons stated below.

The *Vishṇudharma*, *Vishṇudharmottara*, *Vahni-purāṇa*, *Vāyu-purāṇa*, *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, etc., which come from early dates¹, are all fully acquainted with the tradition of Vyāsa's original authorship of the Purāṇas, and these works presuppose and often utilise the *Mahābhārata*, which, therefore, pushes back the said tradition to a date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, which, betrays its knowledge of the *Mahābhārata* by frequently alluding to its legends and quoting its verses on a number of occasions, contains the name of 'Śuka Vaiyāsaki' (Śuka, son of Vyāsa); Kātyāyana names 'Vyāsa' in his *Vārttika* 'vyāsa-varuḍa-nishāda-chaṇḍāla-bimbānām cheti vaktavyam', with which he provides for the formation of the Taddhitānta words 'Vaiyāsaki' etc.; the *Bauddhāyanaśrautrasūtra* (ii. 5. 27) names 'Vyāsa', 'Vasishṭha' and others in its section on the offering of libations (tarpaṇa) to gods and sages; the *Taittirīya-āranyaka* (1. 9. 2.) names 'Vyāsa Pārā-

1. This article was published in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol XXXVII, 1951, pp. 32-42.

2. For the probable dates of these works see R. C. Hazara *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 143 and 212; *Our Heritage*, Vol. II, Part 1, 1954, p. 88; Hazara, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 13-19.

śarya' ('Vyāsa, son of Parāśara') in the line 'sa hovācha vyāsa pārāśaryaḥ, vidyud-vadham evāhaṁ mṛtyum aichchham iti'; and in giving a list of teachers the *Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa* (iii. 9.8) names 'Vyasa Pārāśarya' as a pupil of Vishvakṣena and preceptor of Jaimini in the following passage :

So'yaṁ prajāpatyo vidhiḥ, tam imaṁ prajāpatir bṛhaspataye provāca bṛhaspatir nārādāya nārado vishvakṣenāya vishvakṣeno vyāsāya pārāśaryāya vyāsaḥ pārāśaryo jaiminaye jaiminiḥ paushpiṇḍyāya |"

The facts that in dealing with tarpaṇa the *Āśvalāyana-grīhyasūtra* (iii. 4. 4) is completely silent about Vyāsa¹, although it names Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Paila, who are supposed to be Vyāsa's pupils, that in the same topic the *Baudhāyana-grīhyasūtra* (iii.9.3) and the *Bhāradvāja-grīhyasūtra* (3.9) name the sage Dvaipāyana as Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana (and not as Vyāsa), and that the Buddhist Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana-jātaka frequently names this sage as 'Kaṇha-dīpāyana' (Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana) or simply 'Dīpāyana' (Dvaipāyana) but not even once as 'Vyāsa', do not deserve any serious consideration, because the list of teachers (āchāryāḥ) in the said aphorism of the *Āśvalāyana-grīhyasūtra* is not exhaustive as the words 'ye chānye āchāryās te sarve tṛpyantu' indicate, and the *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, which cannot be placed later than the sixth century B.C., names 'Vyāsa' in the following passage :

"atharvaṇaṁ chandramā devataṁ tad eva jyotiḥ/sarvāṇi chhandāmsyāpaḥ sthānam/śaṁ no devīr abhisṭaya ity evamādiṁ kṛitvātharva-vedam adhiyate/adbhyaḥ sthāvara-jaṅgamo bhūta-grāmaḥ saṁbhavati, tasmāt sarvam āpomayaṁ bhūtaṁ sarvam bhrigvaṅgiromayaṁ/antaraite trayo vedā bhrigūnaṅgirasah śrītā ity ab iti prakṛitir apām omkāreṇa chaitasmād vyāsaḥ purovācha bhrigv-ṅgirovidā saṁskṛito'nyān vedān adhīyīta nānyatra saṁskṛito bhrigv-ṅgirasas 'dhīyīta/ |" (*Gopatha brāhmaṇa* i. 1. 29).

So, the name of 'Vyāsa' had been known in India centuries before the birth of Berossus of Babylon.

The legend of the divine Man-Fish (Ea-Han or Oannas) and great flood, described in detail both by Berossus and Vyāsa, and the fact that both these authors wrote on the history and mythology of their own country, must not be taken to prove the indebtedness of the latter to the former. There is much evidence to show that the proto-Indians were familiar with the idea of the horned fish and a particular divinity attached to it;¹ and Berossus himself says 'that the civilization was first established in Sumer by men who came from the east, and that those were half-men and half-fishes. According to Father Heras these must have been the same as the Minas of India, whose deity was closely associated with the fish.'² So, there is little doubt about the fact that the flood legend migrated from India to Babylonia and other places at a very early period.

It is true that in his *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* (which forms the eighth chapter of his *Prākṛita Dharmaśāstra* alias *Kumārāpālācharita*³ Hemachandra gives two rules, viz. 'vādhoro luk' (viii. 4. 398) and 'abhūtopi kvachit' (viii. 4. 399), which he explains thus :

"apabhraṁśe saṁyogād adho vartamāno repho lug vā bhavati//
jai kevāi pāvīsu piu//⁴ pakshe
jai bhaggā pārakkaḍā to sahi majjhu priyeṇa//⁵ 398//"

and

"apabhraṁśa kvacid avidyamānopi repho bhavati/
vrāsu mahārisi ēu bhaṇai jai sui-satthu pamāṇu/
māyahā chalaṇa navantāhaṁ divi divi gaṅgā-ṇhāṇu//⁶

1-2. A. P. Karmarkar, *Religions of India*, Vol. I, p. 157.

3. Ed. S. P. Pandit, (second edition revised by P. L. Vaidya, Poona 1936).

4. "yadi kathamapi prāpsyāmi priyam"—(If somehow I meet my lover) *Ibid* Notes, p. 694.

5. "yadi bhagnāḥ parakīyāḥ tat sakhi mama priyeṇa"—If the enemies have been defeated, that, my friend, (must have been done) by my lover.

6. "Vyāsaḥ mahāṛṣiḥ etad bhaṇati yadi śruti-śāstraṁ pramāṇam/
mātrīṇaṁ caraṇau namataṁ divase divase gaṅgā-śnānam//
Vyāsa, the great sage, says this : If the Veda and the Śāstra are to be regarded as authoritative, then those who pay homage to the

kvachid iti kim/ vāseṇa vi bhāraha-khambhi baddha||¹ 399||”

Of these two rules (which have been repeated in Lakshmīdhara's *Shad-bhāṣhā chandrikā*^a of 'r' (ॠ) forming the second member of a conjunct consonant, but the second has been translated by P. L. Vaidya as follows :

“*repha* is substituted for a member of the conjunct in some cases ; e.g. Vṛāsa for Vyāsa.”

From the use of the '*hta*'-pratyaya in 'abhūta' in the second rule and from Hemachandra's explanation of the same it is clear that this rule (abhatopi kvachit) relates not to any case of substitution of 'r' for any member of a conjunct consonant, as P. L. Vaidya says, but definitely to cases of insertion of 'r' immediately after a consonant. So, this rule should be translated as follows :

“In Apabhraṃśa the 'r', though absent, sometimes comes in (as a second member of a conjunct consonant).”

It is evident that by this rule Hemachandra provides for the derivation of the Apabhraṃśa form 'Vṛāsa' optionally from its tat-sama form 'Vāsa' derived from the Sanskrit 'Vyāsa'. But this is not a solitary case in which 'r' is inserted in an Apabhra-
mśa word. Similar insertion of 'r', though very rare, is also found in the words 'Vrāḍi' (for Sanskrit 'Vyāḍi'),² 'bhrāsa' (for Sanskrit 'bhāṣya'),³ 'vrāgaraṇu' and 'vrākrosu' (for Sanskrit 'vyākaraṇam' and 'vyākrośa' respectively),⁴ 'prassadi (for Sans-

feet of their mothers get the merit of bathing in the Ganges every day.” *Kumārāpūla charita*, Notes, pp. 694-5.

It is probable that the word śruti-śāstra' like 'veda-śāstra' in *Manu-smṛit* 4. 260, means 'the Vedic scripture'.

1. 'vyāsenāpi bhārata stambhe baddham.

“Vyāsa also has said this in the Bhārata books”.

The other reading gives 'vyāsenāpi Bhārataṃ stambhe baddham'. For want of context the meaning of the line is uncertain.”

Kumārāpūla-charita, Notes, pp. 394-5.

- 1a. Ed. K. P. Trivedi (Bombay Sanskrit Series LXXI, 1916), p. 267 (Sūtras 3. 3, 5 and 3, 3, 6).
2. See Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛita-sarvasva* (ed. Bhaṭṭanātha-svāmin, Vizagapatam. 1912), 17. 3.
3. Kramadīśvara's *Samkshipta-sāra*, 5. 5.
4. Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛita-sarvasva*, 17. 3.

krit 'paśyati'),¹ 'bhrāntri' (for Sanskrit 'bhrānti')² and so on.³ So, Śrī Buddha Prakash is not right when he says "Evidently 'Vāsa' is derived from the Sanskrit form 'Vyāsa' but it cannot be the tatsama form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu', since there is no rule of universal application by which a 'r' is inserted in the Apabhraṃśa forms of such words. Hemachandra found the form 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' in use in popular speech and he had to make a rule simply to describe this particular irregular form. The tatsama form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' has to be searched elsewhere".⁴ As a matter of fact, 'the insertion of -r- as a second member of a consonant group where no such historical relation is traceable to Old Indo-Aryan, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Apabhraṃśa',⁵ and the final u in 'Vrāsu' is a case-termination (as in 'mohu' 'kālu', 'bhamaru' etc. respectively for Sanskrit 'mohaḥ', 'kālaḥ', 'bharamaḥ' etc.) If, for the presence of 'r' and final u 'Vrāsu' is to be derived from 'Berossus', how then are we to account for the forms 'Vrāḍi', 'bhrāsa', 'vrākrosu' 'vrāgaraṇu', 'piu', 'sui-satthu', 'pamāṇu' etc.? We do not deny the possibility of the spread of the name and fame of Berossus into Gujarat through merchants who carried on maritime commerce between Babylon and the mouth of the Indus; and that might be the reason for the confusion of Sanskrit Vyāsa with 'Vrāsa' in Apabhraṃśa in Gujarat, but how could 'Vyāsa' be derived from Apabhraṃśa 'Vrāsa' and how could the final 'u' of 'Brāsu' (<Berossus) be changed into 'a' in the Apabhraṃśa form? Neither Hemachandra, Lakshmīdhara or Markaṇḍeya, nor any other Prakrit grammarian provides for these changes. So, the attempt to derive 'Vyāsa' from 'Berossus' is against the Indian tradition⁶ and its antiquity is also against the prescription of grammarians.

1-2. Hemachandra's *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsa*, 4, 393 and 360.

3. For more instances see G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa* (Poona, 1948) pp. 100-101

4. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXVII, 1951, p. 33.

5. G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, p. 100.

6. We must not overlook the epic and Purāṇic statements that Vyāsa's name was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into the four Vedas.

SHAT-KULIYAH (षट्कुलीयाः)

[शिवमहापुराणे वायवीयसंहितायामेकमाख्यानं यत् षट्कुलीयाभिधाना ऋषयो बभूवुः । किं परं तत्त्वं किमपरमित्यस्मिन्विषये तेषां सुमहान्विवादोऽभूत् । ते विवदमानाः संदेहापनोदनाय ब्रह्माणं जग्मुः । भगवान् ब्रह्मा च तान्प्रति शिवात्मकस्य परतत्त्वस्योपदेशं चकार । पालिवाङ्मयानुसारेण छव्वगियाभिधाना भिक्षवः प्रायशो विनयनियमान् अतिक्रमन्तः बुद्धभाषितविषये संदिहाना बभूवुः । त एव संस्कृतबौद्धसाहित्ये षड्वर्गिकाः षड्वर्गिका वेति कथ्यन्ते । तेषामेव पुराणसाहित्ये 'षट्कुलीयाः' इत्याख्या संजाता, किन्त्वत्र तेषाम् ऋषित्वं स्वीकृतम् । षट्कुलीयानां व्याजेन किमभिहितमित्यस्य विचारोऽस्मिन् लेखे कृतः । पुरातनकाले कानि धर्मद्वाराणि, कति तत्त्वानि, कत्यागमाः कानि च प्रभिन्नानि प्रस्थानानीत्येतद्विषयिका या सामग्री पुराणेषु महाभारते च यत्र तत्र वितता तां संगृह्यात्र विचार उपन्यस्तः । वायुपुराणे एतेषां श्रौतस्मार्तविचाराणां शास्त्र-कुलमिति नामोल्लेखः कृतः । स एव 'कुल' शब्दः 'षट्कुलीय' इत्यत्र संदृश्यते । विद्वांसोऽस्य विषयस्यातोऽपि भूयसीं मीमांसां कर्तुमर्हन्ति ।]

The vocable षट्कुलीय is used in the Śiva Mahāpurāṇa :

सूत उवाच—

शृण्वन्तु ऋषयः सर्वे पुराणं वेदसारजम् ।
पुरा कालेन महता कल्पेऽतीते पुनः पुनः ॥ ६ ॥
अस्मिन्नुपस्थिते कल्पे प्रवृत्ते सृष्टिकर्मणि ।
मुनीनां षट्कुलीनानां ब्रुवतामितरेतरम् ॥ ७ ॥
इदं परमिदं नेति विवादः सुमहानभूत् ।
तेऽभिजग्मुर्विधातारं ब्रह्माणं प्रष्टुमन्ययम् ॥ ८ ॥
वाग्भिर्विनयगर्भाभिः सर्वे प्राञ्जलयोऽब्रुवन् ।
त्वं हि सर्वजगद्धाता सर्वकारणकारणम् ॥ ९ ॥
कः पुमान् सर्वतत्त्वेभ्यः पुराणः परतः परः ॥ १० ॥

(निन्दनशृङ्गण, विद्येश्वरसंहिता, अध्याय ३)

The Sūta for the purpose of introducing the subject of the Mahāpurāṇa invokes the help of the Shaṭkulinā sages as interlocutors who are assailed by doubt and approach Brahmā for

the resolving of their problem. This prologue is repeated in a rather expanded form in the beginning of the last Saṃhitā, viz. the Vāyavīya Saṃhitā of this Purāṇa :

सूत उवाच—

पुरा कालेन महता कल्पेऽतीते पुनः पुनः ।
 अस्मिन्नप्यस्मिन्ने कल्पे प्रवृत्ते सृष्टिकर्मणि ॥ १ ॥
 प्रतिष्ठितायां वार्तायां प्रबुद्धासु प्रजासु च ।
 मुनीनां षट्कुलीयानां ब्रुवतामितरेतरम् ॥ २ ॥
 इदं परमिदं नेति विवादस्सुमहानभूत् ।
 परस्य दुर्निरूपत्वाच्च जातस्तत्र निश्चयः ॥ ३ ॥
 तेऽभिजग्मुर्विधातारं द्रष्टुं ब्रह्माणमव्ययम् ।
 यत्रास्ते भगवान् ब्रह्मा स्तूयमानस्सुरासुरैः ॥ ४ ॥
 तं दृष्ट्वा मुनयस्सर्वे प्रसन्नवदनेक्षणाः ।
 शिरस्यञ्जलिमाधाय तुष्टुवुस्सुरपुंगवम् ॥ ५ ॥
 एवं ब्रह्मा महाभागैर्महर्षिभिरभिष्टुतः ।
 प्राह गंभीरया वाचा मुनीन् प्रह्लादयन्निव ॥ ६ ॥
 ऋषयो हे महाभागा महासत्त्वा महौजसः ।
 किमर्थं सहितास्सर्वे यूयमत्र समागताः ॥ ७ ॥
 तमेवं वादिनं देवं ब्रह्माणं त्रयचिन्तितम् ।
 वाग्भिर्विनयगर्भाभिस्सर्वे प्राञ्जलयोऽब्रुवन् ॥ ८ ॥

मुनय ऊचुः—

भगवन्नंधकारेण महता वयमावृताः ।
 खिन्ना विवदमानाश्च न पश्यामोऽत्र यत्परम् ॥ ९ ॥
 त्वं हि सर्वजगद्धाता सर्वकारणकारणम् ।
 त्वया ह्यविदितं नाथ नेह किञ्चन विद्यते ॥ १० ॥
 कः पुमान् सर्वसत्त्वेभ्यः पुराणः पुरुषः परः ।
 विशुद्धः परिपूर्णश्च शाश्वतः परमेश्वरः ॥ ११ ॥

(शिवमहापुराण, ७ वायव्यसंहिता, अध्याय २)

Verses 6 cd., 7, 8, 9 and 10 ab of the first citation are verbally repeated in the second which is more amplified. Monier-Williams explains the word षट्कुलीय as 'belonging to six families or tribes'. The word is also found in BR. The two forms षट्कुलीन and षट्कुलीय of the Purāṇa seem to be but variant readings, and the latter seems to be the genuine reading.

The षट्कुलीय मुनि (also called ऋषि and even महर्षि) seem to be a Brahmanical version of the Buddhist षड्वर्गिक, षड्वर्गीय, or षड्वर्गिक group of six monks. All the three forms are recorded by Edgerton on the authority of the Divyāvadāna, and also Mahāvīratputti, corresponding to the Chhabbagiya monks of the Pali literature. In Pali they seem to be represented as followers of the Buddha, though very imperfect ones, often transgressing rules of conduct. In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, at least in Divyāvadāna, they seem to be heretics from the Buddhist standpoints' (F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* p. 538). In the earlier Pali tradition the छव्वर्गियस् form 'a group of six, a set of (sinful) Bhikkhus taken as exemplification of trespassing the rules of the Vinaya,' (Stede, *Pali Dictionary*, p. 106). In Pali their names are प्रसज्जि, पुनभसु, पण्डुक, लोहितक, मेत्तिय, भुम्मज्जक; in Buddhist Sanskrit the list is नन्द, उपनन्द, पुनर्वसु, छन्द, अश्वक, and उदायी (महाव्युत्पत्ति 9471-76), where नन्द and उपनन्द are also separately mentioned as influencing householders for deviation from the true path.

In the Purāṇic context the षट्कुलीय sages enter into disputation amongst themselves (ब्रुवतामितरेतरम्), and it is said that their discussion about the nature of Ultimate Reality was quite heated and prolonged (इदं परमिदं नेति विवादस्सुमहानभूत). Their minds are assailed by deep darkness (अंधकारेण महता) and hence they become distressed (खिन्नाः), and discussing (विवदमानाः) they are unable to arrive at an agreement, and thus thwarted in thier effort they approach Brahmā who is omniscient. Brahmā receives them with such honourable epithets as महानाग, महासत्त्व, महौजस्, and observes their special feature of moving in mutual company (सहिताः सर्वे यूयमत्र समागताः). In the Purāṇic version they

are depicted as earnest seekers after truth (ब्रह्मवित्तमाः) and there is not the slightest hint of any heretic thought in them. Their problem as to the identity of the Transcendent Purusha (पुराणः पुरुषः परः), the Pure, Eternal, Perfect Lord (विशुद्धः परिपूर्णश्च शाश्वतः परमेश्वरः) is conceived in the aroma of spiritual vibrations and Prajāpati Brahmā responds to their earnest query in the same spirit. The subject was a real one to the Puranic authors of the Golden Age, and is initiated in a lengthy chapter of the Bhāgavata under the caption कृति तत्त्वानि (Bhāg. XI. 22. 1-25), which represents a very compact statement of the differing metaphysical viewpoints as to the number, nature, and relative priority (पौर्वापर्यं प्रसंख्यानं) of the fundamental principles :

इति नाना प्रसंख्यानं तत्त्वानामृषिभिः कृतम् ।

सर्वं न्याय्यं युक्तिमत्त्वाद्विदुषां किमशोभनम् ॥

(भाग० ११।२२।२५)

‘Thus the seers have arrived at different reckonings of the fundamental principles. All that is justified, supported as it is by reason, and for the intellectual approach nothing should be condemned.’

The adaptation of the word षट्कुलीय in Brahmanical literature must have been fraught with dignity and invested with a new meaning or background in the context of its own ideas and conditions. They would not tolerate a Buddhist term, for its own sake. The षट्कुलीय sages of the Śiva Purāṇa had many points of controversy amongst themselves, over which they were engaged in long-drawn arguments that tired them out. These controversies arose out of the desire of the different schools of philosophers and religionists to vindicate and insist on their own point of view. Fortunately the Purāṇas and the epic texts afford an insight into the stand of these controversialists. The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to the Six Schools of Philosophic Doctrines :

ब्राह्मं शैवं वैष्णवं च सौरं शाक्तं तथार्हतम् ।

षड्दर्शनानि चोक्तानि स्वभावनियतानि च ॥

(वायु० १०४।१६)

There were also the different religionists :

योगधर्मा बहुविधाः सांख्या भागवतास्तथा ।

भक्तिमार्गा ज्ञानमार्गा वैराग्यानिलनीरजाः ॥

(वायु० १०४।१४-१५)

The शिवपुराण also records a list of these doctrinaires :

व्याप्तानि कारणैस्तत्त्वैरारब्धत्वाद्नेकशः ।

अन्तरादुत्थितानीह भुवनानि तु कानिचित् ॥१५॥

यौगणिकानि चान्यानि विज्ञेयानि शिवागमे ।

सांख्ययोगप्रसिद्धानि तत्त्वान्यपि च कानिचित् ॥१६॥

शिवशास्त्रप्रसिद्धानि ततोऽन्यान्यपि कृत्स्नशः ।

कलाभिस्तानि तत्त्वानि व्याप्तान्येव यथातथम् ॥१७॥

(शिवपुराण वायवीयसंहिता, अ० २९)

The causal categories behind the manifest creation are manifold—this is the root of the diversity of beliefs and schools. Some are discussed in the Purāṇas; others in the Śaiva Āgamas; and still others in schools centring round Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Many more are said to form part of the Śiva-Śāstra, by which may be meant the non-Āgamic Śaiva literature of the Pāśupata school or of the Māheśvaras, e.g. the षडध्ववेदन, the knowledge of the Six Adhvans expounded in the Vāyavīya Saṁhitā, ch. 29.

The Agni Purāṇa repeats a similar list :

सांख्ययोगः पाशुपतं वेदा वै पंचरात्रकम् ।

कृतान्तपञ्चकं ह्येतद् गायत्री च शिवा तथा ॥ (अग्नि० २११।६१)

These were the five orthodox systems which together assumed the name of कृतान्तपञ्चक, the Five Doctrines. Although their points of view with respect to the ultimate categories varied, they were reconciled to each other and rolled into a

single concordant creed of traditional orthodox beliefs which made a common cause against the heretic Buddhists and Jainas whom they depicted as deluded into falsity of belief by Māyā-moha. The Kūrma Purāṇa goes so far as to exemplify amongst the deluded doctrines (*Moha-śāstra*) even the Kāpāla, Nākula, Vāma, Bhairava, Pāñcharātra, Pāśupata and thousands of other Śāstras that stalked amongst the people (Kūrma, Uttara Bhāga, ch. 38 ; also ch. 12). The Mahābhārata has recorded a graphic description of these religious schools (Śānti, ch. 342). A certain gentleman, living in the city of Mahāpadma on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, passed on his domestic responsibilities to his son and wanted to devote himself to the honest pursuit of the traditional Dharma as propounded in the Vedas and Śāstras :

ततः स धर्मं वेदोक्तं यथा शास्त्रोक्तमेव च ।

शिष्टाचोर्णं च धर्मं च त्रिविधं चिन्त्य चेतसा ॥

(शान्तिपर्व ३४१।६)

Three strands are here mingled into one for conscientious people who wanted to tread the traditional way ; firstly the Vedic metaphysical ideal centring round Brahman and Moksha (as taught in the Upanishads); secondly there was the way of the Śāstras viz. the Dharmaśāstras like Manu who taught the Pravṛitti Dharma of the four Āśramas with duties defined for each ; and lastly there was the body of traditional moral-social duties and observances which went under the name of शिष्टाचारधर्म (शिष्टाचोर्णं धर्मं), the last always constituting the bulk and foundation of a man's religious beliefs and outlook so long as he accepts to live as a normal member of the established social order. It is exalted elsewhere in the Epic and the Purāṇas (cf. Vāyu Purāṇa, 59. 33-51). But the bewildering variety of other Dharmas, each raising aloft its standard, screeching its dogma and proclaiming its flamboyant creed, did not allow men to sit in peace :

समुद्बमानानि निशम्य लोके निर्यात्यमानानि च सात्त्विकानि ।

दृष्ट्वा च धर्मध्वजकेतुमालां प्रकीर्यमाणामुपरि प्रजानाम् ॥

(शान्ति० ३४२।६)

Persons of a *sāttvika* temperament are being pulled by contending doctrines and torn asunder by hostile loyalties, and people are virtually festooned overhead by the spreading strings of false religious banners (षटकुलीयाः). This seems to depict a true picture of the sectarian life in the Kushāṇa-Gupta epoch :

एवं बहुविधैर्लोके धर्मद्वारैरनावृतैः ।

ममापि मतिराविग्ना मेघलेखेव वायुना ॥

(शान्ति० ३४३।१६ Poona)

Multifariously dressed shop-windows of sects and beliefs cause distress to an honest mind, blowing it in different directions, like a forlorn cloud cast to the fury of winds. This depicts the mental distress of the षटकुलीय sages drowned in the quagmire of controversies. If there are many doors to heaven, the assailing doubt is as to the choice of the particular path meet for entry :

अहमप्यत्र मुह्यामि ममाप्येष मनोरथः ।

न च संनिश्चयं यामि बहुद्वारे त्रिविष्टपे ॥

(शान्ति० ३४२।९)

An enumeration of the so called manifold 'Doors' to heaven is also given, making a critical and intelligent circumspection of the social conditions prevailing in that age. We may examine this Epic list more closely :

(1) केचिन्मोक्षं प्रशंसन्ति—These appear to be the followers of Sāṅkhya-Yoga doctrine who prized Moksha as the highest ideal.

(2) केचिद् यज्ञफलं द्विजाः—These were the followers of the Yajña doctrine, whom Bāṇa mentions under the name of साप्ततान्तव teachers in the hermitage of Divākaramitra (*Harsha-charita*, Uchchhvāsa VIII, p. 236, Nirṇay Sagar edn. fifth, 1925).

(3) वानप्रस्थाश्रमं केचिद्—Those who upheld the Vānaprastha ideal may have been the Vaikhāṇasa teachers, as explained in the Vāyu (साधनात्तपसोऽरण्ये साधुर्वैखानसः स्मृतः, वायु० ५९।२४).

(4) गार्हस्थ्यं केचिदाश्रिताः—The advocates of the ideal of a householder's life were the Bhāgavatas. They proclaimed its inspiring sanctity and made it the foundation of their philosophical tentes:

गृही समस्तदेवानां पितॄणां च तथार्हणाम् ।
ऋषीणामतिथीनां च कुर्वन् लोकानुपाश्रुते ॥

(मार्कण्डेय पु० ९५४)

In the words of the Śāntiparvan :

चत्वारो ह्याश्रमा देव सर्वे गार्हस्थ्यमूलकाः ।

(शान्ति० ३२१।२५)

As Kālidāsa has praised it :

कालो ह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमन्ते ।

(रघुवंश ५।१०)

The second stage of life is the virtual support of all others and if the scheme of āśramas is disturbed, as done by the Śramaṇas, the whole society becomes disrupted.

In one of the most inspiring passages of the Purāṇa literature, the question as to the superior ideal of Mukti or of Karma and the Grihastha life dedicated to it is raised :

मुक्तिमुक्ती उभे श्रेष्ठे निर्णीते मुनिसत्तमैः ।

मुक्तेर्मुक्तिः श्रेष्ठतमा भुक्त्या मुक्तिं कथं ब्रजेत् ।

(ब्रह्मपुराण ८८।३)

This was the problem before Janaka. His teacher Yājñavalkya sends him to Varuṇa for instruction :

वरुण उवाच—

द्विधा तु संस्थिता मुक्तिः कर्मद्वारेऽप्यकर्मणि ।

वेदे च निश्चितो मार्गः कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ॥ १०

सर्वं च कर्मणा बद्धं पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयम् ।

अकर्मणैवाऽऽप्यत इति मुक्तिमार्गो मृषोच्यते ॥ ११

कर्मणा सर्वधान्यानि सेत्स्यन्ति नृपसत्तम ।

तस्मात्सर्वात्मना कर्म कर्तव्यं वैदिकं नृभिः ॥ १२

तेन भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च प्राप्नुवन्तीह मानवाः ।
 अकर्मणः कर्म पुण्यं कर्म चाप्याश्रमेऽपि च ॥ १३
 जात्याश्रितं च राजेन्द्र तत्रापि शृणु धर्मवित् ।
 आश्रमाणि च चत्वारि कर्त्तव्यानि मानद ॥ १४
 चतुर्णांशानां च गार्हस्थ्यं पुण्यदं स्मृतम् ।
 तस्माद् भुक्तिश्च मुक्तिश्च भवतीति मतिर्मम ॥ १५

(ब्रह्मपु० अ० ८८)

Salvation is preached through action by some and non-action by others. The Vedic injunction is decisive that action is superior to non-action, since the Four Ends of life depend on action. It is a false doctrine to tread the path of salvation by renouncing action. Look, the crops for food in the fields are raised by toilsome labour. *Bhukti* and *Mukti* are the outcome of *Karma*, which springs from the pursuit of the Āśrama scheme of life. The Four Āśramas in turn depend on fulfilment of the holy Gārhashthya.

Some preach that the home is the cause of enchaining a person to the world :

गृह्णाति पुरुषं यस्माद् गृहं तेन प्रकीर्तितम् ,
 क सुखं बन्धनागारे तेन भीतोऽस्म्यहं पितः ॥

(देवीभाग०, १।१४।५३)

Śukadeva's mind thus assailed is pacified by his father Vyāsa :

न गृहं बन्धनागारं बन्धने न च कारणम् ।
 मनसा यो विनिर्मुक्तो गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्यते ॥ ५५
 उपकुर्वन्ति धर्मस्था गृहाश्रमनिवासिनः ॥ ५८
 गृहाश्रमात्परो धर्मो न दृष्टो न च वै श्रुतः ॥ ५९
 आश्रमनाशं गच्छेदिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ ६१
 इन्द्रियाणि महाभाग मादकानि सुनिश्चितम् ।
 अदारस्य दुरन्तानि पंचैव मनसा सह ॥ ६४

(देवीभागवत अ० १५)

This exaltation of the Grihastha ideal was the most powerful weapon in the armoury of the Bhāgavatas to counteract the paralysing effects of the Buddhists who took delight in preaching the miseries (आदीनव) of Grihastha :

जनस्य तावद् एवंविधा धर्मदेशना कृता कामेष्वदीनवकथा
गृहश्रमदस्त्रदीनवो न विदुः कामो जुगुप्सितो यथानेकानि प्राणिशत-
सहस्राणि ऋगीमानन्तिके प्रव्रज्य गृहश्रमयदान्यपहाय वनं संश्रिताः ।

(Divyāvadānā, Cowell Neil edn, p. 224).

The triumph of the Bhāgavatas was a hard won battle. The conception of their deity as चतुर्व्यूह was raised on the firm bedrock of Grihastha relationships.

(5) राजधर्माश्रयं केचित्—This is a reference to the Smṛiti and Arthasāstra doctrinaires who taught that polity (राजधर्म) holds the key to social prosperity. The path shown by Manu descends through a succession of noble and strong kings whose political dispensation makes the people virtuous and propitiated :

रेव न त्रमद्विगुणानन्देर्नर्गः परम् ।

न व्यतीयुः प्रजास्तस्य नियन्तुर्नैमिवृत्तयः ॥

(Raghuvamśa, 1. 17)

In the list of religionists as given by Bāṇa these correspond to धृताभिजनशीलशालिनो मूर्धामिषिकाश्चामात्या राजानः (*Harshacharita*, loc. cit. p. 173)

(6) केचिदात्मफलाश्रयम्—Some concentrated on the self as the aim of all activity. Bāṇa offers a commentary on these, enabling us to identify them with the Maskarins as they flourished in the Gupta age :

यथावदधिगतात्मतत्त्वाश्च संस्तुता मस्करिणः ।

(*Harshacharita*, loc. cit.).

The Maskarin mendicants were once distinguished for their tenet of अकर्म, which they now developed in an exclusive and self-centred doctrine of spiritual culture (आत्मतत्त्व).

(7) गुरुचर्याश्रयं केचित्—This is a reference to the Pāśupata teachers who formed one of the most powerful sectaries during the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods and have left an indelible stamp on Puranic literature and religious culture. They had evolved elaborate metaphysics as well as an intricate *Sādhana*, but the unifying thread of their manifold teachings was the reverential worship to the Gurus or Śaivāchāryas who traced their lineage from Lakulīśa, the founder-teacher of the sect, coming down through Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kārūshya :

सहिष्णुः सोमशर्मा च लकुलीशो जगद्गुरुः ॥३४॥

कुशिकश्चैव गर्गश्च मित्रः कौरुष्य एव च ।

शिष्यास्त्वेते महात्मानः सर्वावर्तेषु योगिनाम् ॥५१॥

एते पाशुपताः सिद्धा भस्मोद्धूलित विग्रहाः ॥५२॥

शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्चैतेषां शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥५३॥

(लिंगपुराण, श्र० ७)

Indeed the Pāśupata authors wrought a miracle with their गुरुचर्या or गुरुशिष्य doctrine, developing the theory of 28 different Vyāsas in 28 Dvāparas, each having four chief disciples on the model of Lakulī and his pupils, who come only at the end of the succession. This was evolving a विद्यावंश on the pattern of the ancient Upanishadic lineage of teachers and pupils. All the great teachers of antiquity, like Vasishṭha, Vāmadeva, Kapila, Āsui, Jaigīshavya, Pañchaśikha, Bāshkala, Āruni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Aṅgiras, were drawn into the evolving vortex of the Yogāchārya incarnations and their pupils (योगावतारस and शिष्यसंतति) as revered by the Pāśupatas. A full account of this remarkable phenomenon of गुरुचर्या may be read in the Līṅga Purāṇa, Pūrvabhāga, chs. 7 and 24, and its genesis can be grasped only in the light of the above sūtra supplied by the Sāntiparvan, viz. गुरुचर्याश्रयं केचित्. The names of the twenty-eight Vyāsas amplified in the account of the Līṅga Purāṇa are traceable to the Vāyu Purāṇa (ch. 23. 98-224, also, 103. 58-66). The typically Buddhist term *parivarta* is used in the Līṅga Purāṇa (I. 24. 35, 43, 55, 59 etc.) to denote that in the revolving wheel of time the

different seers typified as so many Vyāsas represent stages in the development of knowledge through the ages, which was verily an exalted and truthful conception.

(8) केचिद् वाक्यं यमाश्रयम्—This seems to have been the original and significant reading, : ' ' indicated by a wavy line. It refers to the Ātmavāda doctrine enunciated by Yama to Nachiketas in the Kāthā Upanishad, and represented generally the Vedānta doctrine of the Upanishads, the word *Vākya* having the special connotation of an Upanishadic statement or *Mahāvākya*. In Kālidāsa's verse वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी, Vedānta signified the Upanishads, which represented the Brahmovāda doctrine prior to its development in Śaṅkara's new thesis. In the period of renaissance, वेद, वेदारण्यक, त्रयी दिद्या, उपनिषद्—all stood for one and the same philosophical school, the traditional Brahmovāda metaphysics of which the Upanishads were the best sources. The Purāṇas make frequent reference to this school :

सांख्यं योगः पाशुपतं वेदा वै पंचरात्रकम् ।

कृतान्तपंचकं ह्येतद् गायत्री च शिवा तथा ॥

(अग्नि० २१९।६१)

सांख्ययोगः पंचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।

कृतान्तपंचकं ह्येतच्छास्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥

(विष्णुधर्मोत्तर २।२२।१३३-३४)

The शान्तिपर्व repeats these names :

सांख्यं योगं पंचरात्रं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।

ज्ञानान्येतानि ब्रह्मर्षे लोकेषु प्रचरन्ति ह ॥

(शान्ति० ३३७।१)

सांख्यं योगं पंचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।

ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥

(शान्ति० ३३७।५९)

The अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता, a unique पंचरात्र text of the Gupta age, gives an elaborate discussion on the literary sources of the

various philosophical doctrines (ch. 12 on शब्दात्मक प्रमाणव्यूह, and ch. 13 on प्रमाणार्थ निरूपण), and has the following significant statement :

त्रयो सांख्यं तथा योगशास्त्रं पाशुपतं तथा ।
सात्त्वतं चेति तद्रूपं श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं प्रभो ॥
निष्ठा त्वेकैव ज्ञानाग्निनेपः पंचवर्त्मनाम् ।
शास्त्रं सुदर्शनं नाम तदर्थो विष्णुरव्ययः ॥

(१२।५४)

It is a virtual repetition of what the Śāntiparvan states as परस्परान्गानि and एकनिष्ठानि ज्ञानानि, i.e. the five orthodox schools which pinned their faith in an identical Supreme Principle and were knit together in their endeavour for religious revival in the Golden Age. It was admitted that the सात्त्वत शासन, the पाशुपत धर्म followed by the severe disciplinarians (उग्रव्रतैर्नरैः शश्वद्ब्रह्मप्रीत्यै स साध्यते, १३।२४), the सांख्य ज्ञान, the अग्र्यन्त ब्रह्मविज्ञान and the योग doctrine (ch. 13.21-30) were different aspects of one and the same Dharma based on the greatness of Brahman. The Abirbudhnya Saṃhitā adds two more names to the list, viz. the discipline of दण्डनीति वार्ता, and the four उपवेदs including शिल्प, and संगीत which concentrated on the two major objectives of life called Artha and Kāma. This was evidently the same school as mentioned under राजवर्माश्रयं केचित् of the Śāntiparvam list. The other school in the Saṃhitā is that of the इतिहास-पुराण, which is given the rank of an उपवेद and characterised by its lending a helping hand to each one of the above schools :

इतिहासपुराणोऽप्युपवेदो हि यः स्मृतः ।

सहायभावं शास्त्राणां तत्त्वज्ञाने ब्रजत्यसौ ॥

(अहि० सं० १३।३८-३९)

There could hardly be a more correct and factual enunciation of the position and purpose of the Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature as it was recast in the mould of the new idealism of the Golden period.

(9) मातरं पितरं केचिद्—Some advocated the pious duty of devotion to parents, an obvious reference to the पंचरात्रिक भागवतस, who, as stated above, insisted on the sanctity of the Grihastha life and paid high encomium to filial piety. The story of Dharma-Vyādha discoursing to an ascetic Brāhmāṇa on the merits of devotion to parents is illustrative of the ideals of this school, who regarded it as piety made concrete in life (प्रत्यक्ष धर्म) :

पिता माता च भगवन्नेतौ मे दैवतं परम् ।

यदैवतेभ्यः कर्तव्यं तदेताभ्यां करोम्यहम् ॥

(आरण्यक : ०४।१७) ।

He rebukes the Brāhmāṇa for having abandoned his parents to pursue a course of Vedic studies :

त्वया विनिकृता माता पिता च द्विजसत्तम ।

अनिसृष्टोऽसि निष्क्रान्तो गृहात्ताभ्यामनिन्दित ॥

वेदोच्चारणकार्यार्थिगयुक्तं तत्त्वया कृतम् ॥ ७ ॥

तव शोकेन वृद्धौ तावन्धौ जातौ तपस्विनौ ।

तौ प्रसादयितुं गच्छ मा त्वा धर्मेऽङ्गान्द्वन्द्वम् ॥ ८ ॥

(आरण्यक ० अ० २०५)

The castigation was aimed at those Buddhist monks who in their misplaced zeal for monastic life ignored the primary duty towards their family.

(10) अहिंसया परे स्वर्गम्— There is a school inculcating heaven through the doctrine of Ahimsā. These were obviously the Baudha-Jaina religionists, but the Bhāgavatas took the wind out of their sail by paying homage to the practice of Ahimsā, although sticking to a feeble and somewhat confused defence of the so-called *himsā* of Vedic injunction. This was countered by a new kind of yajña based on *ahimsā*, and sponsored by the Āgamas :

महर्षयस्तु तान् दृष्ट्वा दीनान् पशुगणान् स्थितान् ।

पप्रच्छुरिन्द्रं संभूय कोऽयं यज्ञविधिस्तव ॥९७

अधर्मो बलवानेष हिंसाधर्मेऽस्य तव ।
 नेष्टः पशुवधस्त्वेष तव यज्ञे सुरोत्तम ॥९८
 अधर्मो धर्मघाताय प्रारब्धः पशुभिस्त्वया ।
 नायं धर्मो ह्यधर्मोऽयं न हिंसा धर्म उच्यते ॥९९
 आगमेन भवान् यज्ञं करोतु यदिहेच्छसि ।
 विधिदृष्टेन यज्ञेन धर्ममव्ययहेतुना ।
 यज्ञबीजैः सुरश्रेष्ठ येषु हिंसा न विद्यते ॥१००

(वायु० अ० ५७)

The story of Vasu Uparichara is cited as an example of eschewing violence from the yajñas and is repeated in the Śāntiparvan and several other Purāṇas.

(11) सत्येन च तथा परे — We know of the dialogue in the Chhāndogya Upanishad between Sanatkumāra and Nārada, in which the former expounds the doctrine of Brahman as Satyam (VIII. 3-4). Through Nārada the tradition was handed down amongst the Vaiṣṇavas, of whom the Vaiṣṇava sectaries worshipped Viṣṇu and his four associates under the name of Pañcha-Vīra or *Satya-Pañchaka*.

(12) आहवेऽभिमुखाः केचिन्निहताः स्विद्विंशताः — These were the adherents of the militarist school for whom death in the brunt of battle was an honourable means of attaining deliverance. The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to them as the Kṣhattriya advocates of *Ārambha-yajña* (Vāyu. 57. 50), where *Ārambha* is a technical term meaning military expedition or war (cf. Sabhāparvan, 14.5, आरम्भे पारमेष्ठ्यं तु न प्राप्यमिति मे मतम्; also Māgha 2.94, अयथाबलमारम्भो निदानं क्षयसम्पदः).

(13) केचिदुच्छ्रवतैः सिद्धाः स्वर्गमार्गं समाश्रिताः — These are called Siddhas who led the life of a recluse and insisted on an abstemious regimen obtained by giving up corn (उच्छ्रवतः). The reference seems to be to the religious order of the Vratins and Mahāvratins whose main plank of sādhanā was a planned course of fasting and regulated diet. Here in the Śāntiparvan, reference is made

Mss. in the Sarsvati Mahal, Tanjore (I. 460, 461, under the titles Dadhīchi and Vināvidai; see especially the reference at the end of the ms. on p. 369 of the Catalogue).

In the same Catalogue, ms. no. 279 is described as Śarabha-purāṇa and the editor remarks that all these three, Śarabha, Dadhīchi and Vināvidai, appear to be of same authorship. That is, all these three are parts of a translation of the Śiva-purāṇa probably by Tirumalainātha. In the printed Śiva-purāṇa (Venkateswara Press), the corresponding section dealing with Śarabha is chs. 10, 11, 12 of the third book, the Śatarn-drīya-saṁhitā. The Dadhīchi-story is to be found in the same Purāṇa, book two, Rudra-saṁhitā, second subsection called Satikhāṇḍa, chs. 38-9, and also to some extent in book three, Śatarn-drīya-saṁhitā, ch. 24.

A recent prose rendering (*vachanam*) of the whole Śiva-purāṇa by Ratnavelu Mudaliar is available in print (1900).

THE VĀYU-SĀMHIṬĀ

There is in Tamil a metrical version of a Sanskrit Purāṇic text called Vāyu-saṁhitā. The author of this translation is Kulaśekhara Varagunārāma Pāṇḍya who can be identified as a cousin of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya and son of Parakrama Kulaśekhara, of Tenkāśi (1543-1550). This is in print (Adikalanidhi Press, Madras) and according to the Preface, this edition was based on six manuscripts. There is a manuscript of it in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (R. 593). This has nothing to do with the text of the Vāyu-purāṇa published by the Venkateswara Press or the Ānandaśrama. It is a rendering of the seventh book called Vāyaviya-saṁhitā of the Śiva-mahā-purāṇa, as found in the Venkateswara Press edition. The Tamil text closely follows the Sanskrit original though there is condensation as well as slight differences in the order of the topics and chapters. The whole text of the Tamil version extends to 1334 verses. For a manuscript of this, see Triennial Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, R. no. 593 (a)

as he was in quest of the true Āgama, and finally coming under the influence of the Sāṅkhya doctrine as preached by Kāpileya Pañchaśikha, he freed himself from the bond of those dogmas :

तस्य स्म शतमाचार्या वसन्ति सततं गृहे ।

दर्शयन्तः पृथग्धर्मान् नानादण्डादिभिः ॥ ४

जनकस्त्वभिसंरक्तः कापिलेयानुदर्शनात् ।

उत्सृज्य शतानाचार्यान् पृष्ठतोऽनुजगाम तम् ॥ १८

(शान्ति० अ० २११, Poona edn.)

An informative record of the various philosophies is found in the Liṅga Purāṇa, Uttarārḍha, chs 15-16, where in the style of केचित्...केचित् we meet with the doctrine of सदसद्वाद (for वेद or त्रयीविद्या), क्षराक्षरवाद (Upanishads), समष्टि-व्यष्टिवाद (ascribed to the योग शास्त्रज्ञ,), क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञवाद (ascribed to पञ्चविंशक सांख्य-पाशुपत), परापर ब्रह्म (probably वैष्णव), दिद्यादिद्यावाद (probably Vedantins of the Upanishads), व्यक्ताव्यक्तावाद (ascribed to the षड्विंशकसांख्य & the पाशुपत of the same denomination).

Kālidāsa refers to a plethora of Āgamas but views them with an eye of synthesis :

बहुधाप्यगमैर्भिन्नाः पन्थानः सिद्धिहेतवः ।

त्वय्येव निपतन्त्योषा जाह्नवीया इवार्णवे ॥

(रघुवंश १०।२६)

These warring Āgamas exercised their pull on unwary individuals driving them into their fold as the *mahouts* do to the newly trapped elephants :

आगमैरपकृष्यन्ते हस्तिपैर्हस्तिनो यथा ।

(शान्ति २११।४४)

The raging controversies backed by dogmatic doctrinarians find a vivid mention in the Vāyu Purāṇa :

द्वैधमुत्पद्यते चैव युगे तस्मिञ्श्रुतौ स्मृतौ ॥ ६॥

द्वैधाच्छ्रुतेः स्मृतेश्चैव निश्चयो नाधिगम्यते ।

अनिश्चयाभिगन्तद्वर्गनत्वं न विद्यते ॥
 धर्मतत्त्वे तु भिन्नानां मतिभेदो भवेन्नृणाम् ॥७॥
 परस्परविभिन्नैस्तैर्दृष्टीनां विभ्रमेण च ।
 अयं धर्मो ह्ययं नेति निश्चयो नाभिगम्यते ॥८॥
 कारणानां च वैकल्यात् कारणस्याप्यनिश्चयात् ।
 मतिभेदे च तेषां वै दृष्टीनां विभ्रमो भवेत् ॥९॥
 ततो दृष्टिविभिन्नैस्तैः कृतं शास्त्रकुलं त्विदम् ॥१०॥

Here Śruti stands for the basic or primary texts of each religion and Smṛiti for the secondary and commentarial literature that was coming into existence through the individual efforts of the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhist and the Jains. Each wanted to adjust his Smṛiti in accordance with the primary Śruti or Āgama (cf. Raghuvamśa 2.2, श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्). The differences, however, came into relief and even the followers of one and the same camp became divided, what to say of the rift between controversialists of the different religions. People became divided about the essence of Dharma (धर्मतत्त्व), and this gave rise to diverse points of view (विभिन्न दृष्टि, मतिभेद, the words दृष्टि and मति were both of ancient usage for 'philosophical approach.') The cleavage was based on the different conceptions about the ultimate cause or categories. The searching voice of every one was about the number and nature of the final reality or primal cause. The Sāṅkhyas, for example, evolved subtle distinctions about the Tattvas being 24, 25, or 26 :

सांख्ययोगाश्च तत्त्वज्ञा यथाश्रुतिनिदर्शनात् ॥६२॥
 षड्विंशः पञ्चविंशं च चतुर्विंशं च पश्यति ।
 स तु पश्यति पश्यंस्तु यश्चैनमनुपश्यति ॥७०॥
 पञ्चविंशोऽभिमन्येत नान्योऽस्ति परमो मम ।
 न चतुर्विंशकोऽग्राह्यो मनुजैर्ज्ञानदर्शिभिः ॥७१॥ (शान्ति० ३०६)

The Pāśupata teachers adopting the Sāṅkhya metaphysics were putting their house in order and adjusting the Śaiva tenets in accordance with the triple categories of 24, 25, 26 :

इह षड्विंशको ध्येयो ध्याता वै पञ्चविंशकः ।

चतुर्विंशकमव्यक्तं नहन्नायाम्नु सप्त च ॥ (लिंग पुराण १।२८।७)

24 were the categories of matter, 25th became the Jīva and then the 26th was Śiva, the Supreme Principle :

परमात्मा शिवादन्यो नास्तीति कवयो विदुः ।

शिवजातानि तत्त्वानि पञ्चविंशन्मनीषिभिः ॥२६॥

उक्तानि न तदन्यानि सलिलादूर्म्मिवृन्दवत् ।

पञ्चविंशत्पदार्थेभ्यः शिवतत्त्वं परं विदुः ॥२७॥

(लिंग पुराण २।१६)

These are but solitary instances. As a matter of fact doctrinal controversies and differences during the period from circa first century to seventh century A. D. knew no bounds. Subtle brains studied, explained, argued, raised doubts, resolved them, urged objections, pondered over controversies and listened to the exposition of their own doctrines, as Bāṇa has graphically put it about the multitude of teachers in the hermitage of Divākaramitra (अभ्यस्यद्भिः, व्याचक्षाणैः, विवदमानैः, संशयानैः, निश्चिन्वद्भिः, प्रत्युत्तरद्भिः, अभियुक्तैः, चिन्तयद्भिः स्वान् स्वान् सिद्धान्तान् शृण्वद्भिः).

This created an assemblage of sectarian and doctrinal differences. We are indebted to the author of the Vāyu Purāṇa for rescuing the appropriate term of contemporary usage for this warring state of scriptures :

ततो दृष्टिविभिन्नैस्तैः कृतं शास्त्रकुलं त्विदम् ॥१०॥

सामान्यविपरीतार्थैः कृतं शास्त्रकुलं त्विदम् ॥१६॥

(वायु० अ० ५८)

The growth of philosophers and philosophical literature brought into existence a शास्त्रकुल, i.e. a community of the differing branches of knowledge represented by individual treatises and scriptural texts. What their exact number was is immaterial. It could not be precisely reckoned even then, and expressed by an indefinite number, such as 'a hundred teachers.' This concourse of creeds went by the common appellation of षट्कुलीयाः,

all marked by the same approach of critical and burning reasoning :

इदं परमिदं नेति विवादः सुमहानभूत् ।

So far as the Brahmanical teachers were concerned they arrived at some kind of unity in diversity by selecting the names of five major schools viz. वेद, पांचरात्र, पाशुपत, सांख्य and योग under the common designation of कृतान्तपञ्चक, who were knit together (एकनिष्ठानि, परस्परांगानि) so far as their efforts to combat the heretical आर्हत controversialists were concerned. The Vāyu Purāṇa actually mentions the आर्हत्स in its more rationalised list of the Six Schools of Philosophers, the other five being ब्राह्म (Vedists), शैव (= पाशुपत, माहेश्वर, महाव्रतिन्), वैष्णव (= पांचरात्र, भागवत, वैखानस, एकान्तिन्), सौर and शाक्त, divided into manifold paths of भक्ति and ज्ञान (Vāyu. 104. 14-16).

—o—

पुराणचयनम्

अन्तःकरणे भगवद्दर्शनम्

(१) देहस्थं पश्य शंभुं भ्रमसि किमु परे शास्त्रजालेऽन्धकारे ।

(लिंग० २।९।५५)

(२) अपदयद्भिर्जगत्पत्र दृश्यते हृदि संस्थितः ।

(मत्स्य० २४४।१७)

(३) चित्ते ब्रह्मकला नाम शक्तिः सर्वशरीरिणाम् ।

(देवीभाग० ७।३०।८३, मत्स्य १३।५३)

(४) वेदार्थेन त्वां विवृण्वन्ति बुद्ध्या हृत्पद्मान्तः संनिविष्टं पुराणम् ।

(पद्मपु० सृष्टिखंड ४०।१३)

(५) हृत्पुण्डरीकसुषिरे योगिनां संस्थितः सदा ।

वदन्ति सूरयः सन्तं परं ब्रह्म स्वरूपिणम् ॥

(लिंग० १।७१।१०४)

(६) हृद्याकाशे य एतस्मिन् सर्वस्मिन्नन्तरे परः ।

आत्मा एकश्च चरति तमुपासीत मां प्रभुम् ॥

अजरं तमनन्तं च अशोकममृतं ध्रुवम् ॥ (लिंग० १।८६।८५-८६)

पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यम्

वदरीनाथ शुक्ल

[In this article the learned author demonstrates in the traditional dialectical way that the main theme of Purāṇa literature relates to the metaphysical doctrine of cosmic creation. Although the contents of the Purāṇs are generally spoken of as five-fold, and also as ten-fold, yet in the ultimate analysis they can all be resolved into the one supreme principle, namely Brahman or Hari as the ultimate cause of the creation and dissolution of the world.]

श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये पुराणानां दशविधं प्रतिपाद्य-
मुदीरितं यथा—

सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षान्तराणि च ।

वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥

(भा० १२।७।९)

देवीभागवते प्रथमस्कन्धस्य द्वितीयाध्याये पुराणानां पञ्चविधं प्रतिपाद्यमुक्तं
यथा—

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

(दे० भा० १।२।१८)

अत्र विसर्गस्य सर्गशब्देन, अन्तरस्य मन्वन्तरशब्देन, वृत्तिरक्षासंस्थाहेत्व-
पाश्रयाणां च प्रतिसर्गशब्देन सम्भवद्विवक्षतयाऽस्य वचनस्य पूर्ववचनाद् विरोधो
नाशङ्कनीयः ।

अत्रेदमवधेयम्—पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यं यद्यपि दशविधं पञ्चविधं वा तत्र तत्र
प्रतिपादितम्, परन्तेषां प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाद्यं तु जगत्सन्मूलकं तत्त्वमस्ति, यत्

“पुरा अनिति यत् तत्पुराणम्” इति पुराणशब्दव्युत्पत्तेरनुसारेण समग्रस्य जगत्प्रपञ्चस्य प्रादुर्गन्तव्यं विद्यते, यत एव च सर्वमिदं जगत् प्रवर्तते । इदमेव तत्त्वम् ऋग्वेदस्य नासदीयेन सूक्तेनेत्यमुपवर्ण्यते, तथाहि—

नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं

नासीद् रजो नो व्योमा परो यत् ।

किमावरीवः ? कुह कस्य शर्मन् ?

अम्भः किमासीद् गहनं गभीरम् ॥ १ ॥

न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि

न रात्र्या अह्नः आसीत् प्रकेतः ।

आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं

तस्माद्भान्यन्न परः किंचनास ॥ २ ॥

(ऋ० वे० १०।१२९)

छान्दोग्यश्रुतिरपि

“सदेव सोम्य इदमग्र आसीद् एकमेवाद्वितीयम्” इत्यादिशब्दैरिदमेव तत्त्वं निर्दिशति ।

तदस्य पुराणतत्त्वस्य प्रतिपादनादेव तत्प्रतिपादकं वाङ्मयं पुराणशब्देन व्यपदिश्यते । तत्र सर्गादीनां वर्णनं तु नितरां निर्धर्मकतया इदमित्थम्भावेन स्पष्टं निरूपणानर्हस्य तस्य तत्त्वस्य प्रतिपादनाय तटस्थलक्षणोपस्थापनमात्रफलकम् । तत्र यथोपनिषदः

“यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जीवन्ति, यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसं-
विशन्ति” (तै० ३।१) इत्यादिवचनैस्तटस्थलक्षणमुखेन जगतो मूलतत्त्वं वर्णयन्ति । यथा वा “जन्माद्यस्य यतः” (ब्र० सू० १ अ०, १ पा०, २ सू०) इत्येतद्ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्ये भगवान् शङ्कराचार्यः—

“अस्य जगतो नामरूपाभ्यां व्याकृतस्य अनेककर्तृभोक्तृसंयुक्तस्य प्रति-
नियतदेशकालनिमित्तक्रियाफलाश्रयस्य मनसाऽप्यचिन्त्यरचनारूपस्य जन्मस्थिति-
भङ्गं यतः सर्वज्ञात् सर्वशक्तेः कारणाद् भवति तद् ब्रह्म” इत्येवं ब्रुवाणस्तटस्थ-

लक्षणेनैव जगतो मूलकारणं निरूपयति, तथैव पुराणान्यपि सर्गादिवर्णनेन तदस्थलक्षणं पुराकृत्य तन्मुखेन मुख्यतया जगतो मूलकारणस्य प्रतिपादन एव पर्यवस्यन्ति । अर्थश्चैष श्रीमद्भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धस्य दशमाध्याये विस्पष्टमुक्तः, यथा—

अथ सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।

मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥

दशमस्य विशुद्धयर्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।

वर्णयन्ति महात्मानः श्रुतेनार्थेन चाज्ञसा ॥

(भा० २।१०।१-२)

दशमस्य विशुद्धिर्नाम सर्गप्रभृतिषु पुराणानां दशसु प्रतिपाद्येषु दशमस्य इतरसर्वव्यावृत्ततया प्रतिपादनम्, दशमश्च तेषु आश्रयः । स च

आभासश्च निरोधश्च यतश्चाध्यवसीयते ।

स आश्रयः परं ब्रह्म परमात्मेति शब्द्यते ॥

(भा० २।१०।७)

इति वचनानुसारेण जगतो जन्मप्रलययोराधारहेतुभूतं तत्त्वम् । अयमाश्रयः श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशस्कन्धस्य नवमः अध्याये अपाश्रयशब्देन व्यवहृतः प्रकारान्तरेण लक्षितश्च, यथा—

व्यतिरेकान्वयो यस्य जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु ।

मायामयेषु तद्ब्रह्म त्रैलोक्यनिर्वाहकः ॥

(भा० १२।७।१९)

तदेवम्भूतेन कृत्स्नेन पर्यालोचनेनायमेव निष्कर्षो निर्गलति यत् सम्पूर्णस्यास्य विश्वस्य मूलहेतुभूतं पुराणं तत्त्वमेव सर्वेषां पुराणानां प्रधानतमं प्रतिपाद्यम्, सर्गादिकं च तन्त्रतिपादगोपायनश्च गौणं प्रतिपाद्यम्, अत एव पुराणसम्बन्धे इदं प्रसिद्धिरपि संगच्छते,

“आदावन्ते च मध्ये च हरिः सर्वत्र गीयते । इति ।

“हरति यः स हरिः” इतिव्युत्पत्त्या अनभिव्यक्तिलक्षणाया वा असत्तायाः, असमये विनाशस्य तिरोधानस्य वा सम्भावनायाः, समये स्वतन्त्र-

सत्तायाः पृथगभिव्यक्तेश्च वा हरणाद् विश्वस्य जन्मस्थितिभङ्गानां हेतुरेव हरिशब्दार्थः ।

तत्र

दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।

केचित् पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् ! महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥

(भा० १२।७।१०)

इतिवचनानुसारेण दशलक्षणैः पञ्चलक्षणैर्वा विशिष्टानि पुराणानि मार्कण्डेय-पुराणे अष्टादश परिगणितानि, यथा—

ब्राह्मं पाद्मं वैष्णवं च शैवं भागवतं तथा ।

तथाऽन्यन्नारदीयं च मार्कण्डेयं च सप्तमम् ॥

आग्नेयमष्टमं प्रोक्तं भविष्यं नवमं स्मृतम् ।

दशमं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं नृसिंहैकादशं तथा ॥

वाराहं द्वादशं प्रोक्तं स्कान्दमत्र त्रयोदशम् ।

चतुर्दशं वामनकं कौर्मं पञ्चदशं तथा ॥

मात्स्यं च गारुडं चैव ब्रह्माण्डं च ततः परम् ।

(मा० पु० १३७ अ०)

देवोपुराणे उपपुराणान्यपि उल्लिखितानि सन्ति, यथा—

तथैवोपपुराणानि शृण्वन्तु गुनिसत्तमाः ।

सनत्कुमारं प्रथमं नारसिंहं ततः परम् ॥

नारदीयं शिवं चैव दौर्वाससमनुत्तमम् ।

कापिलं वामनं चैव तथा चौशनसं स्मृतम् ॥

वारुणं कालिकाख्यं च साम्बं नन्दिकृतं शुभम् ।

सौरं पाराशरप्रोक्तमादित्यं चातिविस्तरम् ॥

माहेश्वरं भागवतं वासिष्ठं च सविस्तरम् ।

एतान्युपपुराणानि कथितानि महात्मभिः ॥

(दे० पु० १।३।१३-१६)

एतेषु सर्वेषु पुराणेषु उपपुराणेषु च प्रतिपादितं जगन्मूलभूतं पुराणतत्त्वं किमात्मकम्, कथं च ततो जगतः प्रादुर्भावः, कथं वा विरुद्धतया प्रतीयमानानां तत्प्रतिपादकानां विभिन्नपुराणवचनानां सामञ्जस्यमिति विषये संक्षेपेण पुराणानुरोधेनैव किञ्चित्प्रस्तूयते ।

श्रीमद्भागवते तृतीयस्कन्धस्य पञ्चमाध्याये प्रोक्तम्—

भगवानेक आसेदमग्र आत्माऽत्मनां विभुः ।
 आत्मेच्छानुगतावात्मा नान्यदुत्पद्यते ॥
 स वा एष तदा स्रष्टा नापश्यद् दृश्यमेकराट् ।
 मेनेऽसन्तमिवात्मानं सुप्तशक्तिरसुप्तहक् ॥
 सा वा एतस्य संद्रष्टुः शक्तिः सदसदात्मिका ।
 माया नाम महाभाग ययेदं निर्ममे विभुः ॥
 कालवृत्त्या तु मायायां गुणमय्यामधोक्षजः ।
 पुरुषेणात्मभूतेन वीर्यमाधत्त वीर्यवान् ॥

(भा० ३।५।२३-२६)

एतद्वचनानुसारेण सृष्टेः पूर्वं जगद्धेतुभूतं किमप्येकं तत्त्वं विद्यते, तस्य माया इह चेति द्वे शक्ती स्तः । तदानीं मायायाः केवलं सरूपाः नृक्षनताः वृत्तयः सुप्तस्य श्वासगतय इव जायन्ते, अतः सा तदानीं सुप्ता कथ्यते । इह शक्तिश्च सततमेकरूपतया तदानीमपि प्रबुद्धैव भवति । तदानीन्तनो मायायाः सूक्ष्मवृत्ति-सन्तान एव तात्कालिकः कालप्रवाहो भवति, एतद्वद्वत्तत्त्वात् मायावृत्त्या-त्मकस्य कस्यचित्कालविशेषस्योपस्थितौ शक्त्यधिष्ठानभूतं तत्त्वं मायाख्यायां शक्तौ वीर्याधानं करोति, इदं च वीर्याधाननाशरक्षणेन तत्त्वेनाधेयभूताया मायाशक्तेः विलक्षणः क्षोभ एव, तत्र प्रथमः क्षोभः स्रष्टव्यस्य जगत आलोचनरूपः, यः “तदैक्षत” इत्यादिश्रुत्या ईक्षणात्मको वर्णितः, द्वितीयश्च क्षोभो बहुभवनसंकल्प-रूपः, यः “सोऽकामयत, एकोऽहं बहु स्यां प्रजायेय” इति श्रुत्या निर्दिष्टः, तयोः क्रमिकोद्भवानन्तरं महत्तत्त्वप्रभृतीनां कारणतत्त्वानां प्रादुर्भावः, ततश्च ग्रन्थोक्तक्रमेण सृष्टेरुत्पत्तिः ।

अयमेवार्थो ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे ॥ ३ ॥ १ ॥ १ ॥ १ ॥ —

ज्योतिःसमूहं प्रलये पुराऽऽसोत्केवलं द्विज ! ।

सूर्यकोटिप्रभं नित्यमसंख्यविश्वकारणम् ॥

(ब्र० वै० १।२।४)

दृष्ट्वा शून्यमयं विश्वं गोलोकं च भयंकरम् ।

निर्जन्तु निर्जलं घोरं निर्वातं तमसाऽऽवृतम् ॥

वृक्षशैलसमुद्रादिविहीनं विकृताकृतम् ।

निर्भूतिकं च निर्धातु निःशस्यं निस्तृणं द्विज ॥

आलोच्य मनसा सर्वमेक एवासहायवान् ।

स्वेच्छया स्रष्टुमारम्भे सृष्टिं स्वेच्छामयः प्रभुः ॥

(ब्र० वै० ३।१-३)

अत्रापि सृष्टेः प्राक् एकमात्रस्य ज्योतीरूपस्य जगन्मूलस्य सत्त्वं तदिच्छया ततो जगज्जन्मनश्च प्रतिपादनं कृतम्, तदिच्छा च विविच्यमाना तदुपाश्रिताया अनादिशक्तेर्मायायाः संक्षोभव्यतिरेकेण स्वरूपसत्तां नानादयितुमीष्टे ।

ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणस्य प्रकृतिखण्डस्य द्वितीयेऽध्याये जगज्जन्मवर्णनप्रसङ्गेनेत्थ-
मभिहितम्-

जगतः प्रादुर्भावात्पूर्वं वर्तमानस्य जगन्मूलकारणस्य आत्मा, ब्रह्म, कृष्ण इति नामानि सुप्रथितानि, मूलतत्त्वरूपः कृष्णः स्वांशे भूतेन कारणेन प्रेरितः सृष्टेः विधित्तया आत्मानं प्रकृतिपुरुषरूपेण द्विधा व्यदधात् । द्विधा भूतयोस्तयोः काम-
क्रीडात्मकः संघर्षः सुचिरं प्रावर्तत, संघर्षस्योष्मस्वेदश्वासानिवायफलकतया तस्मा-
दूष्मस्वेदश्वासा अजायन्त, तत ऊष्मणोऽग्निः, स्वेदाज्जलम्, श्वासाच्च वायुरुद-
पद्यत, एतादृशस्य संघर्षस्य गर्भधारणं सुनिश्चितः परिणामः, अतः प्रकृतिरप्ये-
तत्संघर्षवशाद् गर्भमदधात्, शतमन्वन्तरात्मके काले गते तस्माद् गमदिकं तेजो-
गोलकं प्रादुरभवत्, सुचिरप्रतीक्षाऽनन्तरं जडप्रसवदर्शनेन दुःखिता प्रकृतिः
कोपवशात्तद्गोलकं जले प्राक्षिपत्, अनया घटनया क्रुद्धः कृष्णः “त्वयाऽपत्य-
पालनं न कृतमतस्ते सन्ततयो निरपत्या भविष्यन्ति” इत्येवं प्रकृतिमशपत्, ततः
प्रकृतेर्निष्ठाप्रात् सरस्वत्याः, वामभागात् लक्ष्म्याः, दक्षिणभागाच्च राधाया जन्माभवत् ।
तदानीं कृष्णस्य वामभागः चतुर्भुजपुरुषात्मना दक्षिणभागश्च द्विभुजपुरुषात्मना
पर्यणमत । सरस्वतीं लक्ष्मीं च चतुर्भुजः, राधां च द्विभुजो मायात्वेन पर्यगृह्णात्

तदनु चतुर्भुजस्याज्ञात् अनेके चतुर्भुजाः पार्षदाः, कृष्णस्य लोमकूपात् असंख्या गोपाः, राधायाः लोमकूपाच्च असंख्याः सुन्दर्यो जन्म प्राप्नुवन् । तदानीमेव कृष्णस्य शरीराद् दुर्गा, ब्रह्मा, शिवश्चाविरभवन्, प्रकृत्या जले प्रक्षिप्तं तेजोगोलकं बहुकालानन्तरमेकस्मिन् दिने सहसा निरभिद्यत । निर्भिद्यमानात्तस्मादेकः निष्कामः, स आत्मानमसहायं दृष्ट्वा रोदितुमारभत, रुदतस्तस्य सहसा ज्ञानमुदमीलत्, ज्ञानसम्पन्नः स सनातनं ब्रह्मज्योतिः कृष्णजन्मोऽध्यायत् । ध्यानेन प्रीतः कृष्णः तमनन्तब्रह्माण्डाधारं निष्कामं निर्भयं सर्वथा परिपूर्णं महाविराड्रूपं महाविष्णुमकरोत्, ततः क्रियति काले व्यतीते नन्वाविराट्सकाशात् क्षुद्रविराड्रूपस्य क्षुद्रविष्णोर्जन्माभवत्, तस्य च नाभिक्रमलाद् ब्रह्माऽजायत, स च दीर्घेण तपसा कृष्णात् सामर्थ्यं प्राप्य विविधं विश्वमसृजत् ।

अनेन वर्णनेनापि इदमेव सिध्यति यज्जगतः पूर्वं तद्धेतुभूतं शक्तिसम्पन्नं किमप्येकमेव मूलं भवति यतस्तस्य जन्मादिकमभिनिर्वर्तते ।

इदमेव तत्त्वं विभिन्नैस्तत्त्वचिन्तकैः कचिद् ब्रह्म, कचित् परमेश्वरः, कचिद् विष्णुः, कचित् शिवः, कचिद् देवी, कचिच्च शून्यमित्येवं विविधैः शब्दैर्व्यवहृतमस्ति, तत्सहभूता शक्तिश्च अविद्या-माया-लक्ष्मी-शिवा-संवित्प्रभृतिभिः शब्दैर्व्यपदिष्टा विद्यते ।

शक्तिः शक्तिमतो भिन्नाऽभिन्ना वेति विवेचनप्रस्तावे देवीपुराणे तृतीयस्कन्धस्य षष्ठाध्याये देव्या भणितं यत्—

सदैकत्वं न भेदोऽस्ति सर्वदैव ममास्य च ।
 योऽसौ साऽहमहं योऽसौ भेदोऽस्ति मतिविभ्रमात् ॥
 आवयोरन्तरं सूक्ष्मं यो वेद मतिमान् हि सः ।
 विमुक्तः स तु संसारान्मुच्यते नात्र संशयः ॥
 एकमेवाद्वितीयं वै ब्रह्म नित्यं सनातनम् ।
 द्वैतमाद्यं पुनर्याति काल उत्पित्सुसंज्ञके ॥
 यथा दीपस्तथोपाधेर्योगात् सञ्जायते द्विधा ।
 छायेवादर्शमध्ये वा प्रतिबिम्बं तथाऽवयोः ॥

भेद उत्पत्तिकाले वै सर्गार्थं प्रभवत्यन ।

दृश्यादृश्यविभेदोऽयं द्वैविध्ये सति सर्वथा ॥

नाहं स्त्री न पुमांश्चाहं न क्लीवं सर्गसंक्षये ।

सर्गे सति विभेदः स्यात् कल्पितोऽयं धिया पुनः ॥

(दे० भा० ३ । ६ । २-७)

एतेषु पद्येषु शक्तिरूपाया देव्याः शक्तिमद्रूपस्य परमात्मनश्च अभेदस्य सत्यत्वं भेदस्य च कल्पितत्वं स्पष्टमुक्तम् । अतो जगतो मूलकारणस्य परमेश्वर-शब्देन परमेश्वरीशब्देन वा व्यपदेशो न किञ्चिदनौचित्यमञ्चति । ये किं शक्तिं प्रकृतिशब्देन शक्तिमन्तं च पुरुषशब्देन व्यवहृत्य प्रकृतेर्जडतां पुरुषस्य चैतन्यरूपतां च वदन्तस्तयोर्भेदमामनन्ति, शक्तिं वा मायाशब्देन शक्तिमन्तं च ब्रह्मशब्देन व्यपदिश्य तयोर्जडत्वचेतनत्वे प्रतिपादयन्तस्तयोर्भेदं ब्रुवन्ति ते तयोस्तत्त्वज्ञातागो नूनं न भवन्ति । यतस्तथाऽभ्युपगमे पुराणेषु तयोरेकन्यत्रप्रतिपादनपगणि सहस्रशो वचनानि नोपपादयितुं शक्येरन्, लक्ष्मी-दुर्गाराधप्रभृतीनां प्रकृतित्वं चैतन्याविनाभूतं निग्रहानुग्रहसामर्थ्यं तत्र तत्र वर्ण्यमानं जगतामद्वितीयमूलहेतुत्वं च कथञ्चिदपि संगमयितुं न शक्येत । अतोऽयमेवाभ्युप-गमो न्याय्यः समुचितश्च प्रतिभाति यत् प्रकृत्यादिशब्दव्यपदेश्या शक्तिः पुरुषपरमेश्वरादिशब्दव्यपदेश्यः शक्तिर्माँश्च प्रभाप्रदीपाविव नितरामयुतसिद्धौ । सत्त्वरजस्तमोरूपाया अनादिप्रकृतेः सच्चिदानन्दरूपस्य पुरुषस्य च अन्योन्यविच्छुरितं स्वरूपमेव परमेश्वर्याः परमेश्वरस्य वा वास्तविकं रूपम् । अन्योन्यविच्छुरणं चैतत् न अद्वैतवेदान्तिनाम् अन्योन्यस्मिन् अन्योन्यात्मताऽवभासलक्षणाध्यासः, न वा शाब्दिकानां भेदसहवर्त्यभेदरूपं तादात्म्यम्, न वा गौडीयवैष्णवानाम् अचिन्त्यभेदाभेदः न च स्याद्वादिनां सापेक्षभेदाभेदः, किन्तु अनाद्यनन्तस्वभावो-ऽन्योन्यानुवेषरूपो विचित्रः संसर्गः, स च “इमावन्योन्यसम्भिन्नौ” इति प्रती-तिसाक्षिकः स्वरूपसम्बन्धविशेषः । विच्छुरणं चेदं त्रिकालसत्यं न कदाप्यपक्षीयते । यदि कदाचित् सर्वप्राणिसंमोक्षनृलको महाप्रलयः सम्भविष्यति तदाऽपि विच्छुर-णमिदं नापयास्यति, किन्तु प्रकृतेः सूक्ष्मवृत्तिसन्तानस्वरूपः कालावच्छेदप्रवाह एवापुनरावृत्तिभावेन विरस्यति, येन क्षोभकालाभेन प्रकृतिः सर्गोपयिकं परिणामं

पुनर्न कदापि लप्स्यते, अपि तु सर्वथा निष्क्रिया सती सच्चिदानन्दात्मना नितान्तं शान्तभावेनावस्थास्यते । अथवा तदानीमपि सख्याः परिणतीः प्राप्नुवानाऽपि प्रकृतिः कस्यापि जीवान्द्रुम्यागवशिष्टतया जीवकर्मकर्मात्मनः सहकारिणो वैकल्येन प्रणञ्चौषयिकं प्रक्षोभं न प्राप्स्यति । अतो न तदुत्तरं पुनरपि संसारप्रमागप्रसक्तिः । अन्योन्यविच्छुरणशब्दप्रयोगश्च तयोरेकान्तत एकत्वे न युज्यत इत्यभिन्नयोरपि तयोः किञ्चित्सूक्ष्मतरमन्तरमास्थीयते, अन्तरं चेदं न भेदः, अपि तु तदनन्यत्वेऽपि तदसाध्यसाधकत्वं तदनुवेद्यं वा यत्किञ्चिद् दुरवगाहरूपम् । तच्चानि-
मानवस्य महत्तमं कर्तव्यम् । तच्चातीव दुर्ग्रहतया शास्त्रोक्तप्रकारेण योगविधे-
रनुष्ठानसातत्येनैव साध्यम् ।

इदमेव सर्वमभिसन्धाय देवीपुराणे तृतीयस्कन्धस्य सप्तमाध्याये ब्रह्मणाऽभि-
हितम् ।

अनादिनिधनौ विद्धि सदा प्रकृतिपूरुषौ ।
विश्वासेनाभिगम्यौ तौ नाविश्वासेन कर्हिचित् ॥११॥
चैतन्यं सर्वभूतेषु यत्तद्विद्धि परात्मकम् ।
तेजः सर्वत्रागं नित्यं नानाभावेषु नारद ॥१२॥
तं च तां च महाभाग व्यापकौ विद्धि सर्वगौ ।
ताभ्यां विहीनं संसारे न किञ्चिद्वस्तु विद्यते ॥१३॥
तौ विचिन्त्यौ तदा देहे मिश्रीभूतौ सदाऽव्ययौ ।
एकरूपौ चिदात्मानौ निर्गुणौ निर्मलावुभौ ॥१४॥
या शक्तिः परमात्माऽसौ स योऽसौ परमात्मता ।
अन्तरं नैतयोः कोऽपि सूक्ष्मं वेद च नारद ॥१५॥
अधीत्य सर्वशास्त्राणि वेदान् साङ्गोऽश्च नारद ।
न जानाति तयोः सूक्ष्ममन्तरं विरतिं विना ॥१६॥

THE POSITION AND ANTIQUITY OF THE PĀTĀLA-KHAṆḌA OF THE PADMA PURĀṆA

By

ASOKE CHATTERJI

(Continued from Vol. I, No. 2)

[अस्य लेखस्य पूर्वाद्धिं पुरा इदं प्रतिपादितं यत् पद्मपुराणान्तर्गतस्य पातालखण्डस्य त्रयः स्तराः समभवन् रामोपाख्यानसंवलितः प्राचीनोऽंशः रामोपासकैर्निर्मितः, द्वितीयस्तु शिवप्रशंसात्मकः पाशुपतशैवैर्विरचितः, कृष्णोपासनात्मकः तृतीयोऽंशः भागवतवैष्णवैः सर्वान्ते संयोजितः । वंगदेशीय-हस्तलेखेषु पातालखण्डस्य तावानेवांश उपलभ्यते यावान् रामस्योत्तरचरितं वर्णयति । सैषा स्थितिः पातालखण्डस्य कालक्रमेणोपवृंहणं विचारयितुं प्रसह्य प्रेरयति । लेखस्य अस्मिन् उत्तरार्धभागेऽयं विचारः प्रवृत्तः यत् पातालखण्डस्य रचना भवभूतिः कृतोत्तररामचरितनाटकानन्तरं सञ्जाता । यद् उभयत्र रामस्योत्तरचरितं वर्ण्यते वाल्मीकीये रामायणे तच्चास्ति, भवभूतेरेव प्राक्कालीनत्वमत्र स्वीकृतम् । वाणस्य गद्यशैली पातालखण्डस्य लेखकेनानुक्रुता । अयमंशः अष्टमशताब्द्यां विरचितः । पाशुपतयोगात्मकः द्वितीयोऽंशः दशम्यां शताब्द्यां निर्मितः, तथा राधाकृष्णयोः महिमानमाश्रित्य विरचितः तृतीयोऽंशः (अ० ६९-९९) द्वादस्यां शताब्द्यां विरचितः ।]

As is the case with most of the Purāṇas, the determination of the correct date of the three parts of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa is really a very difficult task. Prof. S. K. Belvalkar is of opinion that the first (which is the earliest of the three) portion of this khaṇḍa is anterior to Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita*, as he says, "More probably, however, Bhavabhūti derived his material (for the *Uttararāmacharita*) from the first twenty-eight chapters of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa." He further observes "Bhavabhūti's source for the incidents in acts IV-VI of the *Uttararāmacharita* must undoubtedly have been some account like that in the *Padma-purāṇa*"² as he finds "no support

1. S. K. Belvalkar 'Rāma's Later History', pt. 1, Introduction and Translation, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1915, p. lviii. Bracketed portion is mine.

2. Ibid., p. lviii

that this Rāmāśvamedha-prakarṇa in the *Padma-purāṇa* was posterior to Bhavabhūti."¹ Bhavabhūti as we all know flourished most probably near the close of the seventh century. So, if we accept Prof. Belvalkar's observation in this respect, the Pātāla-khaṇḍa is to be dated at least a hundred years before Bhavabhūti, i.e. near the close of the sixth century A.D. Let us discuss whether it is possible to accept this date or not.

It is necessary in this connection to point out some characteristic features of the Rāmāyaṇa stories occurring in the *Uttararāma-charita* and the first half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* but not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* proper. The Pātāla-khaṇḍa deals at length with the Horse-sacrifice of Rāmachandra. The sacrificial horse marched victoriously through Pāñcāla, Kuru, Uttara-Kuru, Daśārṇa, Ujjayinī, Ahichchhatrā, the land of the Payoshnī (river). Ratnātata, the land of the Gaṇḍakī (river), Nila (mountain), Chakrāṅka Tejapura, the land of the Revā (river), Devapura, Hemakūṭa (mountain), Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kalinga. Moreover it deals elaborately with the war between Śatrughna with his followers viz. Hanumān, Suratha, Sugrīva and others on the one side and Lava and Kuśa on the other as the latter tried to snatch away the sacrificial Horse from its keepers. The result was that all the forces on Śatrughna's side including himself fell down senseless and they were completely over-powered with the prowess of Lava and Kuśa. They bound the leaders of the defeated party and brought them to Sītā.² She at once recognised those people and revived them by her power.³ In the fourth and fifth acts of the *Uttararāma-charita* we find similar instances, the fight between Rāma's soldiers and Lava. The

1. Ibid., p. lviii

2. Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 64. 38-44

3. *Yadyaham manasā vāchā karmaṇā raghunāyakam |*
bhajāmi nānyaṃ manasā tarhi jived ayaṃ nṛipaḥ ||
sainyam chāpi mahat sarvam yaṃ nāśitam idam balāt |
putrābhyāṃ tatttu jiveta matsatyāḥ jagatām pateḥ ||
iti yāvad vacho brūte jñakī pati-devatā |
tavat sarvaṃ balam naśtam jivitaṃ raṇamūrdhani ||

Ibid., 64. 78-80.

supreme inborn faculty of Bhavabhūti prevented him from delineating all these affairs which would affect the dramatic effect certainly to a great extent. However, the main point (i.e. the defeat of Rāma's army) has been the chief point of attention both in the *Uttararāmacharita* and in the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa*. It is needless to mention that the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not deal with any of these topics'. So taking all these as innovations, would it be impossible to say that the *Purāṇakāra* took its theme, i.e. the defeat of Rāma's army from Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita*? Moreover both in the *Uttararāmacharita* and in the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* the story has a happy end, i.e. it ends with the union of Rāma and Sītā, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* has a tragic end. This also confirms our above proposition. It is important to note in this connection what P. V. Kane thinks about this. He says "There is great similarity between the story given in the *Padma-purāṇa* and the story of the *Uttararāmacharita*. Whether Bhavabhūti borrowed from the *Padma-purāṇa*, it is difficult to say. From the way in which all *Purāṇas* have been tampered with and interpolations have been introduced, I would rather say that the *Padma-purāṇa* is the borrower"¹.

There are, however, some variations of the *Padma-p*, from Bhavabhūti which prove the originality of the writer of the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* to some extent. First of all, *Uttararāmacharita* describes only the conquest of Rāma's party by Lava and not the victorious march of Śatrughna's army as has been described elaborately in *Pātāla-khaṇḍa*. Secondly in the *Uttararāmacharita* we see that Rāma appears personally all of a sudden on the battlefield and seeing the twins his affection for them grows up, but in the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa*, Rāma does not appear himself and as we have noted before, Sītā revives the defeated army. Thirdly, Bhavabhūti seems to be inclined to Sītā's second ordeal but there is no mention of the second ordeal of Sītā in the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa*. Fourthly, the wish of Sītā during the advanced stage of pregnancy, as is found, in the *Uttararāmacharita*, is different from that of the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa*. In the latter it is said that

1. *Uttararāmacharita* with the commentary of Ghaṇaśyāma, ed. by P. V. Kane, Nirpaya Śāgara Press, Bombay, 1929, 3rd edition, p. xxvii.

Sitā wished to see Lopāmudrā and other chaste ladies whom she had seen once long before¹; while in the *Uttararāmacharita*, Sitā wished to go again to the Daṇḍaka forest to wander in those serene and majestic sylvan avenues and to take her bath in the Ganges². Besides these there are some other minor variations of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa from the *Uttararāmacharita* which are not worth considering. But these dissimilarities between the two do not stand against the proposition that one is the borrower. What we are going to say is that it is not Bhavabhūti the great poet who has borrowed from this Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.*, but it is the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which is the borrower. That it is so, can be proved by some of its expressions which have definitely been taken from the *Uttararāmacharita*. Is not the verse—

*'koṭarasthā mahāśarpāḥ phūt-kurvanti sukopitāḥ |
ghṛūkā ghṛūtkurvate yatra loka-chittabhayaṁkārāḥ ||*³

of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa a shorter form of the verse

*'kūjatkunḥjakuṭīra-kaṁśikaghaṭāghṛūkāravat-kīchaka
stambādāmbara-mūka-maukulikulāḥ krauñchāvato'yaṁ giriḥ |
etasmin prachalālekināṁ prachalāṁ mudvejitāḥ kūjitair-
udvellanti purāṇarohiṇa-turuskundhesu kunbhināsāḥ ||*⁴

of the *Uttararāmacharita*? The following observations will strengthen our theory that Bhavabhūti was anterior.

It is not very difficult to show how Bāṇa's style was imitated by the author or compiler of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. At least in one place, it can safely be remarked, the illustration of the 'Parisaṁkhyā alaṅkāra' has definitely been copied from Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* where the poet excels in delineating this figure of speech with his masterly hand. Let us take the help of the examples of each of them

1. *chiram yātaṁ mayā satyo lopāmudrādikāḥ striyaḥ |
dṛishṭūḥ svāmin mano drashṭum tā utsukati sunḍariḥ ||*

Ibid, 55. 12.

2. See *Uttararāmacharita*, Act 1,

*'jāne punarapi prasannagambhīrāsu vanarājishu viharishyāmi pavitra-
saumya-sīśīrāvagāhāṁ gaṅgām bhagavatīm bhāgīrathīm avagāhishye*

3. Pātāla khaṇḍa, 59. 5.

4. *Uttararāmacharita*, Act II, 29,

Pātāla-khaṇḍa

sadambhā nimnagā yatra na yatra janatā kvachit ||
 Kulānyeva kulīnāni varṇānāṃ na dhanāni ca |
 Vibhramo yatra nārīṣhu na vidvatsu na karhichit ||
 nadyaḥ kṣiprāḥ na yatra vishaye prajāḥ |
 tamoyukṭāḥ kṣhapā yatra bahuleshu na mānavāḥ ||
 rajoyujāḥ striyo yatra nā (na) dhurma-bahulā narāḥ |
 dhanairanandho yatrāsti jano naiva cha bhōjanam ||
 anayaḥ syandanam yatra na cha vai rājapurūṣaḥ |
 daṇḍaḥ paraśukuddāla-bāla-vyajana rājīṣhu ||
 ātapatreshu nānyatru kvachit krodhoparodhajaḥ |
 anyutrākṣhikavrindebhyaḥ kvachinna paridevanam ||
 ākṣhikā eva drīṣyante yatra pāśaka-pāṇayaḥ |
 jāḍya-vārtā jāleshveva strīmadhyā eva durbalāḥ |
 kaṭhorahriduyā yatra sīmantinyo na mānavāḥ |
 Ośadhīṣhveva yatrāsti kuṣṭhayogo na mānave ||
 vedho yatra suratneshu sūlun mūrtikāreshu vai |
 kampāḥ sāttvikabhāvottho na bhayāt kvāpi kasyachit ||
 samjvaraḥ kāmajo yatra dāridryam kulushasya ca |
 durlabhatvaṃ sadāivasya sukrīte na cha vastunāḥ ||
 ibhā eva pramattā vai yuddhe vīchyo jalāśaye |
 dānahānirgajeshveva tīkṣhṇā eva hi kaṇṭakāḥ ||
 bāṇeshu guṇaviślesho bandhoktīḥ pustake drīḍhā |
 snehatyāgaḥ khuleshveva na cha vai svajane jane ||¹

KĀDAMBARĪ

1. (Yasminścha rājani jita-jagati pālayati mahīm) chitrakarmasu varṇasamkarāḥ, rateshu keśagrahāḥ kāvyeshu drīḍhabandhāḥ, śāstreshu chintā, svapneshu vipralambhāḥchāpesku gunachelhedāḥturaṅgeshu kuśābhīghātāḥ makaradhvaje chāpadhvanirabhūt²
2. Yatra cha malinatā havirdhūmeshu na chariteshu mukharāgaḥ śukeshu na kopeshu, tīkṣhṇatā, kuśāgreshu na svabhāveshu,

1. Pātāla-khaṇḍa 5 32b-43.

2. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's 'Kādambarī' with the commentaries of Bhānuchara and his disciple Siddhachandra. Edited by Kasinath Pandurang Parab, ninth edition, published from the Nirṇaya-sagara Press, Bombay, 1948-pp. 10-11.

*chañchalatā kadālīdaleshu nu manahsu, kokileshe
na parakalatreshu.....bhujāṅgamānām bhogaḥ,
kapīnām śrīphalābhilāshaḥ. mūlānām adhogatīḥ¹*

3. (*Yasminścha rājani*) *girīnām vipakṣatā, pratyayānām paratvam,
darī..... śūlapapīratimānām durgā-
śleshaḥ, jaladharāṇām chāpadhāraṇam, dhvajānāmunnatīḥ.....
.....kāmīnīkuchabhaṅgeshu vakratā, kariṇām dāna-vichehḥittiḥ,
akṣakrīḍāsu śūnya grīhadarśinām (prithivyāmāṣṭi)²*

This above comparison definitely proves that the author of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa was very much influenced by the style of Bāṇabhaṭṭa whom he tried to imitate partially. It will perhaps be unwise to think that Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the master of prose-writer in the domain of Sanskrit literature and famous for his rhetoric language, would borrow these from an ordinary Purāṇa-writer of common intelligence. If 75-100 years time be given for Bāṇa's writings to become very much popular and widely recognised, the first part (which is evidently the earliest) of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the eighth century A. D., as we all know Bāṇabhaṭṭa flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thus we find that Prof. Belvalkar's opinion cannot be accepted for Bhavabhūti becomes anterior to the writer of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa at least by 50-100 years. Moreover there are frequent references to Tulasī-plant which has been glorified to a great extent³. This tends to assign a much later date to this part. It should be mentioned in this connection that a large number of verses have been quoted from the *Padma-p.* by different Smṛiti-writers, some of them have mentioned the name of the Pātālakhaṇḍa,

1. Idid. pp. 89-90.

2. Idid. pp. 125-127.

3. *tulasī mastake yasya silā hṛidi manoharā]
mukhe Karṇe' thavā rāma-nāma muktastadaiva saḥ||
tasmādanena tulasī mastake vidhritā purā|
śrāvitaṁ rāmanāmāsu silā hṛidi sudhāritā || Pātāla-khaṇḍa
20.81-82*

*tulasī vallabhā yasya kadāchchidyachchirodharām|
na muñchati ramānātha-pāda-padma sraguttamā|| Ibib. 32,6*

but, except those quoted by *Gopālabhaṭṭa*² none of these verses can be found in this *Pātāla-khaṇḍa*. But from this it will be unwise to jump to a conclusion that this portion was written not before those *Smṛiti*-works, for that will be *argumentum ex silentio*. It is more probable that the *Smṛiti*-writers, finding the first half of this *Khaṇḍa* not helpful for their purposes had not quoted from it. Really this portion did not possess any chapters which might be helpful to *Smṛiti*-writers³. *Gopālabhaṭṭa* in his *Haribhaktivilāsa* has quoted some verses of the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* (chs. 84-94, 96). This portion, as has already been said, was not in its origin an integral part of the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* but as we have shown above, came to be included in the latter during its third recast by the *Bhāgavata Vaishṇavas*. If about 200 years' time be given for its gaining so much popularity and reputation that it could be quoted as authority by such renowned an author as *Gopālabhaṭṭa* then it must be admitted that the third recast has been made near about 1200 A.D. So by process of subtraction the time of composition of the first part of the *Rāmaites* comes near 800 A. D. This analysis corroborates our earlier one and it can now be averred that the earliest portion of the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* which constituted the nucleus of it and was an original contribution of the *Rāmaites*, was composed between 750-850 A. D. This early date can be supported by the fact of its inclusion in the Bengal manuscripts also. So, it cannot be recognised as spurious or superfluous.

The fixing of the date of the second part is much easier. We have shown its spuriousness and its total non-occurrence in the manuscripts of Bengal. This tends to show a much later date. It is also observable that it betrays the knowledge of the *Kūrma-p.* It says that one who listens to the identity

1. See *Viramītrodaya* (Chowkhamba ed), *Pūjāprakāśa*, p. 504 and *Vidhānpārijāta*, (Bibliotheca Indica) Vol. II, 520.

2. All the verses quoted by *Gopālabhaṭṭa* in his *Haribhaktivilāsa* have been traced by Dr. R. C. Hazra. See Hazra *Purāṇic Records*, pp. 303-7

3. References to *Smṛiti*-matters are not wanting, but these are few and far between,

of the two gods as delineated in the *Kūrma-p* is purged of all sins.¹ It has further been said that only a hearing of the *Kūrma-p*. rescues even those who kill the Brahmins or are addicted to drinking or unite themselves with the wives of their preceptors.² This proves that the compiler of this part did not only know the *Kūrma-p*. by its name only but was thoroughly conversant with the subject matter of it. The date of that purāṇa falls between 550-800 A.D.³ Thus allowing 150-200 years time for its coming to limelight, the second portion can be dated c. 950 A.D. This also is in accordance with the date of the first part (750/850 + 200 = 950/1050 A. D.)

That the third part has been added later has been shown above. We have also seen how it depicts a picture of a developed Rādhā-cult. Moreover this abounds in references to Tulasī⁴. Traces of Tantricism are also vividly observable.⁵ Āgama has been admitted as an authority⁶. Tāntric mudrās, have been referred to more than once.⁷ Maṇḍala and Yantra have been regarded as the medium of worship.⁸ All these tend to assign a much later date to this part. We have also observed that only some portions of it (upto ch. 80) occur in the Bengal manuscripts. Giving vent to the earlier process we can fix its date as between 1150 to 1200 A. D. It cannot be much later as Gopālabhaṭṭa in 1400 A. D. quotes verses from this portion.

1. *Kaurmuktam yat purāṇam taddevayorabhidābhidam |
sṛjnoti yatat prathamam tasya pāpam vinasīyati ||*
Pātāla-khaṇḍa 110. 487.

2. *Brahmahā madhyapaḥ stenas-tathaiva gurutaḥpagaḥ |
Kaurmam Purāṇam sruvaiva muchyate pātakātataḥ ||*

Ibid. 102. 42

3. Hazra, *Purāṇic Recorās*, pp. 65, 71

4. See, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 72.146, 73.38, 79.32, 56, 58, 60, 63-66; 80.58; 94.4-7, 9, 10 etc.

5. See, Ibid., 74. 152b; 80. 1, 3, 4, 8, 21, etc.

6. See, Ibid., 84. 84a; 93.23b, 26a; 100.40a, 45a; 109. 15b; 110. 224b etc.

7. See, Ibid., 72. 27, 74.39, 81.33-34.

8. See, Ibid., 79.1. etc.

Thus to be precise we can say, that the first part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa consisting of the first sixty-eight chapters, dates between 750-850 A. D. The second, which consists of fourteen chapters from ch. 100 to 113 (i.e. to the end) dates between 950-1000 A. D., and the third part from ch. 69-99 dates between 1150 to 1200 A. D.

There is another source from which we can prove that the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in its present form cannot be dated later than 1200 A. D. It is the *Nāradya-p.* This purāṇa while going to give a summary of the *Padma-p.* narrates the contents of this Pātāla-khaṇḍa in its present form and we know that the *Nāradya-p.* cannot be later than 1400 A. D.

We should now focuss our attention on the provenance of this khaṇḍa. No definite information can be given about the provenance of the first and the third part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa, but some observations may be made in connection with the provenance of the second part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* and this we believe will not be a very difficult task.

In this part, a vivid description of the beautiful physique of the ladies of Videha has been given in connection with the gorgeous marriage ceremony of Rāma and his brothers. From their custom of putting on the clothes, it can be suggested that the author although going to describe the womenfolk of Videha (modern North Bihar) is delineating unconsciously the mode of putting on the clothes of the womenfolk of his own country i. e. Western India, Mahārāshṭra or Rājputānā in particular. It is necessary to quote the requisite text to understand its full implication.

“.....dakṣiṇāṅguśṭhasparśi-kachchhāgrā uparikachchham
nīvim kṛtvā karadvayayutā vastrapradeśakanṭham-
aprāvṛityāpaavasaṇa-pariḥhāgā vṛitta-stana-vasaanāpara-
bhāge vāmāṃsa eva dakṣiṇapārśvāgatena daśābhāgena
nābhīprāntena praveśinopāśobhita-gātrayashtayo yoshito
vivāha-maṅgala karma-karaṇyānekaśa āgachchan.”¹

and

1. Ibid, 112-51.

श्रीमद्भागवतस्य वैशिष्ट्यम्

नरेन्द्रनाथशर्मा चौधुरी, दिल्ली-विश्वविद्यालयः

[In this article the learned author draws attention to the peculiar literary qualities of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and also its insistence upon the ten-fold constituents of a Purāṇa (पुराणं दशलक्षणम्). Besides other points the similarity between the language of the Vedas and that of the Bhāgavata comes in for special observation.]

श्रीमद्भागवतं पुराणेषु निम्नलिखितं स्थानमधिकरोति । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य कर्तृत्वविचारः कालनिर्णयो वा न मे निबन्धस्य विषयः । ऐतिहासिका एव तत्र प्रमाणम् । केवलमस्य ग्रन्थस्य वैशिष्ट्येषु किञ्चिन्मात्रमधिकृत्य द्वित्राः शब्दाः कथयिष्यन्ते ।

(क) भागवतस्य प्रथमं वैशिष्ट्यं तु दशलक्षणत्वरूपम् । तथा हि—पुराणेषु 'सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च, दैत्यनुचरिणश्च' इति पञ्चविषया वर्णयितव्या वर्तन्ते । परन्तु भागवतं न केवलं पञ्चलक्षणम्, अपि तु दशलक्षणं विद्यते । तथा चोक्तं भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे—

‘तस्मा इदं भागवतं पुराणं दशलक्षणम् ॥ २, ९, ४३

अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमृतयः ।

मन्वन्तरेणानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥’ २, १०, १

अत्र परमाश्रयस्य परब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः सम्यग्ज्ञानाय सर्गप्रतिसर्गादीनां नवानां वर्णनं वर्तते, न तु तदेव मुख्यम् । उक्तं च प्रथमस्कन्धे—

‘इदं भागवतं नाम पुराणं ब्रह्मसम्मितम्’ ॥ १, ३, ४०

भागवतमधिकृत्य गुरुपरम्परातः श्रूयते यदयं ग्रन्थः श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताया भाष्यभूतश्चकास्ति । गीतायां विचारितस्य सिद्धान्तितस्य च विषयजातस्य उदाहरण-प्रत्युदाहरणादिना विशदीकरणं सुस्थापनं च भागवते विहितम् ।

(ख) अथ भागवतस्य अन्यत् किञ्चिद् वैशिष्ट्यमनुग्राह्यं प्रदर्श्यते । भागवते खलु ब्राह्मण-क्षत्र-वैश्य-शूद्राणां मन्वादिसमृतिशास्त्रवत् वर्णनं कृतम् । परन्तु भागवते न केवलं जन्मना जातिस्वरूपनिरूपणमपि तु गीतोक्तदिशा गुणैः कर्मभिरपि । इत्थं ब्राह्मणलक्षणानि शूद्रेऽपि स्युस्तर्हि तस्यापि ब्राह्मणत्वमेव, न तु शूद्रत्वमिति भागवतमतं वरीवर्ति ।

तथा चोक्तं सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘यस्य यल्लक्षणं प्रोक्तं पुंसो वर्णाभिव्यञ्जकम् ।

यदन्यत्रापि दृश्येत तत् तेनैव विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ७, ११, ३५

अत एव भगवता श्री चैतन्यदेवेन यवनो ब्रह्मणः सुगन्धर्वः हरिदासोऽपि परमवैष्णवत्वेन परिगृहीतः, प्रसादितश्च ।

(ग) भागवतस्य अपरं वैशिष्ट्यं तावत् भूतेषु देवताबुद्धिः । यद्यपि इदं तत्त्वं खलु ईशोपनिषदि—‘यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि’ति श्रुत्या, गीतायां च ‘सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानमि’त्यादिसमृत्त्या प्रतिपादितं तथापि भागवते सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘तन्मूलत्वादच्युतेज्या नर्दन्नीदमर्त्तन् ॥ ७, १४, ३६

इत्यादिशास्त्रेणापि निर्गन्धिनश्चैव दत्तः । इदमेव तत्त्वं श्रीरामकृष्णसेवा-श्रमेऽपि ‘यत्र यत्र जीवस्तत्र तत्र शिवः’ इति शास्त्रेण रूपायितं दृश्यते ।

(घ) अपि च सर्वप्राणिनां समत्वस्य खलु प्रतिपादनं भागवते कृतम् । तथा हि ‘केवलाधो भवति केवलादो’ इति श्रुत्या ऋग्वेदे (१०, ११७, ६) स्वार्थैकनिष्ठस्य निन्दा कृता । गीतायां च तृतीयाध्याये—

‘यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ।

भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात् ॥ ३, १३

इत्यादिसमृत्त्या न केवलं स्वार्थपराणां निन्दा कृता, अपि तु परार्थपराणां प्रशंसापि भङ्ग्या विहिता । भागवते तु सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘यावद् अभियेत जठरं तावत्स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।

अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ॥’ ७, १४, ८

इति शास्त्रेण केवलादिनो न केवलं निन्दा विहिता, अपि तु तस्य चौरत्वं दण्ड्यत्वं च प्रतिपादितम् ।

(ङ) अथापरं वैशिष्ट्यं भागवतस्य भगवत्प्राप्तेरुपायवर्णनमितिहासादिभिः समर्थनं च । भागवते नवलक्षणा भक्तिर्वर्णिता, सा च—

‘श्रवणं कीर्तनं विष्णोः स्मरणं पादसेवनम् ।

अर्चनं वन्दनं दास्यं सख्यमात्मनिवेदनम् ॥’ ७, ५, २३

अथैतया नवलक्षणया भक्त्या भगवन्प्राप्तिर्भवतीति च प्रतिपादितं तत्र । परन्तु विद्विषः शिशुपालस्य, इन्द्रप्रस्थे राजसूययज्ञे कृष्णेन विहतस्य, तद्देहोत्थितं ज्योतिः कथं वानुदेवमुपाविशन्, कथं वा तस्य भगवत्प्राप्तिर्जातेति प्रश्नस्य सुन्दरं समाधानं भागवते कृतम् । तथाहि—भगवत्प्राप्तये केनाप्युपायेन मनः खलु भगवन्मयं कर्तव्यमस्ति । तदपि भागवतमते वैरानुबन्धेन यथा सुकरं न तथा अन्येन केनाप्युपायेन । उक्तं च भागवते सप्तमस्कन्धे—

‘यथा वैरानुबन्धेन मर्त्यस्तन्मयतामियात् ।

न तथा भक्तियोगेन इति मे निश्चिता मतिः ॥’ ७, १, २६

अस्य मतस्य समर्थनाय एकं लौकिकमुदाहरणमपि दत्तम् । तद्वि

‘कीटः पेशस्कृता रुद्धः कुड्यायां तमनुस्मरन् ।

संरम्भभययोगेन विन्दते तत्स्वरूपताम् ॥’ ७, १, २७॥

एवं कृष्णे भगवति मायामनुज ईश्वरे ।

वैरेण पूतपाप्मानस्तमापुरनुचिन्तया ॥’ ७, १, २८

अथास्मिन्विषये काचित् शङ्का संजायते । तथा हि—यदि भगवन्निन्दया मुक्तिः संभवति, तर्हि वेनस्य कथं न मुक्तिः संजाता, कथं वा स द्विजैस्तमसि पातितः ? अस्य सन्देहस्य उत्तरमेतदेव यत् वेनस्य भगवन्निन्दा न तन्मन्त्रतद्गायन-यत् । अतो न तस्य भगवत्प्राप्तिः संभवत् ।

श्रीमनुमूदनमरुत्यनोपादेन तु भक्तिरसायने भगवद्भावनया द्रुतस्य चित्तस्य भगवद्रूपता एव भक्तिरिति सिद्धान्तितम् । अत एव तन्मते तन्मयता-सम्पादकानां द्वेषादीनामपि भक्तिपदवाच्यतैवास्ति । उक्तं च तेन—

‘द्रुतस्य भगवद्धर्माद् धारावाहिकतां गता ।

सर्वेशे मनसो वृत्तिर्भक्तिरित्यभिधीयते ॥’ १, ३

(च) अथान्यद् वैशिष्ट्यं तु भागवतस्य नानन्दानन्दधर्मान् । अस्य नामोपासनस्य विधानम्—

‘ओन्नित्यङ्गगुद्गीथनुगानिन’ इत्यादि श्रुतौ छान्दोग्योपनिषदि (१, ४, १) दृश्यते । अस्या एव श्रुतेर्भाष्यं गीतानन्दम् --

‘अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।’ ९, २२

‘अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः ।’ ८, १४

‘तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु मामनुस्मर युध्य च ।’ ८, ७

‘सततं कीर्तयन्तो मां यतन्तश्च दृढव्रताः ।

नमस्यन्तश्च मां भक्त्या नित्ययुक्ता उपासते’ ॥ ९, १४

इत्यादिस्मृत्या विहितम् ।

अथ भागवते तु अस्यैव नानन्दगजविधानस्य भाष्यं न केवलं वाक्येन कृतम्, अपि तु उदाहरणोपन्यासेन सुस्थापितम् । तत्तु अजामिलकथया । अयं हि अजामिलो मृत्युकाले उपस्थिते, नारायणनामधेयस्य पुत्रस्य गणेशस्य भक्त्येव वैकुण्ठमवाप । तथा चोक्तं भागवते षष्ठस्कन्धे—

‘दूरे कीडनकासकतं पुत्रं नारायणात्तु ।

प्लावितेन स्वरेणोच्चैराजुहावाकुलेन्द्रियः । ६, १, २९

निशम्य म्रियमाणस्य ब्रुवतो हरिकीर्तनम् ।

भर्तुर्नाम महाराज, पार्षदाः सहसाऽपतन् ॥ ६, १, ३०

एवं च यथा कश्चित् वीर्यवदौषधमजानन्नपि सेवमानो रोगात् मुक्तो भवति तथा अज्ञानादपि विष्णुनामोच्चारणेन जनः पापात् मुच्यते । उक्तं च भागवते षष्ठस्कन्धे—

अज्ञानादथवा ज्ञानादुत्तमश्लोकनाम यत् ।

संकीर्तितमघं पुंसो दहेदेधो यथानलः ॥ ६, २, १८

यथाऽगदं वीर्यतममुपयुक्तं यदृच्छया ।

अज्ञानतोऽप्यात्मगुणं कुर्यान्मन्त्रोऽप्युदाहृतः ॥ ६, २, १९

(छ) अन्यत् प्रकृष्टतमं वैशिष्ट्यं तु भागवतस्य अद्यत्वे अत्रचलितदैर्घ्य-
शब्दप्रयोगः वैदिकव्याकरणमात्रसिद्धषदप्रयोगश्च । तथा हि—

भागवते विष्णुसूक्तस्य पुरुषसूक्तस्य च महान्प्रभावो दृश्यते । एवं च
ऋग्वेदस्य विष्णुसूक्ते (१, १५४, १-६) 'उरुगायाय वृष्णे, त्रेधोरुगायः'
'उरुकमस्य स हि बन्धुरिथा', 'त्रिषु विक्रमणेषु' 'पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि',
इत्यादिप्रयोगाः समवलोक्यन्ते । अत्र उरुशब्दस्य महदर्थे बहुर्थे अत्यधिकार्थे
वा, एवं च विक्रमशब्दस्य पादप्रक्षेपार्थे, रजःशब्दस्य च लोकार्थे प्रयोगो
वर्तते ।

भागवतेऽपि उरुगायशब्दस्य, उरुकमशब्दस्य, विक्रमशब्दस्य लोकार्थरजः-
शब्दस्य च भूयान्प्रयोगो दरीदृश्यते । तथा हि भागवते द्वितीयस्कन्धे—

'विले बतोरुकमविक्रमान् ये
न शृण्वतः कर्णपुटे नरस्य ।
जिह्वाऽसती दार्दुरिकेव सूत
न चोग्गायन्मुखायगायाः ॥' २, ३, २०

अपि च—

'वर्जितान्यपि कविर्विममे रजांसि ॥' २, ७, ४०

एवं च श्रवःशब्दस्य, अदभ्रशब्दस्य, गोपीथशब्दस्य, अपीच्यशब्दस्य च
वेदे बहुशः प्रयोगो लभ्यते ।

तथा हि ऋग्वेदे—

'प्र सोमासो मदच्युतः
श्रवसे नो मघोनः ।' ९, ३२, १
'देवा अदभ्राशवो यमादित्या
अहेतनानेहसो व ऊतयः ।' ८, ४७, ६
'गोपीथाय प्रहूयसे ।' १, १९, १
तदस्यानीकमुत चारु नामापीच्यं
वर्धते नसुरपाम् ।' २, ३५, ११

भागवतेऽपि श्रवोऽदभ्रगोपीथापीच्यशब्दानां भूयान्प्रयोगो दरीदृश्यते ।
कुत्रापि चैषां भिन्नार्थत्वमप्यवलोक्यते ।

तथा हि—

‘अथ तं सुखमासीन उपासीनं बृहच्छ्वाः ।’ १, ५, १

‘पश्यन्त्यदो रूपन्मभ्रचक्षुः ।’ १, ३, ४

‘गुन्निग्निः कोऽयमपीच्यदर्शनः ।’ १०, ४७, २

परन्तु वेदे ‘गोपीथाय’ इत्यस्य ‘सोमपानाय’ इत्यर्थः । अपीच्यं च
अन्तर्हितनाम । भागवते तु गोपीथाय रक्षणाय इत्यर्थः, ... ।

अथ वेदे ‘सुपां सुलुगि’त्यादिना पाणिनेः सूत्रेण सप्तम्या लुग् भवति,
तुमर्थे च ‘सेसेव्’ इत्यादि सूत्रेण कर्तवे, कर्तवै चेत्यादयश्च प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते ।
यथा—

‘यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्’ (ऋग्वेदः १०, १२९, ७) इति,

‘अवासृजत्सर्तवे सप्त सिन्धून्’ (ऋग्वेदः २, १२, १२) इति च ।

तथा भागवतेऽपि

‘सर्वं क्षणेन तदभूदसदीशरिक्तं

भस्मन् हुतं कुहकराद्धमिवोप्तमूप्याम् ।’ १, १५, २१

‘आत्मन् यदृच्छया प्राप्तं विबुभूषुरुपाददे ।’ २, ५, २१

‘सर्वे वियुक्ताः स्वविहारतन्त्रं

न शक्नुमस्तत् प्रतिहर्तवे ते ।’ ३, ५, ४७

अत्र सप्तम्या लुकि भस्मन् आत्मन् इति तुमर्थे च प्रतिहर्तवे इति
च प्रयोगः ।

इत्थं भागवतस्य रचयिता न केवलं महान् भक्तः कविः अपि तु महान्
वैदिक इति निर्विवादमेव । अद्य मया तु भागवतस्य केवलानि इमानि
वैशिष्ट्यान्वधिकृत्य किञ्चित् कथितम् । पुनरप्यस्मिन्विषये स्वाध्यायार्थं महती
समीक्षा वरीवृत्यते, अद्य तु अत्रैव विरम्यते ।

THE DATE OF THE PURĀṆAS

By

SHIVADATTA GYANI

(Continued from Vol I, No. 2)

[प्रतिपाद्यविषयदृष्ट्या पुराणविषयाणां कालक्रमेण चत्वारः स्तराः संभवितुमर्हन्ति १. आख्यान-वंश स्तरः (वैदिक कालादारभ्य महाभारतकालपर्यन्तम्), २. भविष्य-वंशावलीवर्णनस्तरः (महाभारतकालाद् ई० पू० पञ्चशतकपर्यन्तम्) ३. पञ्चलक्षणस्तरः (ई० पू० पञ्चशतकादारभ्य ख्रिस्ताब्दारम्भपर्यन्तम्) ४. साम्प्रदायिको विश्वकोशरूपात्मको वा स्तरः (ख्रिस्ताब्दस्यारम्भात् ख्रिस्तीयसप्तमशतकपर्यन्तम्) । पुराणवाङ्मयस्य एष एव कालविभाग उचित इत्यत्र सयुक्तिं प्रतिपादितः]

A critical survey of the contents of the various Purāṇas throws interesting light on the process of development through which the Purāṇic literature had to pass before it assumed its extant form. The contents of the Purāṇas when analysed may be placed under the following heads :—

(i) Ākhyāna, (ii) genealogical accounts, (iii) cosmogony, (iv) mythology, (v) Varṇāśrama Dharma, (vi) Yuga Dharma, (vii) Śrāddhas and other rituals, (viii) religion and philosophy, (ix) Bhakti-cult-incarnations of Viṣṇu, Tīrtha-Māhātmya, (x) miscellaneous—rhetoric, palmistry, astronomy, etc.

An outer glance at the extant Purāṇas would show that the Purāṇas generally treat of sectarianism, and are, more or less, religious glosses for expounding the cult of Bhakti with reference to a particular deity, generally either Viṣṇu or Śiva with their different epithets. The Purāṇas in which the sectarian matter is found in a predominant degree may belong to a later period and those in which the sectarian matter does not predominate may be regarded as earlier. The earlier Purāṇic scholars like Wilson¹ and others² confined their efforts mostly

1. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Vol. I, Preface, p. V.

2. Col. Vans Vennedy : *Researches into the Nature and affinity of ancient and Hindu mythology*, p. 153.

to the upper surface of sectarian matter and consequently failed to judge the Purāṇic literature in the right historical and chronological setting. This is also responsible to a great extent for their assigning the Purāṇas to a very late date. With a few exceptions sectarianism is the dominant characteristic of most of the Purāṇas, while the Upa-purāṇas are wholly devoted to it. Besides, there are several Māhātmyas, sometimes forming independent works, which are purely sectarian. Hence, it may be inferred that the addition of sectarian matter to the Purāṇic literature represents the last instalment of extraneous matter being introduced into that popular literature, and this may easily be regarded as the last phase of the development of the Purāṇic literature.

With the advent of Mahāyānism on the eve of the Christian era, when the cultural effect of the contact with the Indo-Bactrians, at least in the domain of art, was being felt, the cult of Bhakti was coming into great prominence on the religious horizon of India. The adoption of the Bhakti cult by the Kushāṇas, Śakas, Guptas and the Hūṇas during the first six centuries of the Christian era clearly indicates the great popularity that the cult had attained. And most of the sectarian matter that is found in the extant Purāṇas, may, naturally, have been added during this period. This process may have continued from the first to the seventh century of the Christian era, when a definite reference is made to the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* in Bāṇa's works.¹ The *Vāyu* Purāṇa referred to by Bāṇa may, perhaps, be the earlier recension of the extant *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.

Thus in the light of the facts stated above, it may be

1. *Harshacharita* (edited by Jivanand Vidyasagar, fourth Edition, Calcutta, 1939) p. 238. "गीत्या पवनप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ ।हर्षचरिताद् भिन्नं प्रतिभाति हि मे पुराणमिदम् ॥" *ibid.* p. 240; "सकलपुराणराजर्षिचरिताभिज्ञा" *ibid.* pp. 242, 247.—In these pages references are made to certain important incidents connected with the Ākhyānas of Purāṇas, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Sudyumna, Māndhātā, Purukutsa, Kuvalayāśva, Prithu, Nṛiga, Saudāsa, Samvarama, etc. which occur in some of the extant Purāṇas also.

inferred that the beginning of the Christian era witnessed a great change in the religious life of India, and the cult of Bhakti became the pivot of Hinduism.¹ The worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and several other deities became a prominent feature of the religious life. And this cult of Bhakti could not fail to find its place in the Purāṇic literature, which came to be regarded as a common heritage. The devotees of the various deities began to supplement the Purāṇic literature with the accounts of the glories of their particular deities resulting in the growth of this literature and giving it a sectarian tinge. Thus the period of the Mahāpurāṇas was ushered in, when the old *Pañca-lakṣhaṇa*² definition was found inadequate and replaced by the *Duśa-lakṣhaṇa*³ theory, and the Purāṇas came to be named after a particular deity. This phase of the development of the purāṇic literature constituting its uppermost layer and being predominantly sectarian, may, easily, be termed as the sectarian stage of development of the Purāṇic literature. By this time, several other topics may also have been added on to this literature, thus making it encyclopædic in its form. Hence, this stage of development of the Purāṇic literature during A. D. 100 and A. D. 700 may be called *Sectarian or Encyclopædic*.⁴

Another important layer of the Purāṇic literature, coming next to the uppermost layer of sectarianism, consists of cosmogonical accounts, Manu-periods, philosophical speculation and such other accounts. A thorough examination of the contents of the Purāṇas reveals how Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines in their crude form are described in the earlier Purāṇas. The influence of these doctrines may definitely be traced even to other Purāṇas. Besides, customary law almost amounting to social code, ritualism etc. may be traced to Varṇāśram Dharma, Yuga Dharma, Śrauta Dharma etc. This matter pertaining to

1. Wilson : *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. XI-XIII, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, No. 6 (Sept. 1942) pp. 131-135;

2. *Amarakośa*, I, 6, 5.

3. *Brahmavaivarta*, IV, 133, 6-9, *Bhāgavata*, XII, 7, 9-10.

4. *New Indian Antiquary*. Vol. V, No. 6, (Sept 1942), pp. 131-135.

philosophy and Dharmaśāstra may easily constitute the second important layer coming next to the uppermost. As a result of careful sorting of the Purāṇic contents, the second layer representing philosophic and Dharmaśāstra matter may easily be traced to most of the Purāṇas.

The sixth century B.C. was a period of great philosophical speculation and religious upheaval in northern India.¹ Men's minds were directed towards the ways and means of liberating the soul from its bondage. These philosophic tendencies together with the speculative thought about the creation of the universe and the human beings could easily creep into the Purāṇic literature, thus opening a new page in the history of the development of that literature. This stage of development of the Purāṇic literature may rightly be assigned to a period between the 6th century B.C. and the commencement of the Christian era.² This phase of Purāṇic development marks a new orientation of the conception of Purāṇa, which originally comprised genealogies, Ākhyānas and such other topics. A critical examination of the *Pañcha Lakshana*³ definition would suggest that with the addition of various other topics the original form of the Purāṇa was transformed, hence a definition was necessitated to fix up the connotation of the word. This is how the *Pañcha Lakshana* definition may be accounted for. Thus, it may be remarked that the changes that had crept into the Purāṇic literature were responsible for giving rise to the *Pañcha-Lakshana* definition. Hence, this phase of the development of the Purāṇic literature may conveniently be called *Pañcha Lakshana stage*.⁴

The Third layer in the Purāṇic literature, which marks an important landmark in the development of that literature,

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 150.

2. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, No. 6 (Sept. 1942) pp. 134-135.

3. *Amarakoṣa* I, 6, 5 : “पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्—पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणे..... ॥ पञ्चलक्षणान्यस्य । ‘सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च । भूम्यादेश्चैव संस्थानं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।’ ववचिदिह पाठान्तरम् ॥ द्वे ‘व्यासादिप्रणीतमस्यपुराणादेः ।”

4. *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, No. 6. (Sept. 1942), pp. 134-135,

may be said to be represented by the *Bhavishya* account in the extant Purāṇas. It may be noted in this connection that the Purāṇas in their genealogical accounts resort to the use of the future tense for describing the kings of the post-Bhārata war period. This use of the future tense may be explained on the assumption, as the tradition would have it, that Vyāsa, the author of the Purāṇas, as a *Rishi* could easily, foretell the events of the post-Bhārata war period. But there is some hidden meaning of great historical and cultural import lurking behind the traditional explanation. In the words of Wilsom.¹ "He (i.e. Vyāsa) was the head of a college or school under whom various learned men gave to the sacred literature of the Hindus the form in which it now presents itself." Vyāsa's efforts may best be understood when it is realised that the Bhārat war was a great catastrophe for the Hindus and their culture; those who survived deemed it necessary to preserve all that was best in the past, thus giving a final shape to all the traditional lore, whether Brahmanic or Kshatriya, which had perhaps, already assumed a literary form; henceforth the canon was closed.

The closure of the canon led to the bifurcation of the Purāṇic literature. The traditions about the kingly heroes subsequent to the great war had to be preserved, as the popular taste might have demanded it, but the last word on the Purāṇic literature was already written by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, the Vyāsa. So a device was found out and the Purāṇic compilation began to be supplemented with fresh traditions about post-Bhārata war events described as occurring in future, so that the sanctity of old authorship may not be polluted, on the other hand, it (sanctity) may, even, be enhanced by ascribing prophetic insight to the last compiler, a veritable sage. In course of time this supplementary addition grew in bulk and came to be regarded as an independent compilation by itself. Thus came into existence a *Bhavishyat Purāṇa*, a contradiction in term, to which perhaps a reference is made in the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*.² That the *Bhavishya* account

1. *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, Preface, pp. XVI-XVIII

2. II, 9, 24, 36.

in the Purāṇas begins with the post-Bhārata war period kings lends support to this view and suggests that in the Purāṇic literature post-Bhārata war period was invariably called *Bhaviṣhya* as Pargiter also infers.¹ The *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, according to Bühler, cannot be later than the 3rd cent. B. C. and a century and a half or two earlier.² Thus at least a century or two may have elapsed before the *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* (referred to in the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*) attained the position of Dharmaśāstra. It may be inferred that about the 6th century B.C., the *Bhaviṣhyat purāṇa* had branched off from the original Purāṇa. The process of bifurcation starting after the Bhārata war attained its finality about the 6th century B. C. This phase of development of the Purāṇic literature may dimly be discerned in the extant Purāṇas when they describe in prophetic language the post-Bhārata war period kings. This phase of the Purāṇic development may rightly be termed *Bifurcation Stage* of the development of the Purāṇic literature, which may roughly be assigned to a period between c. B. C. 1000 or 950, the probable date of Bhārata war and c. B. C. 500.³

After going through the three layers of the Purāṇic contents representing different phases of Purāṇic development, the last or the lowest layer is reached which comprises the genealogical accounts of the old kings and the sages and the various Ākhyānas lying interspersed in the various Purāṇas. The Ākhyānas and the genealogical accounts cannot be very old as far as their form is concerned, for the linguistic garb in which they are wrapped is of very late origin. But the matter, that may be discerned behind the comparatively modern linguistic wrapper, is of great consequence; for in it are enshrined the memories of the great heroes and sages of the ancient past. In the light of this, it is easy to assess the historical value of the Ākhyānas occurring in the Purāṇas. They revolve round the kernel of a great

1. *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 53-45.

2. *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. II p. 43.

3. Pargiter discusses the date of the Bhārata war in all its details and fixes B. C. 950 as the probable date of the war. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 179-183.

historical event of the ancient past. So the historicity of the various Purāṇic Ākhyānas about the heroic kings e.g. Purūravas and Uīvaśī, Yayāti, Hariśchandra, Rāma, Jamadagni, Arjuna, Kārtavīrya etc. may well be established. Thus the last layer of the Purāṇic contents comprise the old Akhyānas and the genealogical accounts, and these may well represent the original form of the *Purāṇa* in the literary garb. This stage of Purāṇic development may be called *Ākhyāna-Vamśa Stage*.¹

In the light of the facts stated above, it may be concluded that the Purāṇic literature passed through a long period of development before it assumed its extant multifarious form. The extant Purāṇas are poles apart from their counterparts at the period when the *Pañcha-lakṣaṇa* definition was formulated, or from the *Purāṇa* as it was originally composed. This development of the Purāṇic literature falls under four stages which may be assigned to different chronological epochs as under :—

- I *Ākhyāna-Vamśa stage*— from the early Vedic period to the end of the Bhārata war (circa B.C. 1200 to c. B.C. 950)
- II *Bifurcation Stage*— from c. B.C. 950 to c. B.C. 500
- III *Pañca-Lakṣaṇa Stage*— from c. B.C. 500 to the beginning of the christian era.
- IV *Sectarian or Encyclopaedic Stage*— from the beginning of the Christian era to c. A.D. 700.

This is how the riddle of the Date of the Purāṇas may be solved by explaining the course of development of the Purāṇic literature through four stages as stated above, when the *Purāṇas* being originally one dealing with old tales, anecdotes, genealogical accounts etc. came to be multiplied, and to-day the Purāṇas are eighteen in number, besides the same number or even more of the Upa-Purāṇas and several

1. A glimpse of this stage may be discerned in the memorable Purāṇic verse :—*Vishnu-Purāṇa*, III, 6, 15 : आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पशुद्धिभिः । पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥

Māhātmyas as also other accounts of mythological interest. The four stages of development may be assigned to definite chronological periods representing important epochs in the evolution of ancient Indian culture. A critical analysis of the Purāṇic contents shows how most of the Purāṇas embody matter pertaining to the chronological periods with reference to the four stages of development of the Purāṇic literature.

पुराणचयनम्

महास्थाणुः

[वामनपुराण अ० ४३]

योऽसावात्मनि देहेऽस्मिन् विभुर्नित्यो व्यवस्थितः ॥७९॥

सोऽनादिः स महास्थाणुः पृथक्त्वे परिसूचितः ।

मणिर्यथोपघानेन धत्ते वर्णोज्ज्वलोऽपि वै ॥८०॥

तन्मयो भवते तद्वदात्माऽपि मनसा कृतः ।

मनसो भेदमाश्रित्य कर्मभिश्चोषचीयते ॥८१॥

ततः कर्मवशाद् भुङ्क्ते यद् भोगान् स्वर्गनारकान् ।

तन्मनः शोधयेद् धीमान् ज्ञानयोगमुपक्रमैः ॥८२॥

तस्मिञ्छुद्धे ह्यन्तरात्मा स्वयमेव निराकुलः ।

न शरीरस्य संक्लेशैरपि निर्दहनात्मकः ॥८३॥

शुद्धिमाप्नोति पुरुषः संशुद्धं यस्य नो मनः ॥८४॥

लिङ्गपुराणस्य कालनिर्णयः

वि० वा० परांजपे

[In this article it is shown that the Liṅga-purāṇa contains a large variety of subjects, and seems to have continued to be compiled for several centuries. According to Dr. Hazra and Hara Prasad Shastri, the date of the compilation of the Liṅga Purāṇa may fall between the seventh and the tenth centuries A. D. Alberuni has also referred to this Purāṇa, so it must have been compiled before the 11th century. In the Liṅga Purāṇa there is the mention of Nakulīśa as an Avatāra, and the Vāyu Purāṇa also mentions him as an Avatāta. In the 9th chapter of the first part of the Liṅga Purāṇa, there are many references to Yogic practices, which sometimes agree word by word with those given in the Vyāsa Bhāṣhya of the Yoga Sūtras. Vyāsa flourished in the sixth century A. D. So the seventh century A. D. may be fixed as the earliest date of the extant Liṅga Purāṇa.]

संस्कृतग्रन्थानां कालनिर्णयः खलु जटिला समस्या । यतो हि विरला एव एतादृशाः संस्कृतग्रन्थकर्तारः ये स्वीयेषु ग्रन्थेषु स्वकीयमिति वृत्तं ग्रन्थरचनाकालं वा निर्दिशन्ति । एककविकृतीनां काव्यनाटकादीनामपि कालनिर्णये अत्यन्तं कठिन्यमनुभवन्ति विद्वांसः । तत्र किमु वक्तव्यं सूतादिभिः वंशपरम्परया विरचितानां शतकानुशतकं पौराणिकैरपि परिवर्धितानां सर्वविषयसंग्राहकाणां पुराणानां विषये ।

साधारणं पुराणलक्षणमिति प्रायः उल्लिखन्ति पद्यमिदम् ।

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

इदानीमुपलभ्यमानेषु पुराणेषु दशांशोऽपि उन्निर्दिष्टः । व्याप्तो न स्यात् । विचारणीयतया स्वीकृतस्य लिङ्गपुराणस्य विषयविभागमेव नष्टेऽङ्गगार्थं उन्निर्दिष्टः ।

लिङ्गपुराणे वर्तन्ते पूर्वार्धे अष्टोत्तराश्विः । तत्र षोडशसु अध्यायेषु वर्तन्ते पुराणस्य पञ्चलक्षणान्तर्भूतानां सृष्ट्यादीनां प्रतिपादनम् । उत्तरार्धे सन्ति पञ्चचत्वारिंशदध्यायाः येषु सर्गादीनां अंशतोऽपि संबन्धो नास्ति ।

यदि निक्षिपामो वयमापाततः पुराणेऽस्मिन् वर्णितेषु विविधेषु विषयेषु दृष्टि आश्चर्यभूता एव भवामः । पुराणेऽस्मिन् वर्तते जीवच्छाद्धविधिः । सन्ति च विस्तरेण वर्णितानि लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठादीनि । अस्ति च लिङ्गपूजा वैदिकी पूर्वार्धे तान्त्रिकी चोत्तरार्धे । भस्मोद्धूलनविधिः, स्नानविधिः, शिवप्रासाद-निर्माणविधिः, इत्यादीनां विधीनामपि प्रपञ्चः पुराणेऽस्मिन् कृतः । विद्यते चात्र शिवसहस्रनामद्वयम् । दशाधिकानि च सन्ति लघुस्तोत्राणि । वर्णिता च विविधानि व्रतान्यत्र । सन्ति च नैकानि महादानानि साङ्गान्युपवर्णितानि । यदि उपरि-निर्दिष्टविषयाणां नामान्यवलोक्यतः कस्यचन भ्रमः स्यात् किमिदं लिङ्गपुराणं धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थो वा आचारग्रन्थो वा इति नैतदाश्चर्यकरं स्यात् ।

इतोऽपि विविधान् विषयानत्रपुराणे उपलभामहे । वर्ततेऽत्र योगशास्त्र-प्रक्रिया । अस्ति च कापिलं सांख्यज्ञानम् । वर्तन्ते च नैकाः कथाः शिवदत्तप्रतिपादिकाः । सन्ति च वाराणस्यादिक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यानि । वर्तन्ते च शिवावतारवर्णनादीनि । तत्रापि च पश्चिमभारतभागप्रसिद्धस्य नकुलीशस्य अवताररूपेण वर्णनं विशेषतः उल्लेखनीयं भवति ।

द्विपञ्चमेतेषां आपाततः क्रियमाणेऽपि पर्यालोचने स्पष्टमिदं ज्ञायते यत् नैव खलु लिखितं स्याद् एतत् पुराणं केनचन एकेन ग्रन्थकृता । किन्तु तन्निर्मातृकानि यावत् पुराणस्यास्य संग्रथनं अनुवृत्तमासीद् इति अवश्यं स्वीकर्तव्यमेव । पूर्वार्धे वैदिकः पूजाविधिः एव केवलमुपदिष्टः । गच्छता कालेन यदा तान्त्रिकविधिवर्चस्वं भारते नुम्भिर्गन्तुं तदा पुराणेऽस्मिन् केनापि सूतपरम्पराप्राप्तेन पौराणिकेन वा केनापि तत्कालोपयोगित्वेनावश्यकः

तन्निष्कृज्जिह्वि लिङ्गस्य उपनिबद्धः निवेशितश्चोत्तरार्धे इति अवश्य-
मङ्गीकरणीयम् । एतावता बहुकालपर्यन्तं पुराणस्यास्य रचना अनुवृत्ता आसीद्
इति सिद्धमेव ।

पुराणस्यास्य कालनिर्णयविषये प्राध्यापक Hazra महोदयेन विमर्शः
कृतः । नन्दप्रभुः एतादृशः—‘पुराणेऽस्मिन् वर्तते उल्लेखः नक्षत्राणां नक्षिणी-
प्रभृतीनां, ग्रहाणां सूर्यादीनां, अवताराणां बुद्धकल्क्यन्तानां, राशीनां च मेषादीनां ।
अत एव च एतावत् निश्चयेन वक्तुं शक्नुमो यत् ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य सप्तमशतकात्
पूर्वं नास्य लिङ्गपुराणस्य रचना आसीदिति । तथैव च भारतस्य विविधेषु
ग्रन्थेषु समुत्पन्नाः नैके धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धकाराः यान् यान् श्लोकान् लिङ्गपुराणस्य
समुद्धरन्ति तान् श्लोकान् अधिगच्छामो वयं मुद्रिते लिङ्गपुराणे । एतावता
ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य दशमशतकसमये लिङ्गपुराणस्य रचना तावत् परिपूर्णा अवश्य-
मेवासीत् इति ।’

तथैव च हरप्रसादशास्त्रिभिः पुराणहस्तलिखितसूचीग्रन्थस्य प्रस्तावनायां गपि
विमर्शः कृतः लिङ्गपुराणस्य कालनिर्णये । तेषामाशयस्तु इत्थम्—‘Al Beruni
महोदयेन ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य १०३० तमे वर्षे लिङ्गपुराणस्योल्लेखः कृतः । नारद-
पुराणे च यद् वर्णनं लिङ्गपुराणस्य तत् प्रचलितेन मुद्रितेन लिङ्गपुराणेन
संगच्छते । नारदपुराणं च ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य नवमशताब्द्यां लिखितम् । तेन च
ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य नवमशतकान् प्राचीनं लिङ्गपुराणमिति अवश्यं स्वीकर्तव्यं ।
नकुलीशस्य अवतारत्वेन वर्णनं लिङ्गपुराणे उपलभ्यते । नकुलीशावतारः वायु-
पुराणेऽपि उल्लिखितो भवति । वायुपुराणस्य च कालः सप्तमशताब्दी । एवं च
लिङ्गपुराणं ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य सप्तमे अष्टमे वा शतके उपनिबद्धं स्यादिति ।

पूर्वार्धे नवमाध्याये योगप्रक्रिया उपवर्णिता । प्रसङ्गेन च तेन
योगान्तरायलक्षणानि विमूर्तिलक्षणानि च सन्ति उपनिबद्धानि । पातञ्जलयोगसूत्रे
समाधिषादे त्रिंशत्तमेन सूत्रेण ‘व्याधिस्त्यानसंशयप्रमादालस्याविरतिभ्रान्तिदर्शना-
लभ्यन्ति चित्तविक्षेपाः तेऽन्तरायाः’ पा०यो०सू० (१-३०)
इति योगान्तरायाः कथिता । ‘दुःखदौर्मनस्याङ्गमेजयत्त्वशान्प्रश्वासा विक्षेपसहभुवः’
(पा०यो०सू० ३-३१) इत्यनेन सूत्रेण योगान्तरायसहकारिणां दुःखदौर्मनस्या-

दीनां विमर्शः कृतः । 'ततः प्रतिश्चाद्यगन्तव्येनानन्दनिन्दानन्दानां जायन्ते' (पा०यो०सू० ३-३६) इत्यत्र च विभूतयः प्रदर्शिताः । तथैव योगसूत्रस्य व्यासविरचिते भाष्ये एतेषां योगान्तराणां विभूतीनां च लक्षणानि उपनिबद्धानि । लिङ्गपुराण-गतानि व्यासभाष्यगतानि च लक्षणानि सम्पूर्णतया एकरूपाणि सन्ति इति मामकीनः अभिप्रायः । वाचकानां सौकर्याय वामतो लिङ्गपुराणगतानि दक्षिणतश्च व्यासभाष्यगतानि लक्षणानि निर्दिष्टानि सन्ति ।

लिङ्गपुराणे

व्यासभाष्ये*

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| १. व्याधिः—व्याधयो धातुवैषम्यात् कर्मजा दोषजास्तथा ।
(पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ४) | १. व्याधिर्धातुकरणरसवैषम्यम् ।
(पृ. ३४ पं. ७) |
| २. संशयः—इदं वेत्युभयसृक्तं विज्ञानं स्थानसंशयः ।
(पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ५) | २. संशय उभयकोटिस्पृग्विज्ञानं स्या-
दिदमेवं नैवं स्यादिति ।
(पृ. ३४ पं. ८-९) |
| ३. प्रमादः—प्रमादस्तु समाधेस्तु साधना-
नाम भावनम् ।
(पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ५) | ३. प्रमादः रुन्धनिभवनानामभवनम् ।
(पृ. ३४ पं. ९-१०) |
| ४. आलस्यं—आलस्यं चाप्रवृत्तिश्चगुरु-
त्वात् कार्यचित्तयोः ।
(पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ३) | ४. आलस्यं कायस्य चित्तस्य च
गुरुत्वादप्रवृत्तिः ।
(पृ. ३४ पं. १०-११) |
| ५. भ्रान्तिदर्शनं—विपर्ययज्ञानमिति
भ्रान्तिदर्शनमुच्यते ।
(पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ७) | ५. भ्रान्तिदर्शनं विपर्ययज्ञानम् ।
(पृ. ३४ पं. १२) |
| ६. अनवस्थितत्वं :—अनवस्थितचित्तत्वं
अप्रतिष्ठा हि योगिनः । लब्धाया-
मपि भूमौ च चित्तस्य भवबन्धनात् ।
(पू. अ. ९ श्लो. ५-६) | ६. अनवस्थितचित्तत्वं लब्धायां भूमौ
चित्तस्याप्रतिष्ठा ।
(पृ. ३४ पं. १३-१४) |

* Reference to pages according to the edition of Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.

७. दुःखं—दुःखमाध्यात्मिकं प्रोक्तं
तथा चैवादिभौतिकम् । आधि-
दैविकमित्युक्तं त्रिविधः सहजः
पुनः ॥

(पृ. अ. ९ श्लो. ८-९)

८. दौर्मनस्यं—इच्छाविधातात् संक्षोभः
चेतसः तदुदाहृतं दौर्मनस्यम् ।

(पृ. अ. ९ श्लो. ९)

९. प्राणिनां—संक्षोभे व्यवहृतेऽतीने
विप्रकृष्टे त्वनागते । सर्वत्र
सर्वदा ज्ञानं प्रतिभानुक्रमेणतु ॥

(पृ. अ. ९ श्लो. १०-१८)

१०. वेदना—वेदनादिव्यस्पर्शाधिगनः
ना तूपपादिता ।

(पृ. अ. ९ श्लो. १९)

११. दर्शना—दर्शना दिव्यरूपाणां दर्शनं-
चाप्रयत्नतः ।

(पृ. अ. ९ श्लो. २०)

१२. आस्वादः—दिव्यरसे तस्मिन् आ-
स्वादो ह्यप्रयत्नतः ।

(पृ. अ. ९ श्लो. २०)

१३. वार्ता—वार्ता च दिव्यगन्धानां
तन्मात्रबुद्धिर्नविदा ।

(पृ. अ. ९ श्लो. २१)

७. दुःखमाध्यात्मिकं—प्रोक्तं
दैविकं च ।

(पृ. ३५ पं. ३)

८. दौर्मनस्यं—संक्षोभः
क्षोभः ।

(पृ. ३५ पं. ४-५)

९. प्रातिभात् सूक्ष्मव्यवहितविप्रकृष्टा-
तीतानागतज्ञानम् ।

(पृ. १५६ पं. ३)

१०. वेदनादिव्यस्पर्शाधिगनः ।

(पृ. १५६ पं. ४)

११. आदर्शाद् दिव्यरूपसंपत् ।

(पृ. १५६ पं. ४-५)

१२. आस्वादादिव्यरससंवित् ।

(पृ. १५६ पं. ५)

१३. वार्तातो दिव्यगन्धविज्ञानम् ।

(पृ. १५६ पं. ५-६)

यदि वाचकाः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया पश्येयुः उपर्युल्लिखितानि ग्रन्थद्वयान्तर्गतानि
लक्षणानि तत्रत्यं सादृश्यं स्फुटीभवत्येव सहजतः । ततश्च एवं वक्तुं शक्यं
केनापि एकेन अपरस्मात् ग्रन्थात् उद्धृताः सन्ति एते अंशाः इति ।

इतः परं एतदेव विमर्शनीयं कः खलु प्रणेता लक्षणानामेतेषां भवेत्

कश्चोद्धर्ता ग्रन्थान्तरादिति । मम तु अयमभिप्रायः यत् व्यासो भाष्यकार एव प्रणेता । लिङ्गपुराणकारश्च उद्धृतवान् तस्मादिति । यतो हि विविधानां पदार्थानां लक्षणनिरूपणे बद्धकटिः व्यासो भाष्यकारः कानिचन लक्षणानि उद्धरेद् इति नैव संभवति । यदि वा उद्धरेत् पद्यमयान्येव स्थापयेत् । गद्ये विपरिणामं नैव कुर्यात् । लिङ्गपुराणात् स्वीकारे च व्यासो भाष्यकृत् स्वयमेव तत्र तादृशं उल्लेखं अवश्यं कुर्यात् लिङ्गपुराणात् स्वीकृतोऽयमंश इति ।

लिङ्गपुराणस्य तु सर्वसंग्राहकत्वं सुस्पष्टमेव । सन्त्यत्र बहवोऽंशाः ग्रन्थान्तरादुद्धृताः । सन्ति श्लोका मनुस्मृतेः । वर्तन्ते गीताश्लोकाः । विद्यन्ते उपनिषदंशाः । सन्ति च वंशानुवर्णनादीनि वायुपुराणादुपनिबद्धानि । एतावता ग्रन्थान्तरादुद्धरणं न अपरिचितं किन्तु साहजिकं स्वाभाविकं च लिङ्गपुराणकर्तुः । एवं च व्यासभाष्यगतानि गद्यलक्षणानि विभूतिनां च पद्यमयानि कृत्वा लिङ्गपुराणे उपनिबद्धानि इत्यत्र संदेह एव नास्ति ।

एतावता लिङ्गपुराणं व्यासभाष्योत्तरकालिकं इत्यत्र संदेहलेशोऽपि नास्ति । व्यासप्रणीते योगभाष्ये टीकां प्रणिनाय भगवान् वाचस्पतिमिश्रः । विविधशास्त्रेषु टीकाः प्रणयन् वाचस्पतिमिश्रश्च ख्रिस्ताब्दस्याष्टमे शतके समभूत् । तेन च व्यासो भाष्यकारः ततः प्राचीनः इति निश्चितं । अन्यैश्च बहुभिः प्रमाणैः योगभाष्यकर्तुः व्यासस्य कालः ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य षष्ठं शतकं इति विद्वदङ्गीकृतोऽयं विषयः । तेन च लिङ्गपुराणस्य नवमोऽध्यायः सप्तमे शतके प्रणीतः स्यात् इति निर्धारयितुं शक्यते । ततश्च लिङ्गपुराणस्य Dr. Hazra महोदयेन हरप्रसादशास्त्रिभिश्च यः निर्धारितः कालः स समुचित एवेति वक्तुं शक्यम् ।

GLORIFICATION OF MARRIED LIFE

[भार्यामहिमा]

भर्तव्या रक्षितव्या च भार्या हि पतिना सदा ।
धर्मार्थकामसंसिद्धयै भार्या भर्तृसहायिनी ॥६८॥
यदा भार्या च भर्ता च परस्परवशानुगौ ।
तदा धर्मार्थकामानां त्रयाणामपि सङ्गतम् ॥६९॥
कथं भार्यामृते धर्ममर्थं वा पुरुषः प्रभो ।
प्राप्नोति काममथवा तस्यां त्रिभुवनादितम् ॥७०॥
तथैव भर्तारमृते भार्या धर्मादिसाधने ।
न समर्था त्रिवर्गोऽयं दाम्पत्यं समुपाश्रितः ॥७१॥
देवतापितृभृत्यानामतिथीनाञ्च पूजनम् ।
न पुंभिः शक्यते कर्तुमृते भार्या नृपात्मज ॥७२॥
प्राप्तोऽपि चार्थो मनुजैरानीतोऽपि निजं गृहम् ।
क्षयमेति विना भार्या कुभार्यासंश्रयेऽपि वा ॥७३॥
कामस्तु तस्य नैवास्ति प्रत्यक्षेणोपलक्ष्यते ।
दम्पत्योः सहधर्मेण त्रयीधर्ममवाप्नुयात् ॥७४॥
पितृन् पुत्रैस्तथैवान्नसाधनैरतिथीन् नरः ।
पूजाभिरमरांस्तद्वत् साध्वी भार्या नरोऽवति ॥७५॥
स्त्रियाश्चापि विना भर्ता धर्मकामार्थसन्ततिः ।
नैव तस्मात् त्रिवर्गोऽयं दाम्पत्यमधिगच्छति ॥७६॥

(Māikāṇḍeya, ch. 21)

68. Verily a husband must ever cherish and protect his wife. A wife is her husband's help-mate unto the complete attainment of religious life, wealth and love (*Dharma, Artha, Kāma*),

69. When both husband and wife are subject to mutual control, then all the three, viz. moral life, wealth and love combine.

70. How without a wife, does a man attain to moral life, or wealth, or love, my lord ?

In her the triad of *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma* is established.

71. So also without a husband a wife is powerless to fulfil *Dharma* and the other duties.

This threefold group (*Trivarga*) is established in wedded life (*Dāmpatya*).

72. Men cannot perform the worship of the gods, ancestors, dependents and of guests, without a wife, O prince.

73. And riches, although acquired by men, although brought to their own home, waste away without a wife, or even where a worthless wife dwells.

74. There is indeed no love for him *without a wife*,— this is clearly evident. By the wedded pair treading together the path of duty (*Dharma*), men may attain to the ideal of *Trivarga* or the Triple Aims of life.

75. A man satisfies his ancestors by procreating children, and guests with preparations of food ; likewise the immortal gods with religious observances : therefore should a man protect his virtuous wife.

76. Moreover, for a woman there is no separate religion, love, wealth or offspring without a husband.

Hence the triple group of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* rests upon the wedded life of the home.

विष्णु-स्तोत्र-सूची

विष्णुस्तोत्राणि विष्णुवतारस्तोत्राणि चॐ

रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य

[A number of stotras of Vishṇu and His Avatāras are found in the Purāṇas, A list of these is given here. The Deity of a stotra is also indicated. Stotras in the form of शतनाम, सहस्रनाम are not included in this list.]

१. ब्रह्मपुराण (मोरसंस्करण)

५६०-६७	विष्णु	१७८१२९-१७७	विष्णु
४९११-५९	"	१८०११-१२	"
५११०-१६	"	[नमस्कारात्मकं स्तोत्रम्]	
५५११-३५	"		
५९३४-७२	"	१८१२१-२५	विष्णु
६५४९-५१	कृष्ण	१८५३९-४२	कृष्ण
७१७-१२	विष्णु	१८५४४-४९	"
१०९४१-४२	"	१९२४८-५८	"
१२२१२९-४३	"	१९३८०-९०	"
१२२१६८-७३	"	१९६१२५-४५	"
१२६१२४-२७	"		
१७८११५-११८	विष्णु	२०३६-१९	विष्णु
[ब्रह्मपारनामकं स्तोत्रम्]		२१९३१-३५	"

२ विष्णुपुराण (जीवानन्दसंस्करण)

११११-२	विष्णु	११२११-७	विष्णु
[नमस्कारात्मकम्]		[प्रणामात्मकम्]	

ॐ शतनाम सहस्रनामादीन्यपि क्वचित् स्तोत्रपदेनाभिधीयन्ते । एतेषां संकलनं नेह कृतम् ।
मन्त्ररूपाणां स्तुतीनां संकलनमपि चेह न कृतम् । अवतारनामनिर्णयो न सर्वत्र
सुसङ्गः ।

११४१२-२४	वराह	३११७११-३४	”
११४१३१-४४	यज्ञवराह	५११३४-५०	”
११९३९-६४	विष्णु	५११५४-५८	”
११९६८-७४	”	५१३१०-१३	कृष्ण
११२१५३-७५	”		[स्तोत्रवत्]
१११४२३-४३	”	५१७१४७-५६	कृष्ण
११५१५५-५८	”	५११८१८-५८	”
	[ब्रह्मपारस्तवः]	५१२०१८१-९१	”
११९१६४-८६	विष्णु	५१३०६-२३	विष्णु
११२०१९-१३	”		

३. नारदीयपुराण (वैकटेश्वर संस्करण)

११११-२	विष्णु	११६१५४-६१	विष्णु
	[वन्दनात्मकम्]	११९१२२-३८	”
११२१९-११	विष्णु	१३८१३-३८	”
	[नामात्मकम्]	१६२१५०-६५	”
११२१२१-५५	विष्णु	२१२९३९-४९	”
११४१५५-६३	”	२३२१२४-४२	”
११४१८२-८७	”	२५३११०-६८	”
११५३६-४४	”	२५४१८२-८७	”
१११११९-३९	”	२५५१४४-४८	कृष्ण
११११७२-८१	वामन	२६११२-२३	राम-कृष्ण-सुभद्रा
११११८४-४८	”		[पूजान्तर्गतम्]

४. मार्कण्डेय पुराण (जीवानन्दसंस्करण)

१११-२ विष्णु

४३६-३९ विष्णु

[मङ्गलाचरणात्मकम्]

५. लिङ्गपुराण (जीवानन्दसंस्करण)

१।३६।४-१८ (विष्णु)	१।९४।११-१८ वराह
१।४२।३३-३४ ,,	२।५।३३-३७ विष्णु

६. गरुडपुराण [जीवानन्दसंस्करण]

१।१।१ विष्णु	१।२२३।१२-१७ नरसिंह
[वन्दनात्मकं स्तोत्रम्]	२।१।२ विष्णु
१।३१।२३-२७ विष्णु	

[मङ्गलाचरणात्मकम्]

७. वामनपुराण (वैकटेश्वर संस्करण)

३।१४-२३	विष्णु	८६।६७-११० सारस्वत स्तोत्रम्
८।४८-५५	„	८७।१-४७ विष्णु
२६।१ गद्य	„	[नागप्रगन्तस्त्वेत्रम्]
२७।१७-३६	„	८८।२-२७ „
३०।१८-३१	वामन	८९।३६-४१ वामन
८५।३२-६०	विष्णु	९३।९ गद्य विष्णु
[गजेन्द्र मोक्षणस्तवः]		९४।१२-१८ „

८. कूर्मपुराण (वैकटेश्वर संस्करण)

१।१।६९-७९	विष्णु	१।१७।१९-२३ विष्णु
१।६।११-२९	वराह	२।४६।५४-६७ „

९. वाराहपुराण (वैकटेश्वर संस्करण)

१।२०-२८	विष्णु	८।४३-४९ „
३।११-२०	ब्रह्मपारस्तवः	५५।३३-४३ „
५।४९-५७	विष्णु	११।११-२१ „
७।३१-४०	„	१२।५-१४ „

१५।९-२०	„	[मङ्गलाचरणात्मक]
३६।१२-२२	„	११३।३७-६४ विष्णु
७३।१८-३८	„	१४४।४४-५५ „
११३।२-३	वराह	१३६।१४-१५ वराह
		१६९।२३-२४ कृष्ण

१०. ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणम् (जीवा० सं०)

[अस्मिन् पुराणे विष्णुस्तोत्रः बाहुल्येन कृष्णपरा एवेति ज्ञेयम्]

१।३।१०-१३	कृष्ण	४।१९।१७१-१७६ „
१।३।२४-२९	„	४।२०।३७-५२ „
१।३।३५-४०	„	४।२१।१७६-१९६ „
१।३।४५-५२	„	४।२१।२०७-२२२ „
१।३।६०-६४	„	४।२२।३७-५७ „
१।३।६८	„	४।२५।२०-१०३ विष्णु
१।३।७७-८४	„	४।२५।१२५-१३८ „
१।४।४	„	४।२६।८२-९२ कृष्ण
१।१८।९-३५	„	४।२७।१००-१०८ विष्णु

[स्तवराजस्तोत्र]

३।७।१०९-१२७	कृष्ण	४।२९।४०-५१ „
३।३।२७-७४	„	४।३२।७२-८० „
४।४।६२-६७	विष्णु	४।६९।२३-२४ कृष्ण
४।७।५३-५७	„	४।६९।२९ „

[नमस्कारात्मकम्]

४।७।८०-८८	„	४।७०।५६-६५ कृष्ण
४।१३।१९३-२१३	कृष्ण	४।१००।१९-३२ „
४।१८।३६-४७	„	४।१०७।८८-९१ „
४।१९।१७-३१	„	४।११२।५१ „
४।१९।७३-९१	„	४।११९।२३-६० विष्णु

४१२४१५-२० कृष्ण

४१२७१२-२८ ”

११. वायुपुराणम्

अत्र विष्णुस्तुतिर्नोपलभ्यते ।

१२ पद्मपुराणम् (आनन्दाश्रम०)

११११ विष्णु
[नमस्कारात्मकम्]

५१४३१९०-१९३ नृसिंह

५१७३१९०-९९ विष्णु

२१८११६-३५ विष्णु

६१४०१५७-६३ ”

२१८१४४-६७ ”

६१४१११ ”

२१२०११६-२२ कृष्ण

[वन्दनात्मकम्]

२१२११२०-२८ ”

६१७०१९-१० विष्णु

२१३११३१-५२ विष्णु

६१७४११-१२ राम

२१९८१३९-७७ वासुदेव

[वासुदेवाभिधानं स्तोत्रम्]

[रामरक्षास्तोत्रम्]

४१३१२७ राम

६१८१११४१-१४९ विष्णु

४१५१२-१० ”

६११००१२-४ ”

४१७११८ विष्णु

६११७३१४९-५५ ”

४१२११२०-२८ हरि

६१२०८१३५-४३ विष्णु

४१४२१२८-३५ विष्णु

६१२१७३४-४१ ”

४१८८१७२-८८ विष्णु

६१२२२१४१-५४ विष्णु

[पापप्रशमनस्तोत्रम्]

६१२४९१७२-११९ ”

५१३१२६-३२ वराह

६१२५७१८-१५ ”

५१३१३८-४५ ”

६१२६४१२०-२५ वराह

५१४११०७-११२ विष्णु

६१२६६११४-२४ विष्णु

५१४१११६-१३१ ”

६१२७०१२४-४१ राम

५१४११४०-१५४ ”

६१२७२१४१-४३ कृष्ण

५१४२१३०-३१ ”

६१२७२१११०-१२४ ”

पु २८।१३-१५ नृसिंह	व ८।७-९	”
पु ३०।३६-४६ जगन्नाथ	व ८।१०	”
पु ३२।४७-४९ वराह	व ८।११	”
पु ३८।६७-८१ विष्णु	व ८।१२	”
पु ५७।१५-१६ जगन्नाथ	का १६।२-४	”
व २।३३-३६ विष्णु	वै १६।४-२८	”
व ३।२९-३८	”	”
व ३।५४-६२	अ १९-८७	”
व ५।१४-१६	अ ४।१०-१६	”
व ५।१४-२०	अ ६।२३-३७	”
व ६।१५-१९	अ ६।१५९-१६३	”

(३ काशीखण्ड)

२१।१-७५ विष्णु	६०।२५-४३	”
२३।५९-६४	९५।३०-३९	”

(४ ब्रह्मखण्ड)

[अत्र सेतुखण्डधर्मारण्यखण्डौ]

से २।७५-८२ राम	से ४६।३१-४९	”
से ३।३१-३६ विष्णु	से ५०।५९-६८ विष्णु	”
से ३।८१-८४ कृष्ण	घ ८।५३-५६ विष्णु	”
से ३।८८-९१	घ ९।१२-१३	”
से १८।१०-१६ राम	घ १५।११-१८	”
से ३७।१५-२० विष्णु	घ ३२।१०-१८	”

५ आवन्त्यखण्ड

[अत्र अवन्तिक्षेत्र-चतुरशीतिलिङ्गमाहात्म्यरेवाखण्डाः]

[शिवविषयकमपि]

अ ३।३४-३६ विष्णु	अ ४२।१२-१४	”
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अ ५२।६३-६४	॥	रे ४८।१५-२४	॥
च २६।१४-१७	॥	रे ९०।२८-२९	विष्णु
च २६।४०-४१	॥	रे ४६।९३-९६	॥
च ७२।१८-२२ जगन्नाथ		रे १८९।८	॥
रे ७।५-७ विष्णु		रे १९२।४६-५८	॥
रे २०।२५-३४ पुरुषोत्तम		रे १९३।१६-४७	॥
रे ४७।१२ विष्णु		रे २२३।७-८	॥

६ नागरखण्ड

[अस्मिन् खण्डे विष्णुस्तुतिर्नास्ति]

७९ प्रभासखण्ड

[अत्र प्रभासमाहात्म्य-वस्त्रापथमाहात्म्यखण्डौ]

प्र ८१।२२-२७ विष्णु	प्र ३३४।२७-२८	॥
प्र ८४।८-१८	व १८।७५	॥
	व १८।२५६-२५८	॥

१५ मत्स्यपुराण (जीवा० सं०)

२४७।१२-५६ वराह	२४८।३७-४५	॥
१६०।३०-३१ विष्णु	१६२।९७-१०१ नरसिंह	
२४३।१३-३४	१७८।५३-६१	॥
२४४।५५-७८		॥

१६ अग्निपुराण

अत्र स्तोत्राणि प्रायेण व्रतपूजान्तर्गतानि दृश्यन्ते, अतः तेषां पृथक् संकलनं न कृतम्, पूजाविधिष्वेव तेषामन्तर्भावात् । केशवनारायणादिचतुर्विंशति-मूर्तिविषयकमेकं स्तोत्रम् ४८।१-१५ इत्यत्रोपलभ्यते ।

१७ भविष्यपुराण (वैकटेश्वर)

३।१।१२-१५ विष्णु	३।४।२५।७-८	॥
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नानिहो व्रतान्तर्गता मन्त्रमयाः स्तोत्रसदृशाः श्लोकाः सन्ति, न
तेषामिह संकलनं कृतम् ।

१८ भागवतपुराण (गीताप्रेस०)

१।८।१८-४३ कृष्ण	६।९।२१-२७	विष्णु
१।९।३२-४२ ”	६।९।३१-४५	”
२।४।१२-२४ विष्णु	६।१६।३४-४८	संकर्षण
३।५।३८-५० ”	७।८।४०-५६	नृसिंह
३।९।१-२४ ”	७।९।८-५०	”
३।१३।३४-४५ बराह	८।३।२-२९	विष्णु
३।१६।१६-२५ विष्णु	८।५।२६-५०	”
३।१९।३० बराह	८।६।८-१५	”
३।२१।१३-२१ विष्णु	८।१७।८-१०	”
३।३१।१२-२१ ”	८।१७।२५-२८	वामन
३।३३।२-८ कपिल	८।२२।१६-१७	”
४।१।५६-५७ नरनारायणौ		[स्तुतिवत्]
४।७।२६-४७ विष्णु	८।२२।२-११	”
४।९।६-१७ ”		[स्तुतिवत्]
४।२४।३३-७९ ”	८।२४।४६-५३	(मत्स्यावतार)
४।३०।२२-४२ ”	१०।३।१३-२२	(कृष्ण)
५।१७।१७-२४ संकर्षण	१०।३।२४-३१	”
५।१८-१९ अ० भगवान्	१०।१०।२९-३८	”
[जम्बूद्वीपीयवर्षाणां तत्र-	१०।११।१-४०	”
त्योषासनानां च वर्णन-	१०।१६।३३-५३	”
प्रसङ्गे भगवदवताराणं	१०।२७।४-१३	”
हयग्रीवादीनां स्तुतयः ।]		
६।४।२३-३४ (विष्णु)	१०।२७।१९-२१	कृष्ण
[हंसगुह्यनामकम् स्तोत्रम्]	१०।२८।५-८	”

१०।४०।१-३	कृष्ण	१०।८६।४४-४९	कृष्ण
१०।५१।४६-५८	„	१०।८७।१४-४१	भगवान्
१०।५९।२५-३१	„		[वेदस्तुति]
१०।६३।२५-२८	„	११।६।७-१९	विष्णु
१०।६३।३४-४५	„	११।६।४२-४९	कृष्ण
१०।६४।१०-२९	„		[स्तुतिवत्]
१०।७०।२५-३०	„	११।७।१४-१८	कृष्ण
१०।७३।८-१६	„	१२।८।४०-४९	नारायण
१०।८४।१६-२६	„	१२।१३।२	कूर्मावतार
१०।८५।३९-४६	विष्णु		

विष्णुपत्नीपराणि स्तोत्राणि

विष्णु पु०	१।९।११६-१३१	श्री
भविष्य०	३।१।४।५५-५६	„
ब्र०वै०	२।३९।५१-७१	लक्ष्मी
„	२।५५।४४-५६	राधा
„	३।२२।२७-३६	महालक्ष्मी
„	४।६।२१-२३	राधा
„	४।१५।९४-११४	„
„	४।५७।७५-८३	महालक्ष्मी
„	४।९२।६३-८८	राधा
वराह०	९।१९-१६	त्रिशक्तिदेवी [सरस्वती-वैष्णवीरौद्ररूपा]
वराह०	९।५।५८-६८	वैष्णवीदेवी
अग्नि०	२३७।१-१७	श्री
पद्म०	६।१८२।१५-३१	महालक्ष्मी
ब्रह्माण्ड०	४।९।७७-८२	श्री
स्क०विष्णु०वेङ्कट०	९।९९-१०५	लक्ष्मी
स्कन्द० काशी०	५।८०-८७	„
स्क०ब्रह्म०सेतु०	४६।५०-५७	सीता
स्कन्द०ब्रह्म०सेतु०	५०।६९-७४	लक्ष्मी

देवीमहिमा

[देवीभागवते तृतीयस्कन्धे षष्ठोऽध्यायः]

[The theme of this clearly worded enunciation by the Goddess of Her greatness is that Prakṛiti and Puruṣa are identical, that the monotheistic principle called Brahman, who is One without a second, becomes transformed as the Many for purposes of creation, that the three deities Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā are emanations of the Supreme Goddess, who is the same as सनातन परमात्मा, the eternal Supreme Soul or Brahman.]

ब्रह्मा उवाच—

दृष्टादृष्टविभेदेऽस्मिन् प्राक् त्वत्तो वै पुमान् परः ।
नान्यः कोपि तृतीयोऽस्ति प्रमेये सुविचारिते ॥३॥५॥४१॥
न मिथ्या वेदवाक्यं वै कल्पनीयं कदाचन ।
विरोधोऽयं मयाऽत्यन्तं हृदये तु विशंकितः ॥४२॥
एकमेवाद्वितीयं यद् ब्रह्म वेदा वदन्ति वै ।
सा किं त्वं वाप्यसौ वा किं सन्देहं विनिवर्तय ॥४३॥

देवी उवाच—

सदैकत्वं न भेदोऽस्ति सर्वदैव ममास्य च ।
योऽसौ साऽहमहं योऽसौ भेदोस्ति मतिविभ्रमात् ॥३॥
एकमेवाद्वितीयं वै ब्रह्म नित्यं सनातनम् ।
द्वैतभावं पुनर्याति काल उत्पित्सुसंज्ञके ॥४॥
यथा दीपस्तथोपाधेर्योगात् सञ्जायते द्विधा ।
छायेवाददर्शमध्ये वा प्रतिबिम्बं तथाऽऽवयोः ॥५॥
भेद उत्पत्तिकाले वै सर्गार्थं प्रभवत्यज ।
दृष्ट्यादृश्यविभेदोऽयं द्वैविध्ये सति सर्वथा ॥६॥

नाहं स्त्री न पुमांश्चाहं न क्लीवं सर्गसंक्षये ।
 सर्गे सति विभेदः स्यात् कल्पितोऽयं धिया पुनः ॥७॥
 अहं बुद्धिरहं श्रीश्च धृतिः कीर्तिः स्मृतिस्तथा ।
 श्रद्धा मेधा दया लज्जा क्षुधा तृष्णा तथा क्षमा ॥८॥
 कान्तिः शान्तिः पिपासा च निद्रा तन्द्रा जराऽजरा ।
 विद्याविद्या स्पृहा वाञ्छा शक्तिश्चाशक्तिरेव च ॥९॥
 वसा मज्जा च त्वक् चाहं दृष्टिर्वागनृतानृता ।
 परा मध्या च पश्यन्ती नाड्योऽहं विविधाश्च याः ॥१०॥
 किं नाहं पश्य संसारे मद्वियुक्तं किमस्ति हि ।
 नर्दगेवाङ्मन्त्रेण निश्चयं विद्धि पद्मज ॥११॥
 एतैर्मे निश्चितै रूपैर्विहीनं किं वदस्व मे ।
 तस्मादहं विधे चास्मिन् सर्गे वै वितताऽभवम् ॥१२॥
 नूनं सर्वेषु देवेषु नानागानधरा ह्ययम् ।
 भवामि शक्तिरूपेण करोमि च पराक्रमम् ॥१३॥
 उत्पन्नेषु समस्तेषु कार्येषु प्रविशामि तान् ।
 करोमि सर्वकार्याणि निमित्तं तं विधाय वै ॥१५॥
 जले शीतं तथा बह्नावौष्ण्यं ज्योतिर्दिवाकरे ।
 निशानाथे हिमा कामं प्रभवामि यथा तथा ॥१६॥
 मया त्यक्तं विधे नूनं स्पन्दितुं न क्षमं भवेत् ।
 जीवजातं च संसारे निश्चयोऽयं ब्रुवे त्वयि ॥१७॥
 जलं पिबामि सकलं संहरामि विभावलुम् ।
 पवनं स्तम्भयाम्यद्य यदिच्छामि तथाचरम् ॥२५॥
 जीवनार्थं कृता यज्ञा देवानां सर्वथा मया ।
 अविरोधेन सङ्गेन वर्तितव्यं त्रिभिः सदा ॥५२॥
 यो हरिः स शिवः साक्षाद्यः शिवः स स्वयं हरिः ॥५५॥
 तथैव दुहिणो ज्ञेयो नात्र कार्या विचारणा ।
 अपरो गुणभेदोस्ति शृणु विष्णो ब्रवीमि ते ॥५६॥

मुख्यः सत्त्वगुणस्तेऽस्तु परमात्मविचिन्तने ।
 गौणत्वेऽपि परौ ख्यातौ रणेऽगुणस्तेऽगुणौ ॥५७॥
 इत्युक्त्वा वासुदेवं सा त्रिगुणा प्रकृतिः परा ॥६४॥
 निर्गुणा शंकरं देवमवोचदमृतं वचः ॥६५॥
 मुख्यस्तमोगुणस्तेऽस्तु गौणौ सत्तद्गुणौ ॥६६॥
 सर्वथा त्रिगुणा यूयं सृष्टिस्थित्यन्तकारकाः ॥६८॥
 परिर्वर्द्धनं संसारे वस्तु नैवात्र कुत्रचित् ।
 वस्तुमात्रं तु यद्दृश्यं संसारे त्रिगुणं हि तत् ॥६९॥
 दृश्यं च निर्गुणं लोके न भूतं नो भविष्यति ।
 निर्गुणः परमात्मनो न तु दृश्यः कदाचन ॥७०॥
 सगुणा निर्गुणा चाहं समये शंक्रोत्तमा ।
 सदाऽहं कारणं शम्भो न च कार्यं कदाचन ॥७१॥
 सगुणा कारणत्वाद्वा निर्गुणा पुरुषान्तिके ।
 महत्तत्त्वमहङ्कारो गुणाः शब्दादयस्तथा ॥७२॥
 कार्यकारणरूपेण संसरन्ते त्वहर्निशम् ।
 सदुद्भूतस्त्वहङ्कारस्तेनाहं कारणं शिवा ॥७३॥
 अहङ्कारश्च मे कार्यं त्रिगुणोऽसौ प्रतिष्ठितः ।
 अहङ्कारान्महत्तत्त्वं बुद्धिः सा पञ्चभूतिना ॥७४॥
 महत्तत्त्वं हि कार्यं स्यादहङ्कारो हि कारणम् ।
 तन्मात्राणि त्वहङ्कारादुत्पद्यन्ते सदैव हि ॥७५॥
 कारणं पञ्चभूतानां तानि सर्वसमुद्भवे ।
 कर्मेन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव पञ्च ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि च ॥७६॥
 महाभूतानि पञ्चैव मनः षोडशमेव च ।
 कार्यः च कारणं चैव गणोऽयं षोडशात्मकः ॥७७॥
 परमात्मा पुमानाद्यो न कार्यः न च कारणम् ।
 एवं समुद्भवः शम्भो सर्वेषामादिसंभवे ॥७८॥
 स्मर्तव्याऽहं सदा देवाः परमात्मा सनातनः ॥८०॥
 उभयोः स्मरणादेव कार्यसिद्धिरसंशयम् ॥८१॥

The पञ्चवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुख Motif

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[पञ्चवक्त्रं दारु इत्येष शब्दः पद्मपुराणस्य पातालखंडे प्रयुक्तः । तस्या-
र्थस्य विवेचनमस्मिन् लेखे क्रियते । कीर्तिः चैत्यगृहं शैलमंडप इत्येते शब्दाः
पर्याया आसन् । चैत्यमंडपस्य यद्विलमासीत् स एव कीर्तिमुखः कथ्यते । तच्च
स्थापत्यस्यालंकरणरूपेण प्रयुज्यते । तस्मिन्नलंकरणे आदौ स्त्रीमुखाः पुरुषमुखा वा
उत्क्रीर्णा क्रियन्ते स्म । पश्चाद् गुप्तयुगस्य चैत्यगृहाणां प्रासादानां च मुखपट्टेषु
वलभीषु च सिंहमुखानि कीर्तिमुखालंकरणमंडलमध्ये उत्क्रीर्यन्ते । तस्मादेव
सिंहमुखं कीर्तिमुखं पञ्चवक्त्रमित्येते शब्दाः पर्यायरूपेण प्रचलिता अभवन् । सिंह-
मुखं आरम्भे नैसर्गिकं, कालान्तरे तदेव आटोपसमन्वितं शृङ्गान्वितं चाभवत्,
यथा मध्यकालीन-देवप्रासादानां तोरणेषु । तस्य महिमा चावर्धत । ये सिंहास्ते
रौद्राः शिवाचरा शिवरूपा एव । अतएव पञ्चवक्त्रस्य भ्रंशः भयावहः इति
मान्यता जाता, यथात्र पद्मपुराणस्योद्धरणे कथितम् ।]

This word occurs in the following passages of the Padma
Purāṇa :

(१) नत्वा यदेतलङ्काद्वारे दृश्यते दारु पञ्चवक्त्रं शुक्रेणोक्तमेतेन च्छिन्नेन
रावणो हन्यतेऽथ च दारुच्छेदनसमनन्तरं पातालं गन्तव्यमिति भार्गवभाषितं
शासनं लिखितं तस्मात्त्वमिदं दार्वेकप्रयत्नेनैकबाणनिपातेन पञ्चधा छिन्धि ततस्तव
शक्तिं ज्ञात्वा युद्धमतिदृढं कुर्वहे ॥२०८॥

अथ भार्गवचो विज्ञाय रामः पूर्वकोट्यां स्पर्शमाने (त्रेण) सज्यं कृत्वा
धनुषि बाणं संयोज्य रक्षोभ्यां हनुमतां श्रावयन्नेव बाणं मुमोच ॥२०९॥

बाणं धनुषश्चलितं तौ राक्षसौ बाणमार्गे निरीक्षमाणौ दारु बाणेन पञ्चधा
छिन्नं निरीक्ष्य रामं व्यज्ञापयतामावयोः शिशवो रक्षणीयास्त्वयेति ॥२१०॥

(२) गोपुरस्थं तथा दारु पञ्चवक्त्रमश्रेष्ठेण ।

चिच्छेद पञ्चधा तेन रामस्त्वां मारयिष्यति ॥२३३॥

(पद्मपुराण, पातालखंड, अ० ११२)

I. Atikāya and Mahākāya spying in Rama's encampment
were caught but treated kindly by him. They divulged this

secret of Rāvaṇa's ruin : 'In the entrance gateway to Laṅkā is a beam carved with *Pañch-vaktra* motif. Śukrāchārya has said : 'As soon as this beam is cut into pieces, Rāvaṇa will meet his death. Therefore when this event takes place you should move to Pātāla to save yourself'. This prophecy of Bhārgava Śukra is engraved on a plate. Therefore, O Rāma, you cut that *Dāru* into five pieces by a single shot of your arrow. We shall thereby know your might and offer stiff resistance (208).

When Rāma learnt it as Śukra's prophecy, he put an arrow on his bow and communicating (his intention) to the two demons through Hanumān, let the arrow fly (209).

The shaft so discharged from the bow split the wooden beam (*dāru*) into five pieces. The demons when they saw this prayed to Rāma to spare their family (210).

II. 'The wooden beam that forms part of the Gopura (in Laṅkā) and which is carved with the *Pañcha-vaktra* motif would be split into five pieces and thereby Rāma will cause your death,'—thus spoke Vibhīṣaṇa to Rāvaṇa (233).

(Padma Purāṇa, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, ch. 112).

It is clear from the above that there was a deep-seated superstition in Laṅkā that the destruction of the *Pañcha-vaktra Dāru* which formed part of the chief entrance to the capital, would result in the death of Rāvaṇa, the ruler of the kingdom. The apparent meaning of पञ्चवक्त्र is 'five-faced', but it was an architectural term meaning the decorative motif of a lion's face carved on the lintels of doorways or friezes of buildings. A lion is called पञ्चानन or पञ्चास्य because of its wide gaping mouth (the word पञ्च being derived from पचि विस्तारे, रामाश्रमी commentary on the Amarakosha).¹ The पञ्चवक्त्र motif was the same as the कौर्तिमुख motif of ancient Indian art. Originally

1. For this meaning of पञ्च, see also सेकसुकुमारयवाङ्कुरदन्तुरैः पञ्चास्यैः कलशैः कोमलवर्णिकाविचित्रैरमित्रमुखैश्चोद्भासितपर्यन्ताम् (Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Harshacharit*, Nirṇaya Sāgar 5th edn., p. 147; my Cultural commentary on it, p. 83, where this difficult passage has been correctly explained in preference to Cowell and Kane.

the word कीर्ति signified an excavated chaitya-hall, and then a temple or palace, and its earliest use in this sense is recorded in a copper-plate inscription from Kanheri dated A. D. 493 :—

तावत्कीर्तिः स्थिरेयं भजतु शुभकरी सत्सुतं पुण्यनाम्नः ।¹

The large window or opening with which the hollowing out of the rock started and which remained as the most conspicuous part of the whole excavation, was naturally called कीर्तिमुख, i. e. the opening to the interior कीर्ति or चैत्य-मंडप or सेलघर. This कीर्तिमुख design was employed as a decorative motif on the façade of the earlier chaitya-halls. Later on it was used to enclose or frame beautiful human faces in the frieze of Gupta buildings, and in the third stage the human faces were replaced by lion-faces, when the word कीर्तिमुख became synonymous with the lion-face motif :²

कीर्तिवक्त्रं हरेर्वक्त्रं चोक्तवत्कारयेत् सुधीः ।

(Mānasāra 18. 151)

According to the Mānasāra the front portion of the doorway (मुखभद्र) was to be decorated with the design of a *garvāksha*, a circular motif enclosing the figures of a *deva*, *bhūta*, *vyāla*, *siṃha*, *hanīsa*, etc. and adorned by plants or creepers of foliated pattern, and this was beautified on the top by a projecting कीर्तिवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुख design :

नासिकावृत बाह्ये तु गवाक्षाकारं तु पत्रयुक् ॥ १४५ ॥

तस्मादन्तर्गतैश्चादि देवभूतादिरूपकैः ।

व्यालसिंहादिहंसाद्यैर्द्रुमवल्ल्यादिभूषितम् ॥ १४४ ॥

तदूर्ध्वे कीर्तिवक्त्रं तु निर्गमाकृति भावयेत् ।

This कीर्तिवक्त्र became a favourite motif in Gupta art, and dozens of sculptures are preserved in the Sarnath Museum

1. JBBRAS, V, p. 32, pl. XXVI; Arch. Survey of Western India Series No. 10, Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India, Kanheri Caves, Ins. 1, line 8.

2. See my article, Kīrti, Kīrtimukha. And Kīrtistambha, VĀK, No. 5 (Feb. 1957), pp. 147-151, Deccan College, Poona.

illustrating this ornamental design, showing a conventionalised grotesque form, with several features specially noted in the Mānasāra, viz. large goggle eyes (दीर्घनेत्रं विशालं), round plump cheeks (वृत्तं गण्डस्थलं), fan-shaped ears like those of an elephant (गजश्रोत्राकृति श्रोत्रं), and wavy lines on the lower portion of the cheeks (गण्डं चान्ते तरंगवत्, Mānasāra, 18, 147-148).

This motif began to be considered auspicious and expressive of the divine power of Rudra for warding off evil. The lion became an integral part of Śiva's retinue, as stated by Kālidāsa :

कैलासगौरं वृषमारुरुक्षोः पादार्गगः कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रम् ।

अवेहि मां किंकरमष्टमूर्तेः कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रम् ॥

(Raghuvamśa, II, 35).

Of the Eight Forms of Śiva, as explained in Śaiva philosophy, there are three categories:

I Mind—called मनस्, यजमान, होत्री, दीक्षित, ब्राह्मण, सोमयाजी, etc.

II Energy—called प्राण, or प्राणपान, or सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ, representing the dual form of Śakti.

III Matter—comprising the Five Elements, पृथिवी, जल, तेज, वायु, आकाश, the पञ्चब्रह्म or पञ्चभूत or the gross material forms.

This constitutes the अष्टमूर्ति principle of manifestation, referred to by Kālidāsa as the eight visible forms of Śiva (प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः, Śākuntalā). We find very ample elaboration of these in the Liṅga Purāṇa (Uttara Khaṇḍa, chs. 12-13). The gross Five Elements or the Pañcha Bhūtas are symbolised by the Lion, who is mentioned as the servant of Bhūtapati Śiva (भूतनाथानुग, रघु० II. 58). The Five Elements were regarded as the five faces of Śiva called पञ्चानन or पञ्चमुख, whose iconographic form was conceived of as the Liṅga with five faces. By the use of double *entendre* on the word पञ्च, the lion was also described as पञ्चानन, and considered to be an appropriate symbol of the पञ्चमूर्ति or the Five Material Elements of Rudra's esoteric manifestation.

The artistic symbol of the lion-face (कीर्तिवक्त्र, हरिवक्त्र) was gradually sublimated in the temple architecture of the Gupta age. The Vāyu Purāṇa giving an elaborate description of a Sahasrapāda Prāsāda of Śiva (corresponding to a Sahasrastambha-maṇḍapa temple) speaks of the lion-faces carved on the pillars, showing different expressions and beautified by a chain ornament fastened on the four sides of the shafts :

तस्य प्रासादमुख्यस्य स्तम्भेषूत्तमशोभिषु ॥ २१०

संयताभिमयीभिस्तु शृङ्खलाभिः पृथक् पृथक् ।

मायासहस्रं सिंहानां मुखं तत्र निवासिनाम् ॥ २११

(वायुपुराण अ० १०१)

The chain-motif ornament with lion-faces is a typical description of Gupta pillars. Rudra and Agni were both considered to be identical (अग्निवै रुद्रः, शतपथ ५।३।१।१०, etc.) and to be forms of Paśupati :

सोऽसौ रुद्रात्मको वहिर्ब्रह्मणो मानसः सुतः ।

(शिवपु०, वायवीय सं०, १७।३७)

रुद्रस्यानुचराग्नयः (हरिवंश २।१२२।२४)

अहमग्निर्महातेजाः सोमश्चैषा महाम्बिका । (लिंगपु० १।३४।७)

अग्निरित्युच्यते रौद्री घोरा या तैजसी तनुः (शिवपु०, वाय०, २८।३)

The chain-motif on the pillars thus symbolised the flames of fire and the lion-face the Paśupati aspect of Śiva. मायासहस्रं of Vāyu 101. 21 has reference to the multiple forms created by the Māyā or power of Rudra. Each of the thousand pillars in the temple of Śiva corresponds to the Yūpa or stake of a Vedic Yajña. The Puranic Rishis of Nāimishāranya questioned about the symbolism of the lion-faces and they were told that these represented 'the wrath' of Rudra, which born from His body or the single fiery principle, assumes myriad forms :

अथ तत्प्रतिसंपूज्य वायोर्वाक्यं सुविस्मिताः ।

ऋषयः प्रत्यभाषन्त नैमिषेयास्तपस्विनः ॥ २९२ ॥

भगवन् सर्वभूतानां प्राण सर्वत्रग प्रभो ।
 के ते सिंहमहाभूताः क्व ते जाताः किमात्मकाः ॥२९३॥
 सिंहाः केनापराधेन भूतानां प्रभविष्णुना ।
 वैश्वानरमयैः पशैः संरुद्धास्तु पृथक् पृथक् ॥२९४॥
 तेषां तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा वायुर्वाक्यं जगाद ह ।
 यद्वै सहस्रं सिंहाणामीश्वरेण महात्मना ।
 व्यपनीय स्वकादेहाक्रोधास्ते सिंहविग्रहाः ॥२९५॥
 भूतानामभयं दत्त्वा पुरा बद्धाग्निबन्धने ।
 यज्ञभागनिमित्तं च ईश्वरस्याऽऽज्ञया तदा ॥२९६॥
 (वायु० अ० १०१)

The वैश्वानर Fire manifesting in each body is the fiery chain that keeps the five elements in the form of lions (सिंहमहाभूतः) locked together. That Fire represents a flicker of Śiva's Anger (*Krodha*), which is the same as the *Manyu* of Śata-rudriya litany of the Yajurveda :

नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवऽउतोतऽइषवे नमः ।
 बाहुभ्यामुत ते नमः ।

(यजु० १६।१)

Each lion symbolises the wrath of Rudra, but is kept restrained by the mysterious fiery chain forged as the *raśana* of each yajña. One of the beasts was permitted to get loose from this ordered dispensation (विधान) and he is Virabhadra who wrought havoc to Daksha's sacrifice :

तेषां विधानमुक्तेन सिंहेनैकेन लीलया ।
 देव्या मन्युं कृतं ज्ञात्वा हतो दक्षस्य स क्रतुः ॥२९७॥
 स एष भगवान् क्रोधो रुद्रावासकृतालयः ।
 वीरभद्रोऽप्रमेयात्मा देव्या मन्युप्रमार्जनः ॥२९९॥

The grotesque lion-face called सिंहमुख or कीर्तिमुख as described by the Mānasāra seems to have become a popular and universal feature of Gupta temple architecture. From India the motif

travelled to Indonesia where enormous *Kirttimukhas* crown the main entrance of the magnificent Śiva temples e. g. at Chaṇḍi Kalasan in the Prambanam group (Coomaraswamy. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 203).

This कीर्तिमुख motif received the technical name of पञ्चवक्त्र and found a conspicuous place on medieval temple gateways, as mentioned in the following :

मन्दारोभयपक्षे तु कीर्तिवक्त्रद्वयं भवेत् ॥१५॥

भृकुट्या कुटिलाक्षं च दंष्ट्राभिः समलंकृतम् ।

कर्णोपशृंगैस्तदधः शाखापत्रैरलंकृतम् ॥१६॥

(अपराजितवृच्छा, ch. 121)

i. e. on the sides of the two festoons (मन्दार) on the door there should be two कीर्तिवक्त्रs, whose grotesque appearance should be indicated by frowning eyebrows, bulging eyes, fangs, ears and projecting horns (उपशृंग). Also we find in the काश्यपशिल्प—

पञ्चवक्त्रसमायुक्तं पार्श्वयोर्मकरास्यकम् ।

i. e. on the gateway known as मकरतोरण, there should be a पूरीम (space-filling spiral or festoon) motif in the centre and on its two sides two makara-faces combined with the grotesque form of पञ्चवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुख (*Kāśyapa-śilpa*, 12.8). Describing a स्तम्भतोरण, it is said :

फलकं पञ्चवक्त्राख्यं प्रागुक्तविधिना कुरु

वक्त्राख्यं मकराख्यं वा चित्रतोरणमेव वा ॥

(काश्यपशिल्प, 14-27)

i.e. the front portion of the beam or lintel of a *torana* should be adorned with the lion-face (पञ्चवक्त्र) motif, and the *torana* is variously named as वक्त्रतोरण, मकरतोरण or चित्रतोरण. Indeed in the medieval art motifs the पञ्चवक्त्र or कीर्तिमुख decoration had become very much formalised so that it seemed to resemble a मकरमुख also, specially owing to the goggle eyes and projecting horns. The traditional architects now name it as गिरासङ्गा, from the word ग्रास meaning a lion-face, and also साङ्कङ्गा, from शङ्कु or elongated horn-like appendages.

We have in the Padma Purāṇa a parable relating to the origin of this rather important motif of the Kīrtimukha. It is said that once Rāhu, as the emissary of the demon-king Jalandhara, approached Śiva, causing great consternation amongst members of His family and their *vāhanas*.

अथेश्वरजटाजूटादविरासीद्गणो महान् ॥ ३६ ॥

त्रिआननस्त्रिचरणस्त्रिपुच्छः सप्तहस्तवान् ।

स च कीर्तिमुखो नाम पिंगलो जटिलो महान् ॥ ३७ ॥

तं दृष्ट्वा च कपालाली भयात्स्थौ मृतेव सा ।

पुरतः प्राह स गणस्ततः कीर्तिमुखः प्रभुम् ॥ ३८ ॥

प्रणिपत्य शिवं देवमत्यर्थं क्रुधितः प्रभो ।

तदोक्तः शंकरेणासौ भक्षय त्वं रणे हतान् ॥ ३९ ॥

क्षणं विचार्य स गणः काप्यदृष्ट्वा रणं तदा ।

ब्रह्माणं भक्षितुं प्राप्तः शंकरेण निवारितः ॥ ४० ॥

ततः कीर्तिमुखेनाथ स्वांगं सर्वं च भक्षितम् ।

बुभुक्षितेन चात्यन्तं निषिद्धेन च सर्वतः ॥ ४१ ॥

तत्साहसं तदा दृष्ट्वा भक्तिं कीर्तिमुखस्य च ।

तमुवाचेश्वरः प्रीतः प्रासादे तिष्ठ मे सदा ॥ ४२ ॥

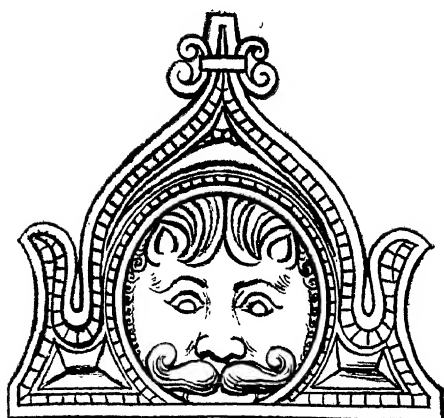
त्वच्चित्तरहितो यश्च भविष्यति ममालये ।

स पतिष्यति शीघ्रं हीत्युक्तः सोऽन्तर्हितोऽभवत् ॥ ४३ ॥

(पद्मपु०, उत्तरखंड, अ० ११)

The *chandralekhā* ornament on Śiva's head oozed out its ambrosial fluid owing to the fiery sniffings of the serpent Vāsuki, as a result of which Śiva's body was drenched with it, and the series of his heads became fresh with life again and muttered their practised recitations. There ensued a lively debate amongst them as to each one's superior rank and priority of function, and they also became depressed with the thought of omissions in their duties. (Thus when the five heads were in a state of confusion) there sprang up a mighty Gaṇa from the pile of Śiva's matted locks. He had three faces, three

The पञ्चवक्त्रं or कीर्तिमुख Motif



2



1



7



6



8



3



4



5

- Fig. 1. Kirtimukha with female face (Ajanta). Fig. 2. Kirtimukha with lion-face (Ajanta).
 Fig. 3. Kirtimukha (Bhārat Kalā Bhavan). Fig. 4. Terrific Lion-face (Ajanta).
 Fig. 5. Lion-face with haṁsas (Sarnath). Fig. 6. Lion-face with chain (Mathura).
 Fig. 7. Pañchavaktra (Harshanath Śiva). Fig. 8. Pañchavaktra toraṇa (Borobudur)

feet, three tails and seven hands,—he was the mighty Kīrtimukha, having a resplendent tawny colour on the body and massive locks on the head.

The five heads of Śiva were struck dead at the sight of this strange creature. He bowed at Śiva's feet to pacify his enormous wrath, and Śiva thereupon conferred on him the boon : 'You maintain yourself by making food of those who are killed in battle'. But the Gaṇa Kīrtimukha, unable to find any battle-ground ready at hand, pounced upon god Brahmā to devour him, but was restrained by Śiva. Thereupon the Gaṇa Kīrtimukha under the pangs of consuming hunger, devoured his own body and limbs. This bold action and devotion of his pleased Śiva who assigned to him an abode in his temples with the following injunction : 'he who enters my place but does not pay heed to you or does not become conscious of your presence, shall face instantaneous doom.'

The above legend makes the Kīrtimukha motif a part of Śiva's iconography. Śiva is Rudra and identical with Agni or *Prāṇic* energy. He manifests himself as Pañcha-Brahman or the Five Gross Material Elements which are symbolised as the Five Heads on his body. On the plane of manifest life they have their respective functions and governed by an orderly dispensation. But when there is disorder and confusion amongst them in the *ab intra* stage, i. e. when their duties are not specifically marked or differentiated, they have the form of a single monster concealing all the heads in the form of matted locks. That is the Kīrtimukha emanation of Śiva himself. Śiva as Agni is represented by a *maṇḍala*, whose centre is occupied by the vibrating form of a Puruṣa of tawny colour (पिङ्गल पुरुष), who is no other than the अक्षर पुरुष, or सूर्य, or अग्नि himself, or कालाग्निरुद्र, the personified रजोगुण or principle of activity. His place is very conspicuous, occupying the centre or apex of the main doorway of the divine temple. Any one who enters the temple but is not conscious or attuned in mind to this presiding genius of life and *Prāṇic* activity, becomes devoid of life in no time. The word *kīrtti* originally signifying a rock-excavation, now

becomes synonymous with मंडल, महिमा or यशस्, and the 'face' filling it becomes esoterically identical with the याजुष पुरुष or अक्षर पुरुष, which is the same as चाक्षुष पुरुष residing in the Sun. Sūrya himself is the सिंहमुख, the lion-face, the gaping mouth in respect of this cosmos. The क्रीर्तिमुख or 'Face of Glory' is आदित्य itself, where क्रीर्ति from its inceptive meaning of 'a chaitya-window of a rock-cut interior' becomes synonymous with मंडल यशस् —

अथैष वाव यशः य एष (आदित्यः) तपति

(शतपथ १४।१।१।३२)

असौ वा आदित्यः पिंगलः, एष शुक्ल एष नील एष पीत एष लोहितः

(छान्दोग्य उप० ८।६।१)

The Āditya is called पिंगल and so is क्रीर्तिमुख described to be पिंगल; both are forms of Rudra or Agni. The क्रीर्तिमुख is born of the matted locks of Rudra and is himself hairy (जटिल). The significance of this is also clear. केश or hair is the प्रवर्य or refuse or ejected portion of living energy. Rudra is the predominant principle of 'Life' and क्रीर्तिमुख is its material manifestation pulsating with rhythm of expansion and contraction, which are spoken of as the two jaws (हनू) of an open mouth. The क्रीर्तिमुख in this new setting assumed an all-comprehensive significance, equal to that of Rudra himself, and as the principal गण became the most important architectural feature of medieval temples both in India and Indonesia. The Purāṇas testify to the various stages in the evolution of the important क्रीर्तिमुख or पञ्चवक्त्र motif of literature and art.

पुराणलक्षणानि

पं० गिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदी

(पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तम्)

[In his previous instalment, Vol. I, pp. 130-138, the learned author has explained with profuse quotations, the meaning and scope of पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्. In this article he explains that each of the five topics is also five-fold, which are enumerated here. He further elaborates the meaning of the topics called gāthās, kalpa and śuddhi].

पञ्चसु लक्षणेषु प्रत्येकं पञ्च-विधाः

अथ सृष्टिप्रश्नश्चिन्तामयतनमिति पञ्चविधं पुराणं चरणैस्तु पुनः पुनः पञ्चविधं नामके निबन्धे पुराणलक्षणेषु पञ्चसु प्रत्येकं पञ्चविधं व्याख्यातम् । तथा हि—

सृष्टिक्रमो भिन्नमतान्यवतारोप्यथायति ।

ब्रह्माण्डमिति सृष्ट्यंशे पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।

१- नृष्टिप्रश्नमा षट्पर्वा, २-सृष्टिर्मध्यमा चतुर्विधा, ३-सृष्टिरुत्तरा षड्विधा,
४-संपरायसृष्टिः, ५-नृष्टीनामायतनमिति पञ्चविधा सृष्टिः ।

शास्त्रावतरणं कल्पशुद्धिः सृष्ट्युपसंहतिः ।

ज्योतिश्चक्रं भुवः कोशः पञ्चैताः प्रतिसृष्टयः ॥

अत्र अनुसृष्टिः प्रलयः (सृष्ट्युपसंहतिः) इति द्वयमपि प्रतिसृष्टिपदेन गृहीतम् । अनुसृष्टेश्च विस्तारश्चतुर्धा कृतः ननु लक्षणेऽप्यत्र ननु कल्पशुद्धिरपि च तस्मिन्नेव लक्षणे संगृहीतानि । तच्चैतदग्रे तैरेव विवृतम्—

त्रैलोक्येऽपि ज्योतिश्चक्रं च भुवनकोशश्च ।

प्रासङ्गिकं च वंशावली पुराणं तु पञ्चविधम् ॥

आख्यानोपाख्याने गाथा अथ कल्पशुद्धिश्च ।

प्रासङ्गिकं चतुर्धा प्रश्नसमाधिप्रसङ्गतोऽधीतम् ।

श्रौतः स्मार्तः समयश्चाचारो धर्मभेदास्ते ।

नानोपासनभेदा दर्शनभेदाश्च कल्पशुद्धिरिह ।

तदेवं ज्योतिश्चक्रम्, भुवनकोशः, शास्त्रानुव्यूहः (शास्त्रभेदविवरणम्),
कल्पशुद्धिः, सृष्ट्युपसंहारश्चेति, पञ्चपर्व प्रतिमृष्टिः, तत्र कल्पशुद्धेरुद्देशान् विस्तारः ।

अथ वंशवंशानुचरिते अपि पञ्चविधे उक्ते—

ऋषिवंशः पितृवंशः सूर्यचन्द्राग्निवंशकाः ।

इत्थं वंशविभागोऽपि पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।

ऋषीणां देवयोनीनां राज्ञां सूर्याग्निवंशिनम् ।

देवासुराणामन्येषां चेहानुचरितं स्तुतम् ।

ऋषिचरितम्, देवयोनिचरितम्, सूर्यवंशचरितम्, चन्द्रवंशचरितम्,
अग्निवंशचरितम्, इति पञ्चधा वंशानुचरितम् । देवचरितम्-असुरचरितं च
देवयोनिचरित एव समावेश्यमिति तद्भावः । एवम्—

युगं दिव्ययुगं नित्यकल्पः कल्पाश्च सप्त ये ।

त्रिंशत्कल्पाश्च कल्पन्ते मन्वन्तरनिरूपणे ॥

इति पुराणेषु लभ्यमानाः कल्पभेदा मन्वन्तरप्रकरणे संगृहीताः । तदित्थं
पुराणोक्ता विषयाः पञ्चसु लक्षणेष्वेव संगृहीताः, विस्तारश्च पुराणविद्याया इह
प्रदर्शितः ।

पुराणेष्वतिरिक्ताश्चत्वारो विषयाः

अथ लोकोपयोगितया चत्वारो विषयाः पुराणेषु प्रासङ्गिकतया विशिष्य
संगृहीता इत्यपि पुराणेष्वेव प्रतिपाद्यते—

आम्यान्देश्चाप्युपास्यान्देश्चाभिः कल्पशुद्धिभिः ।

पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥ इति ॥

(विष्णुपु० ३।६।१५, ब्रह्माण्डपु०, पू० भा० ३।४।२१)

एतच्च विवृतं विष्णुपुराणस्य श्रीधरीयायां टीकायाम्—

स्वयं दृष्टार्थकथनं प्राहुराख्यानकं बुधाः ।

श्रुतस्यार्थस्य कथनमुपाख्यानं प्रचक्षते ॥ इति ॥

वंशानुक्रमेण यानि चरितान्याख्यायन्ते तानि वंशानुचरिताभिधे गृह्यन्ते, यानि तु तत्रतत्रोपदेशार्थं वंशक्रममनपेक्ष्यैव दृष्टान्तरूपेण पूर्वचरितानि संगृह्यन्ते तानि वंशानुचरितानि नलादीनां राज्ञां चरितानि, यथा महाभारते नलोपाख्यानम्, मार्कण्डेये नन्दोपाख्यानम्, —इत्यादीनि बहूनि तत्र तत्र द्रष्टव्यानि । तत्रापि वक्त्रा यत्स्वयं दृष्टम् तदाख्यानशब्देन, यत्तु परम्परया श्रुतम् तदुपाख्यानशब्देन ग्राह्यमित्युक्तं श्लोके । केचित्तु वेदोक्तानामाख्यायिकानामनुवादरूपाणि आख्यानानि, स्वसंकलितानि नलादीनां राज्ञां चरितानि तु उपाख्यानानि इत्याहुः । अथापरे एवमाहुः वंशो वंशानुचरितं चेति द्वयं पुराणलक्षणं मर्दन्नुक्तानि वैज्ञानिकमेव बोद्धव्यम् । मनुष्यविशेषाणां राज्ञां चरितानि तु आख्यानान्येव, प्रसङ्गात् संगृहीतानि चोपाख्यानानीति । गाथास्त्विमा अतिप्राक्तन्यः । वेदस्य प्राक्कणनान्तेऽपि बह्वयः समुपलभ्यन्ते गाथाः, प्रथमप्रकरणोक्तास्तु पुनरावृत्तिः श्रुतिषु च गाथाः अपि पृथगुक्ता एव । येन केनचिन्महामहिमभाजा अद्ययुगजातेन युगान्तरजातेन वा स्वानुभवो यादृशैः शब्दैरुपनिबध्यते, शिष्टैश्च सादरमुपगृह्यते, ता एव भवन्ति गाथाः । यथा पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे विवाहप्रकरणे वरो वदति—

सरस्वति प्रेदमव सुभगे वाजिनोवति ।

मां त्वा विश्वस्य भूतस्य प्रजायामस्याग्रतः ।

यस्यां भूतं समभवत् यस्यां विश्वमिदं जगत् ।

तामद्य गाथां गास्यामि या स्त्रीणामुत्तमं यशः ।

यथा वा महाभारते पुत्रस्य यौवनं गृहीत्वाप्यतृप्तेन ययातिना स्वानुभवः प्रदर्शितः—

न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।

हविषा कृष्णवर्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्धते ॥ इति ॥

उपदेशार्थमत्युपयोगिन्य इमा गाथाः—इति पुराणेषु स्थाने स्थाने संग्रहस्तासाम् । एतासां संगृह्य पृथक् संकलनम् प्रकाशनं चाल्पयोगि भवेत्लोकानाम् ।

कल्पशुद्धिः कल्पानां परिगणनादीनीति केचित् । वयं तु ब्रूमो यत् सा कल्पशुद्धिर्मुख्यलक्षणे मन्वन्तर एवान्तर्भूता, इह तु कल्पशुद्धिर्धर्मशास्त्रप्रकरणम्,

तदपि पुराणेषु बहुतरं संगृहीतम् । तत्र कल्पो नाम वेदाङ्गेषु परिगणितः कर्मकाण्डप्रतिपादकः श्रौतगृह्य-सामयाचारिकसूत्र-समुच्चयः, तदुक्ता अष्टचत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः, शिष्टपरिगृहीताः सदाचाराश्चात्र कल्पशब्देन गृह्यन्ते । तदुक्तं स्मृतिकृता गौतमेन—गर्भाधानं पुंसवनं मीनन्मोक्षत्र्यं जातकर्म नामकरणाक्षप्राशने चौलोपनयने चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि स्नानं सहधर्मचारिणीसंयोगः पञ्चानां यज्ञानामनुष्ठानम्, एतेषां चाष्टकान्वष्टका पार्वणश्राद्धं श्रावणश्राद्धं चैत्राश्वयुजीति सप्त पाकयज्ञसंस्थाः, अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ चातुर्मास्यमाग्रायणं निरूढपशुबन्धः नौत्रानणीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञसंस्थाः, अग्निष्टोमोऽत्यग्निष्टोम उक्थः षोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्रोऽसौर्याम इति सप्त सोमयज्ञसंस्थाः इत्येते चत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः, अथाष्टावात्मगुणाः दया सर्वभूतेषु, क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति । एते श्रौताः स्मार्ताः सान्मन्यवर्गहनाश्च सर्वेऽपि संस्काराः पुराणेषु प्रसंगेन तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादन्ते एतदुपयुक्ताश्च शिष्टपरिगृहीताः सदाचाराः ।

संस्कारो नाम त्रिविधः स्मर्यते शास्त्रेषु—दोषमार्जनम्-अतिशयाधानम्-हीनाङ्ग-पूर्तिश्चेति । द्विविधाः खलु दृश्यन्ते पदार्था जगति—प्राकृताः-संस्कृताश्च । ये प्रकृत्योत्पादितास्तस्मिन्नेव रूपे स्थिताः शिलोच्चय-नदी-महीरुहादयस्ते प्राकृताः । ये तु मनुष्यैः संस्कृत्य स्वोपयोगाय धृताः, ते भवन्ति संस्कृताः । प्राकृताः पदार्थाः स्वस्वरूपे स्थिताः संस्काराननवाप्य प्रायेण मनुष्योपयोगिनो नैव भवन्ति, अल्पमेव उपयोगं साधयन्ति । तस्मान्मनुष्यास्तान् संस्कृत्य स्वयमुपयुज्जते । यथान्नं वस्त्रं वा यथा प्रकृतिरुत्पादयति, न तत्तथास्मदुपयोगि भवति । प्रकृत्योत्पादितं शालिगोधूमादिकं स्वोपयोगाय वयं संस्कुर्महे । तत्र प्रथमं तत्सहचरमस्मदनुपयोगि नृपतुगापकरादिकमपनयानः, धूलीबहुले क्षेत्रे समुत्पन्नस्य निर्गमनञ्च धूलीं च दूरीकुर्मः तदेतद्दोषमार्जनम् । अथ स्वच्छीकृतं पेषण्या निष्पिष्टं वह्निना परिपक्वं कुर्मस्तदेतदतिशयाधानम् । रुच्युत्पादनाय लवणशाकादिभिश्च-संयोजयामः-सेयं हीनाङ्गपूर्तिः । तथैव यथाविधं वस्त्रं परिदध्मस्तथा प्रकृत्या नोत्पादितमिति जानन्ति सर्वेऽपि । प्रकृत्या कार्पास उत्पादितः दोषमार्जनेन संस्कारेण तदन्तःस्थानि बीजानि विशोध्य धूलीणां कञ्च दूरीकृत्य अतिशयाधानात्मकेन च संस्कारेण तूलं तन्तुरूपतां वयनेन वसनरूपतां सेवनेन परिधानीयरूपतां च प्राप्य हीनाङ्गपूर्तये पिधायकवर्तना(वटन) दिभिः संयोज्य तस्योपयोगो मनुष्य-

समाजेन क्रियते । एवमेव स्मृति-विधान-प्रमाणेषु धातुषु गृह्यविहितानि च संस्कारत्रयमनुसन्धेयम् । जडवस्तुषु संस्कारानेतान् सर्वेऽपि मानवाः परिचिन्वन्ति, तत्र कौशलमुपदर्शयन्तश्च महद्यशो धनराशिं चार्जयन्ति । परं चेतनानां मानवानामप्येते भवन्ति संस्काराः, तेऽपि चैतैः संस्कारैः कमप्युत्कर्षं जनदुपयोगितां धावहन्तीति विशिष्य भारतीयैर्महर्षिभिरेव विज्ञातम् । तैरेव महर्षिभिर्मनुष्याणां त्रिविधाः संस्कारा आविष्कृताः । त एवमेष्टचत्वारिंशत्संस्कारा धर्मशास्त्रेषु विवृताः पुराणेष्वपि विस्तर एषां बहुतरं प्राप्यते ।

‘शुद्धि’पदेन गृहीतं धर्मशास्त्रस्य द्वितीयं शुद्धिप्रकरणम् । सा च शुद्धिः षोढा व्याख्यायते-मलशुद्धिः, स्पर्शशुद्धिः, अघशुद्धिः, एनःशुद्धिः, मनःशुद्धिश्चेति । आत्मनः प्रतिकूलं यदागन्तुकमापतति तद्दोषशब्देन अशुद्धिशब्देन च व्यवहियते । तदपनय एव च दोषमार्जनशब्देन शुद्धिशब्देन चाख्यायते । तत्र स्वरूपसंस्कारः स्वरूपे संस्कारानुप्रक्रमः ये दोषाः तेषामपनयो दोषमार्जनसंस्काररूपेण प्राख्याख्यातः । ये तु आगन्तुका दोषाः स्वरूपे अप्रविष्टा अपि संसर्गमात्रेण परम्परया वा स्वरूपं दूषयितुमुपक्राम्यन्ति, अनपनीतानां कालक्रमेण स्वरूपेऽनुप्रवेशश्च येषां संभाव्यते तदपनयोऽत्र शुद्धिप्रकरणेऽधिक्रियते । यद्यपि सांख्य-वेदान्तयोर्दोषप्रदानसंस्कारः विवृतं, तत्र न कापि दोषप्रदानं, तथापि व्यावहारिक आत्मा कर्ता भोक्ता चात्रात्मपदेन विवक्षितो द्रष्टव्यः । सोऽयं व्यावहारिक आत्मा सत्त्वप्रधान इति नानुद्देश्यते उद्वेचयन्तो भावा अशुद्धिपदेन सर्वत्र निर्दिश्यन्ते । ते च येन येन मार्गेण संव्यात्मानं दूषयितुं सन्नहन्ति, तेन तेन मार्गेण तेषामपनयः स्मृतिषु व्याख्यातः पुराणेषु च संगृहीतः ।

त एते सर्वेऽपि संस्काराः शुद्धयश्च धर्मशास्त्रविषया अपि पुराणेषु सविस्तरं संगृहीताः । अत्रैव शुद्धौ कथंचित्संस्कारेष्वपि वा तीर्थानि व्रतान्यपि चान्तर्भवन्ति, येषां श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिषु संक्षेपेण संकेतमात्रं पुराणेषु च तद्विस्तरः । व्रतोपवासादिकमन्तर्मलशोधकं सत्त्वविशेषोत्कर्षकं चेति शुद्धयर्थं संस्कारार्थं चाप्युपादीयते । एषां व्रतोपवासादीनामपि मूलमात्रं श्रुतिस्मृत्योरित्युपदर्शितं प्राक् । विस्तरस्त्वेषां पुराणेष्वेव दृश्यते । एवमुपासनाविषयोपि पुराणेष्वतिविस्तृतः । पूजाविधिप्रकारादिकं तदीयं विज्ञानमपि च तत्र तत्र विवृतम् । त इमे विषयाः कल्पशुद्धावेवान्तर्भाव्याः ।

ततो जयमुदीरयेत्

TATO JAYAM UDĪRAYET*

By

SYLVAIN LÉVI**

[अस्मिन् लेखे श्रीसिल्वीलेविमहोदयः 'नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् । देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥' इत्यस्य श्लोकस्य परमार्थं विचारयति । पुराणभारतादीनां कथासु वाच्यमानासु आरम्भे वाचकैः पौराणिकैरयं श्लोकः प्रायेण पठ्यते । इयं तु भागवतानां श्लोकात्मिका मुद्रा आसीद् यया तत्सर्वं वाङ्मयं मुद्रितं बभूव यस्मिन् भगवतो नारायणस्य महिमा ख्यापितः, यच्च केनापि रूपेण भागवतधर्मानुयायिभिः प्रतिसंस्कृतम् ।]

Each of the books of the Mahābhārata begins with a uniform preliminary benediction :

*Nārāyaṇam namaskṛitya Naraṁ chaiva narottamam |
Devīm Sarasvatīm chaiva tato jayam udīrayet ||*

The same formula reappears towards the end of the last Parva (XVIII, 232) in a kind of appendix that deals with the recitation of the Mahābhārata. Its general banality does not seem to have attracted much attention.¹ One reads it and understands it without pausing to consider. The commonly admitted interpretation follows decidedly the translation of P. C. Roy : Having bowed down to Nārāyaṇa and Nara, the most exalted male being and also to the goddess Sarasvatī, must the word *success* be uttered (the slight variations that one finds between one canto and another of the English translation of this formula do not affect the main sense).

* Paul Hartmann, ed., *Memorial Sylvain Lévi*, Paris, 1937, pp. 29-298.

** Translated by Pramod Chandra

1. Bühler seems to have immediately recognised and pointed out its religious significance : "It is a characteristic mark of the works of the ancient Bhāgavata sect, where it is invariably found, frequently with the variant *devīm Sarasvatīm Vyāsaṁ* instead of *chaiva* (*Indian Studies*, No II, p 4, n. 2.)

The commentator, Nilakanṭha however, points out the possibility of another interpretation of the last *pada* : *tato vyāptas tayaiva Sarasvatyā janabodhāyāvishṭo jayam* “*Jayo nāmetihāso’yam*” *iti vakṣhamāṇatvāj Bhāratākhyam itihāsam vā.*

Ashṭādasa Purāṇāni Rāmasya charitam tathā

Kārṣṇam vedam pañchamaṁ cha yan Mahābhārataṁ viduḥ

Tathaiva Viṣṇudharmaścha Śivadharmascha sāvataḥ

Jayeti nāma teshāṁ cha pravādanti manśhinḥ

iti Bhaviṣhyavachanāt purāṇādikam vā

Chaturṇām puruṣhārthānām api hetau jayo’ strīyām iti kośad anyam vā puruṣhārthapratipādakam grantham Śārīrakasūtrabhāṣhyādirūpam udīrayed uchehārayet.

As an honest commentator Nilakanṭha tries to give a positive significance to the word *tataḥ*, which P. C. Roy neglects and which he usually translates as “following, after that (i. e. after the triple *namaskāra*)”. Nilakanṭha attaches an immediate relationship between this adverb and the name of Sarasvatī which it precedes and he explains : “under the influence of this divinity who is all compassion”. As for the word *jaya*, instead of giving it its usual sense of ‘victory’ he considers it as an appellation of the Mahābhārata itself, and he cites in support the text of the poem itself which expressly declares twice “this recitation, by name *Jaya*” I, 2302, XVIII, 194 (the same designation is applied to an episode of the epic, the Vidulāputra-nuśāsana V, 4539). He cites the authority of the Bhaviṣhyapurāṇa which applies the name *Jaya* not only to the Mahābhārata, but also to the eighteen Purāṇas, to the Rāmāyaṇa, to the Viṣṇudharmas and to the Śivadharmas. It also proposes to include within the scope of this designation the philosophical work of Vyāsa, the Śārīrakasūtra, and subsidiarily the commentaries (of Śāṅkara etc.) on the authority of a lexicon that also defines the work *jaya* “as all that causes the four human ends.”

One can perhaps accuse Nilakanṭha of an excessive subtlety; one can reproach him with attributing a purely

scholastic meaning to the work *jaya*, or even an imaginary meaning which can never be justified by the actual usage of the word in the literature and the language. Nevertheless it is by a profound intuition of the realities of the language that he is led to instinctively reject the meaning adopted later by P. C. Roy and Western scholars. I do not believe that we can find a single authentic example in Sanskrit of the verb *udīrayati* constructed directly with a work signifying expression. I do not need to recall that *udīrayati* properly means "to set something going, to make climb in the air, to let off, etc." and from that, in a figurative sense, "to utter, to give forth, to emit (a sound)". But in the latter case the verb is always connected by a word which indicates the idea of sound: *na tam vācam udīrayet*, Manu II, 116; *vācam udīrayan*, Rāmāyaṇa 11, 57, 3; *udīrayāmāsuḥ... ālokaśabdāṃ*, Raghu II, 9; *mantram udīrayan*, Yajñavalkya 1, 136. One can no more say in Sanskrit, *jayam udīrayet* than in French "pousser la victoire (utter the victory)" to express the idea of "pousser un cri de victoire (utter a cry of victory)."

But before adopting the certainly tortuous meaning of Nilakaṇṭha, it behoves us to examine if the text itself does not furnish a simpler and more probable meaning. Translating directly, without any bias: "Adoring Nārāyaṇa, and Nara the best of men, and also the goddess Sarasvatī who make victory to come forth." Let us not forget that the pair Nara-Nārāyaṇa are identical to Arjuna-Kṛishṇa; the idea is proclaimed several times in the Mbh, e.g. I, 218, 7889; 224, 8161; 228, 8202; III, 47, 1888; V, 97, 3496; 111, 3824; VII, 11, 422, 77, 2707; etc. This well known equivalence also evokes of another formula similar to the preliminary benediction, which is found throughout the poem, and which expressed all its inspiration and which lives even now in the conscience of India as the highest teaching of the Mbh: *yataḥ Kṛishṇas tato jayaḥ*, I, 205, 7513; IV, 68, 2534, VI, 21, 771; 23, 821; IX, 624, 3494; XIII, 168, 7746: "unde Kṛishṇa, inde victoria". In several cases the formula is completed by an analogous formula, *yato dharmaḥ tataḥ Kṛishṇaḥ*... VI, 23, 821; IX, 624, 3491; the two combined thus

become, *yataḥ Kṛishṇas tato harma yato dharmas tato jayah*, XIII, 7746—"unde Kṛishṇa inde jus; unde jus, inde victoria; from which finally results the formula *yato dharmas tato jayah*, VI, 65, 2695. In this form, the maxim seems to proclaim a lesson of absolute morality; right gives victory. But it is to falsify the very Principle of the Mbh. to make this interpretation. Without doubt the Mbh. is a didactic and moralising epic, but the epic, no less morality, carry the powerful imprint of the social and religious organisation of India; it is like all creations of the Hindu genius, a work of caste and sect. It is also the Fifth Veda, as it is called, and as it calls itself because the four Vedas of the Brāhmaṇas teach the holy life or rather the sacred life, while it teaches with an equal authority the warrior's life of the Kshatriyas. It is also the Kārshṇa Veda, "the Veda of Kṛishṇa", because it preaches to the kshatriyas, the cult of Kṛishṇa as a guarantee of success and salvation. Success for a kshatriya is in victory, *jaya*; salvation for a *kshatriya* lies in the god of the *kshatriyas*, Kṛishṇa. "Where Kṛishṇa is, there is victory; for, "if one has Kṛishṇa, one has all"—*yataḥ Kṛishṇas tataḥ sarve*; "Where Kṛishṇa is, there is dharma", the law proper of the *kshatriyas*, which commands them to fight, to conquer or die, which assigns to them their function of wielding the rod of command, *danda*, the rod which strikes the evil and which imposes respect for the laws. The Mbh. in its entirety is the illustration and the development of these principles. They converge and are illuminated in the Bhagvadgītā, that incomparable dialogue considered often as a sublime, if extraneous chapter, of the Mbh, but in reality the heart and centre of the entire work. The two inseperables, Kṛishṇa and Arjuna in whom are incarnated Nara and Nārāyaṇa, tutelary divinities of the epic, commune with each other, face to face, at the hour of supreme decision. The perfect warrior questions the Blessed One, Bhagavat, the perfect master of chivalry. He teaches him to follow without hesitation his own dharma in the context of universal dharma; he should spill without scruples the blood, even of his near ones, if the triumph of the good is to result from it. The metaphysical

speculations of the Brāhmanas, conceived through repugnance to action are for the *Kṣatriya* in keeping with the necessity to act. Arjuna the perfect warrior is also the perfect devotee; free to choose between the effective alliance of divinities and the simple assistance of Kṛishṇa as a chariot-driver, he chose Kṛishṇa as the promise of infallible success. Western critics, accustomed to consider the Mbh. as a treatise of absolute morality are often shocked by the acts committed by the Pāṇḍavas which go ill with the ideals of honour and chivalry: Yudhisṭhira employs a subterfuge to get rid of Droṇa; Bhīmasena strikes Duryodhana a foul blow. The author of the epic does not hesitate to lay the responsibility of these acts on Kṛishṇa himself (VII, 190, 8748; IX, 58, 3246); his transcendent wisdom knows and utilises these transactions necessary for the practical life. The end justifies the means when the end is the victory of right.

One should therefore not hesitate in translating, it would seem to me, the preliminary benediction as follows; "I adore Nārāyaṇa, and Nara, the best of men, and also the goddess Sarasvatī, because they bring forth victory."

If the interpretation I propose is correct, the laborious combinations built around the Mbh. fall to the ground. Some are even led to present the Mbh. as an artificial twisting of a previous poem which had for heroes Duryodhana and his brothers. It is at the same time simpler and more honest to take the poem as it is, to try and discover within it its own origin. That India had its own rhapsodists and minstrels who spread the recitations of the epic is not a matter for surprise; the conditions of feudal life favoured their growth. Perched in their strong castles, the rājās of other times, like the modern Rajputs, must have relaxed themselves between expeditions hearing the recital of legendary exploits; they must have waited with impatient curiosity the travelling bard who knew of the heroes of former times. But the epic is not a collection of epic songs merely strung together; it is a learned composition organised with art around a central theme. inspired by a dominant sentiment which pervades and penetrates it. In the West, where the

unity of the group affirms itself in national sentiment, it is the soul of the nation that inspires the poet. The Iliad, the Ennead, glorify Greece and Rome; the Pucelle of Chapelain, like the Henriade of Voltaire- seeks to glorify France. Religious faith is also one of the strongest sentiments of community life and the epic derives inspiration from it. Jerusalem Delivree, Paradise Lost and the Messiad were written for the edification of Christianity. India never succeeded in isolating its national conscience in the above sense. She did not recognise her unity except through its social organisation and its pantheon. The Mahābhārata flows from this double source; it glorifies the *kshatriya* caste and the ideal role that is assigned to it in Hindu society. It also preaches to the *kshatriyas* the glory of God that ensures success and salvation. The adoration of Kṛishṇa that has accomplished so many miracles in Indian literature through the centuries is indeed worthy of giving to Hindu society its epic. Hindu India has concentrated in it all that it has ever received of grace, tenderness, sweetness and humanity. It is only the exquisite charm of this heroic and gallant figure that could have checked the Buddha. The one incarnates the ideals of a melancholy community, weary of the woes of life, without any consolation save the hope of nothingness. The other sought to attract to itself souls enamoured of action, adventures, mighty blows and gallant feats. Both of them accepted converts from India as well as beyond. Menander, the philosopher king was inclined towards Buddhism; but about the same time another Greek, Heliodoros of Taxila, ambassador of the king Antialcidas to an Indian prince dedicated himself to the God of the *kshatriyas*, and built a pillar of Garuḍa in honour of Vāsudeva, God of Gods. When the Kushāṇas founded a Scythian empire in India, one of the successors of Kanishka took to himself the name of Vāsudeva. With the lack of historical documents, these small indications, taken together with other indigenous evidences (inscriptions of Ghosūṇḍī, Nānāghāt), reveal the active propaganda of the Bhāgavatas in competition with the Buddhists.

From the style of composition also, the Bhāgavata epic seems to enter into deliberate competition with Buddhism. The Mbh. prides itself on being a “hundred-thousand” (*Śatasāhasrī*), in other words a gigantic creation that surpasses the ordinary measure of merely human works. (*iti Śrī Mahābhārate Śatasāhasryām Samhitāyām Vaiyāsikyām... parvaṇi... adhyāyaḥ*). The designation is well established in the usage of the fifth century; the inscription of Śarvanātha found at Khoh and dated 214 (Chedi era ?) explicitly refers to the Mbh. as “the collection of a hundred-thousand” (*uktam cha Mahābharate Śatasāhasryām Samhitāyām...*). And this designation inevitably recalls that fundamental work of Buddhist literature, “the hundred-thousand”, *Śatasāhasrikā*, as it is best known, or to designate it by its full title, The Perfection of Knowledge in one hundred-thousand (lines), *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*. Before being given its present form the work underwent successive reductions, in twenty-five thousand, in eight thousand (*aṣṭasāhasrikā* : this is the classic form of the treatise), in seven hundred and in five hundred lines. The *Śatasāhasrikā* lends itself to this process of abbreviation without difficulty, it being sufficient to prune the tautologies, the homonyms, the redundancies and the repetitions that inflate and enlarge it. It is evident that the author had proposed to attain at all costs the enormous dimensions which he had assigned to himself. In its continuous efforts towards the beautiful India had manifestly to pass the intermediary stage of the colossal; before the enjoyment and realisation of the beauty in the harmonious equilibrium of lines, it allowed itself to be dazzled by the prestige of mass. In secular literature, the *Bṛhatkathā* presents a similar case; Guṇādhya, the Vyāsa of stories, prided himself on writing a “Great History”; but his work did not have as safeguard, as the *Śatasāhasrī* of Vyāsa and the Buddhist *Śatasāhasrikā*, the pious zeal of copyists; it has not survived except in reduced adaptations: Kshemendra has taken out from it a bouquet (*mañjarī*); Buddhavāmin has versified the abridgement (*Śloka-saṅgraha*); Somadeva formally calls himself an abbreviator (*saṃgraham rachayāmy aham*).

And it is to Buddhism that we will have to look again to find the most striking parallel to the Mbh. The school of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, that used Samskrit as its sacred language, and which had a strong literary tradition, has left behind an immense Vinaya, double at least in length to the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins which itself surpasses by far the Vinaya of other schools viz. Sthavira (Pali), Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka, and Mahāsaṃghika. Its Vinaya is even larger than the Śatasāhasrikā; the Tibetan translation occupies thirty volumes in the Kanjur while the Śatasāhasrikā fills not more than twelve. Around the brief and dry prescriptions of monastic discipline, the redactor has accumulated the narratives, the stories, the jātakas, the episodes, not to speak of a veritable biography of Buddha, a kind of Buddhavaṃśa. comparable to the Harivaṃśa, an organic complement of the Mahābhārata. With all its overloading, all its episodes, its thick and luxuriant mass, the Mahābhārata carries at its base a Vinaya, the code of *kṣatriya* discipline for the use of the Bhāgavatas.

पुराणसूक्तयः

यमो यम इति प्रोक्तो वृथा तूद्विजते जनः ।

आत्मा वै यमितो येन यमस्तस्य करोति किम् ॥

(पद्म०, सृष्टिखंड, १९।३२५)

प्रजापतिकृतं सेतुं त्यक्त्वा कः स्वस्तिमान् भवेत् ॥

(पद्म०, सृष्टिखंड, ३८।२७०)

इन्द्रियैरजितैर्नशो दुकूलेनापि संवृतः ।

तैरेव संवृतैर्गुप्तो न वस्त्रं कारणं स्मृतम् ॥

(लिङ्ग०, १।३४।१४.)

STUDY OF A NEWLY ACQUIRED ŚĀRADĀ MANUSCRIPT OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

By

ANANDA SWARUP GUPTA

[मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठपरम्परायाः प्रतिनिधिभूतौ द्वौ कोशौ उज्जयिन्याः 'सिंधिया-ओरियन्टल-इन्स्टीट्यूट' नाम्नः संस्थानात्प्राप्य काशि-राजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागे तयोः पाठान्तराणां संवादः कृतः । तयोरेकः शारदालिपिकोशः, अपरश्च देवनागरीलिपिकोशः, एतयोः पाठान्तराणां संवादेनेदमनुमीयते यन्मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठसरणेः शाखाद्वयं संजातम् । काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयेऽपि केषाञ्चित् पुराणानां शारदालिपिकोशा विद्यन्ते । तेषामेकः शारदालिपिकोशः मत्स्यपुराणस्यास्ति । तस्य कोशस्याध्ययनेन परीक्षया चेदमवगम्यते यदयं काशीशारदालिपिकोशः उज्जयिनीनान्द्वयलिपिकोशयोः पाठभेदादिषु भिद्यते, उज्जयिनीस्थ देवनागरीकोशेन च संवदति । अतोऽयं काशी-शारदालिपिकोशोऽपि काश्मीरपाठसरणेः शाखाद्वयसम्बन्धि पूर्वमनुमानं पुष्पाति । अस्मिल्लेखे काशीशारदालिपिकोशस्य उज्जयिनीकोशाभ्यां सह तुलनां कृत्वेदमेव तत्त्वं प्रतिपाद्यते]

Recently a large collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Kashmir has been purchased for the newly established Manuscripts-Dept. of the Banaras Hindu University. This collection consists of about fifteen hundred valuable Sanskrit Manuscripts, of which nearly five hundred are in Śāradā script—three written on *bhūrja-patra* (birch-leaf) and the rest on paper. Some of these Śāradā manuscripts belong to the Purāṇic literature, those of Matsya, Vāmana, Garuḍa, Bhāgavata, Śiva, Bṛihaṇ-Nāradya, Brahma-Vaivarta and Nīla-mata* Purāṇas need specially to be mentioned. Devanāgarī mss. of this collection include some Purāṇa manuscripts also, which perhaps belong to the same textual tradition as that of the Śāradā manuscripts. It is proposed here to study some of the useful details of the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa (to be referred to as BŚ).

* The Nīlamata Purāṇa deals with important religious and historical places of Kashmir.

On a close study of this B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. it will be seen that this Śāradā Ms. differs from the Matsya Purāṇa Śāradā Ms. of the Scindia Oriental Institute Ujjain (No. 4481), some important textual peculiarities of which I have already discussed in my articles in numbers 1 and 2 of Vol. I of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. The Matsya Purāṇa Devanāgarī Ms. of the same Institute of Ujjain (No. 4646) also represents the Kashmirian version of the Matsya Purāṇa, but it also differs from the above mentioned Ujjain Śāradā Ms. (to be referred to as UŚ) in many respects. The B. H. U. Śāradā Ms., however, has close similarity with this Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. (to be referred to as UD), which will be clear from a comparison of these two manuscripts.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BŚ MANUSCRIPT

The B. H. U. Śāradā manuscript belongs to Collection IV of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Banaras Hindu University. It is written breadthwise (like *bhūrja-patra* manuscripts) in clear, bold Śāradā characters on thick country made paper, and is dated Samvat 36 (which is probably the *Saptarshi* samvat 4836), and śāka 1683 (A. D. 1761). It contains 228 folios of 12.3" × 9.5" size, each page containing about 26 lines, and each line about 35 letters. No folio is missing, but one or two pages and parts of a few pages are left blank apparently for the reason that the scribe considered the corresponding portions of the original worn out or missing, which lacunae he might have intended to fill up afterwards from some other exemplar. The text extends from the beginning upto the end of Adh. 263 of the Ān. edn. of the Matsya Purāṇa. The last colophon and the post-colophon statement read as follows. —

इति मत्स्यपुराणे देवतार्चनकीर्त्तनं ॥ समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम् ॥

संवत् ३६. [The scribe at first copies the sentence 'समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम्' from the exemplar and then strikes off this sentence and remarks—

1. See the plate of the last page of this B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. appended after page 162 of Vol. I (No. 2) of 'Purāṇa'.

‘अस्य पुस्तकस्येतःपरं शिष्टं प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा, प्रासादनिर्माणं, भविष्यद्वाज-
कीर्त्तनं, महादानादि च ॥’ and then writes ‘मत्स्यपुराणं समाप्तम् श्रीशाक-
१६८३]’

The Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. also ends after the Ān. Adh. 263, and gives the similar colophon (except the date and the scribal remarks)—

इति मत्स्यपुराणे शिवतार्चानुकीर्त्तनं । शुभमस्तु ॥
समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणमिति शुभं ॥

So it seems probable that both these Mss. represent some old Kashmirian text of the Matsya Purāṇa which extended upto the end of the Ān. Adh. 263. The post-colophon remarks of the BŚ scribe give only an indication of the extent of the Matsya Purāṇa text which was known in his time and which is still the vulgate text of the printed editions of the Matsya Purāṇa.

BŚ does not number the ślokas, and no virāmadāṇḍas are given after the ślokas. Adhyāyas are generally numbered both in words and figures, and sometimes in figures and words only. Although the scribe has been quite careful and faithful in copying this manuscript, yet the Ms. contains certain scribal errors, and adhyāyas and folios also are sometimes numbered wrongly. Folios 190, 191, 192 are numbered as 110, 111, 112, and thereafter all the remaining 36 folios are numbered anew (from 1 to 36) in Devanāgarī and not in Śāradā. It does not contain any marginalia except a few corrections here and there. There are two kinds of lacunae in this Ms., some lacunae are marked with dots or small horizontal lines probably to show that the corresponding portions in the original were either quite illegible or completely worn out, folio 46 is full of such lacunae; the other kind of lacunae are indicated by leaving a page or its portion blank probably to show that the corresponding portions of the text were missing in the original and the BŚ scribe intended to fill up such lacunae afterwards

from some other exemplar. Thus the latter half of folio 62A, whole of 62B and about $\frac{2}{3}$ of 63A have been left blank. Sometimes a missing portion of the original is indicated here by a *Kākapada* sign (X), such as on folio 157A, line 12.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN BŚ AND UD MSS.

There are certain striking similarities between the B.H.U. Śāradā MS. and the Ujjain Devanāgarī MS. of Matsya Purāṇa, which clearly show that both these manuscripts are closely allied, and that they must have been copied from one original. Below are given a few cases of such striking similarities.

(1) The beginning and end of both these MSS. are almost similar. BŚ begins as follows :—

ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते व (वा ?) सुदेवाय
मत्स्यरूपाय ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ ॐ प्रचण्डताण्डवाटोपप्रक्षिप्तो-
त्क्षिप्तदिग्गजाः भवन्तु विविधाकारा विघ्नौघपरिशान्तये नाना-
र्मकरवसतयो यस्य पुच्छाभिघातादूर्ध्वं ब्रह्माण्डखण्डव्यतिकरमवनि-
व्यत्ययेनापराद्धः सोऽयं मत्स्यावतारः सकलवसुमतीमण्डलं व्यादधानस्तस्या-
स्योदीरितानां (नां ?) ध्वनिरवहरतादश्रियं वः श्रुतीनाम् । ॐ नारायणं
नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत्
ॐ अजोपि यः क्रियायोगान्नारायण इति स्मृतः । त्रिगुणाय त्रिवर्गाय
नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे सूतमेकाग्रमासीनं नैमिषारण्यवासिनः मुनयो दीर्घ-
सत्रान्ते पप्रच्छुर्दिव्यसंहिता (ताम् ?)

UD also has a similar beginning except some minute variations, such as ॐ स्वस्ति श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वास्व (सु ?) वाय मत्स्यरूपाय ॥ ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै. The Ujjain Śāradā Ms., however, differs in some respects from the BŚ and UD MSS.; e.g., it begins as ॐ नमो विघ्नहर्त्रे ॥ ॐ नमः सद्गुरुभ्यः, reads हरे विघ्नौघशान्तये for विघ्नौघपरिशान्तये, transposes the two ślokas नारायणं नमस्कृत्य.....जय-मुदीरयेत् and अजोपियः.....स्वयंभुवे, and inserts the words श्री व्यासः †

† Both BŚ and UD omit the words श्री व्यासः here, but in UD the words श्री व्यासः are written in the margin in some later hand, and this correction has been made probably from the Ujjain Śāradā Ms., for many readings from the U have been noted on the margins of UD by some later reviser or reader.

before the śloka सूतमेकाग्रमासीनंसंहिताम्.

BŚ and UD end as follows :—

एवंविधं तु यल्लिङ्गं भवेत्तत्सार्वकामिकम् अन्यथा यद्वेलेलिङ्गं तदशस्तं
प्रशस्यते एवं रत्नमयं कुर्यात्स्फाटिकं पार्थिवं तथा शोभादारुमयं वापि
यद्वा मनसि राजते ॥

Then both the MSS. have almost a similar colophon and a post-colophon statement, which have already been given above.

(2) Most of the chapter colophons of both these MSS. are also similar, and differ from those of the US MS. A few such similar chapter-colophons are given below :—

(a) इति मत्स्यपुराणे मनुविष्णुसंवादे प्रथमोऽध्यायः (BŚ and UD)

(इति मत्स्यपुराणे मनुवरलाभो नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः—US)

(b) इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे अ.....श्राद्धे (अग्निमत्श्राद्धे ?)

श्राद्धकल्पो नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः (BŚ)

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे अ.....म श्राद्धे श्राद्धकल्पो नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः (UD)

(इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे श्राद्धकल्पो नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः—US)

(c) इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे श्राद्धकल्पो नाम ॥ २२ (BŚ and UD)

(इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे श्राद्धकल्पे तीर्थानुसेवनं नाम द्वाविंशोऽध्यायः US)

(d) इति मत्स्यपुराणे यायाते शक्रययाति संवादः ॥ ३६ ॥

(इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे, सोमवंशे ययातिचरिते ययातिशक्रसंवादः
षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः—US)

(e) इति मत्स्यपुराणे ययाति पतनं अध्यायः (BŚ and UD)

(इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे ययातिचरिते ययातिपतनमध्यायः—US)

(f) इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे भुवनकोशे जम्बूद्वीपवर्णने

नवकर्षवर्षवर्णनम् ॥ ९४ ॥ (BŚ and UD)

(US splits this Adhyāya into two Adhyāyas with the

Colophons—‘इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे भारतवर्षवर्णनं नाम and ‘इति श्री मत्स्यपुराणे भुवनकोशे जम्बूद्वीपवर्णनं नाम’)

(3) Both the Mss. contain similar lacunae ; e. g.—

(a) The latter half of the Ān. Adh. 74 (कल्याणसप्तमीव्रतं) and the whole of Adh. 75 (विशोकसप्तमीव्रतं) are missing in both BŚ and UD. In BŚ the folios 62 A (latter half), 62 B and 63 A (first $\frac{2}{3}$ portion) have been left blank here to indicate the lacunae, but in UD. this missing portion is given in a separate śodhapatra in some later hand apparently from UŚ. which does not miss this portion.

(b) On folio 175 A, line 12 of BŚ Ms., there is a lacunum marked with a *Kākapada* sign (λ) after the half-śloka ‘यथा च तपसा दृष्ट्वा बृहस्पतिसमन्वितः (Ān. Adh. 164, śl. 17 ab) and this *Kākapada* sign is immediately followed by the śloka ‘आश्रमाणां विपर्यासः कलौ संपरिवर्तते etc. (Ān. Adh. 165 śl. 18). Here UD also contains this same lacunum but unlike BŚ, it marks this lacunum with dots and not by a *Kākapada* sign.

(c) In both the Mss. Ān. Adh. 240 (यात्रा निमित्तकालयोज्य-चिन्तानाम) and Adh. 241 (यात्रानिमित्ते देहस्पन्दनं नाम) are missing.

[Ān. Adh. 242 (यात्रानिमित्ते स्वप्नाध्यायः) occurs in both the Mss., and the first śloka of this Adh. has the same reading in both the Mss, Ān. reading ; Ān. Adh. 343 (यात्रानिमित्ते मङ्गलाध्यायः) is missing only in UD. and not in BŚ]

(4) In their Adhyāya-colophons and Adhyāya-numbers both have often committed the same mistake ; e.g. both have और्वोपाख्यानं for और्वोपाख्यानं (U Ś), and प्रवनुकीर्त्तने for प्रवरानुकीर्त्तने (UŚ), तारकवदः for तारकवधः and दण्डपाणिवरप्रधानं for ‘प्रदानं. After the Adhyāya which is numbered 54 the next Adhyāya is also numbered 54 in both the Mss., but the next Adhyāya is correcely numbered as 56 in both. Sometimes the same Adhyāya-numbers are omitted in both these Mss.

(5) Both the Ujjain Devanāgarī and the B. H. U. Śāradā Mss. differ from the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. in several important respects ; e. g.

- (a) The Ujjain Śāradā Ms. adds the genealogy of the *Ikshvāku*s after the genealogy of the *Soma-Vanīśa*, but U D and B Ś do not give this genealogy of the Ikshvāku dynasty. [In U D this genealogy of the Ikshvāku kings is given in a separate Śodhapatra in a later hand.]
- (b) The Ujjain Śāradā Ms. divides the Ān. Adh. 154 (having some 603 ślokas) into eleven separate Adhyāyas, but U D and B Ś have not divided this Adhyāya at all.

(6) There are other cases of similarities also, e. g. both the Mss. do not number their ślokas, have no virāmadāṇḍas except on both sides of Adhyāya-colophons, and both often give a dot after the hundreth digit of the numbers of Adhyāyas and folios.

These are some of the similarities found between the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. and the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. of the Matsya Purāṇa, which clearly show their close alliance. These similarities also point to similarities of the reading of their texts ; but as the UD Ms. has been returned to Ujjain, and the collation sheets have also been sent to Madras for editing-purpose, it is not possible at present to give specific instances of the textual similarities of these two Mss.

BŚ BASED ON SOME DEVANĀGARĪ MS.

On a close scrutiny of some of the corrupt readings of the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms., it may be safely inferred, as in the case of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms.,* that this B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. is also based on some Kashmirian Devanāgarī manuscript. The want of space does not permit us to go into elaborate details of this question; but a few instances of such corrupt readings as definitely prove its Devanāgarī source are given here.

* See my article on the Devanāgarī source of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. Matsya Purāṇa, published on pp. 163-174 of Vol. I of the 'Purāṇa'.

(1) On folio 155 B, line 27-28, it reads 'तद्यश्च प्रतिकूल वै वहन्ति कलुषोदकाः', the scribe has himself corrected on the lower margin the faulty reading तद्यश्च and rewrites the whole line as 'नद्यश्च प्रतिकूल वै वहन्ति कलुषोदकाः'. As the Śāradā symbols for letter त and न are quite distinct from each other and have no possibility for confusion, and the Devanāgarī letters त and न being somewhat similar in shape, are most likely to be confused, the corrupt reading तद्यश्च (tadyaścha) must have been the result of the confusion of the letter न (n) of the Devanāgarī word नद्यश्च (nadyaścha) with letter त (t).

(2) On the first page (line 1) of the folio 193 (numbered as 1 in Devanāgarī, there is the corrupt reading 'त्वत्पादमूलसेवा च' in place of the correct reading 'त्वत्पादमूलसेवा च', and on line 18 of the same page again there is the corrupt reading 'चलत्पर्वतसन्निभैः' in place of the correct reading चलत्पर्वतसन्निभैः'. The conjunct letters त्प (tya) for त्प (tpa) could only be written if this Śāradā Ms. was copied from some Devanāgarī Ms.

(3) Some of the Adhyāya-numbers and folio-numbers of the BŚ Ms. are written in Devanāgarī and not in Śāradā; e. g. the Adhyāya-number 81 (on folio 75A) is written in Devanāgarī, and the folio-numbers from 1 to 36 after the folio 192 (wrongly written as 112) are all given in Devanāgarī, and not in Śāradā. Again Adhyāya-numbers 139 and 191 are written as ०*३९ and ०*९१ respectively where the hundredth digit is written in Śāradā and the rest in Devanāgarī. All this shows that the scribe of this BŚ Ms. knew the Devanāgarī script and was most probably copying from some Devanāgarī exemplar.

The close similarity of the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. with the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. and its textual and other notable differences from the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. may lead us to infer that there were at least two textual traditions of the Matsya Purāṇa in Kashmir, the one represented by the Ujjain Śāradā Ms, and the other represented by the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. in common with the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. The importance of the B. H. U. Śāradā Ms. lies in the fact that this Ms. confirms such an inference, which was at first vaguely based on the Ujjain Devanāgarī Ms. alone.

IKSHVĀKU GENEALOGY IN THE PURĀNAS

By

RAI KRISHNADASA*

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे इक्ष्वाकुवंशावलीमधिकृत्य विचारः प्रस्तूयते । एतद्विषयिका सामग्री पञ्चदशसु पुराणेषूपलभ्यते तेषां पञ्चदशानां चतुर्षु वर्गेषु विभागं कृत्वा तुलनात्मकदृष्ट्या राज्ञामनुक्रमः स्पष्टीकृतः, वंशसूची चानुसंधान-दृष्ट्या निर्णीता । पार्जितरमहोदयेन यदस्मिन्विषये पूर्वं संशोधनं कृतं तस्याप्यत्र पुनः समीक्षा कृता । अस्या वंशावल्यास्त्रयो भागा—१. मनोवैवस्वतस्य पुत्राद् इक्ष्वाकोः आरभ्य अहीनगुं यावत्, २. अहीनगुमारभ्य बृहद्वलपर्यन्तं, यो महा-भारतयुद्धे निपातितः । तृतीयो भागः भारतयुद्धादनन्तरं भविष्यराजवृत्तान्ते परिगण्यते । अस्मिन् लेखे नवनवतितृपसंख्याकं पूर्वं भागद्वयमेव विमर्शस्य विषयीकृतम्]

Dynastic lists constitute a principal and authentic portion of the Purāṇas. Pargiter examined this evidence in a very scholarly way which demonstrates its authenticity and carries conviction. By the same method the list of Ikshvāku kings is being re-examined here. Sita Nath Pradhan and Bhagwad Datt also worked in the manner of Pargiter, but their conclusions are involved and in a way tending to differ from Pargiter.

The Purāṇas seem to have recorded the historical tradition from persons whose main function was the preservation of archaic facts. There is the recent tendency to compare the Purāṇic evidence with the Vedic sources. If this method be pursued logically, it becomes clear that the dynastic names occurring in the Vedas confirm the Purāṇic lists. This is specially proved in the case of a substantial portion of the list of Uttara-Pañchāla kings.

It would be a travesty of correct methodology to imagine that the Purāṇa lists were worked out from Vedic sources. If this were so, then each king or dynasty mentioned in the Vedas

*Translated from Hindi original by V. S. Agrawala,

would find its counterpart in a Purāṇic list. On the contrary there are many names in the Vedas of particular kings, or of their one or two generations about whom the Purāṇas know nothing. If the Purāṇa writers had concentrated on the Vedic material, they would naturally have accorded the foremost place to the Uttara-Pañchāla kings, because this royal family had received the highest place in the Ṛigveda, which devotes substantial attention to the line of the Bharatas that ruled in Uttara-Pañchala. The Ṛigveda being a contemporaneous document of the Pañchālas helps us to reconstruct a list of the kings of that dynasty. All Purāṇic royal lists, however, are not confirmed by the Ṛigveda. This fact cannot upset the truth of the Purāṇic lists.

The list given in the Purāṇas seem to have existed from antiquity and compiled at a contemporaneous epoch. If these had been fabricated later, some of them would not have been found incomplete or with gaps or in varying versions. At least with respect to the main Purāṇic dynasties like the Matsyas, the Nishadhas, etc., the fabricators would have shown their art. The reality and historic references associated with these lists show that they were genuine and rooted in factuality.

The Brāhmaṇas in ancient times enjoyed a privileged literary position, but they did not care to invent any such lists about themselves. This also shows that they were working on authentic material when writing about kings.

The Purāṇic royal lists also very often mention the birth of Brāhmaṇa families and of gotras as scions of royalty. Such references not being complimentary to Brahmanical succession would be absent if the genealogical lists of Kings were not based on fact. The picture of Aryan expansion in India as available by piecing together the accounts of genealogies gives support to the modern findings of ethnological and linguistic distributions in India. Such a contingency would be impossible in case the Purāṇic genealogies were imaginary. This seems to be the strongest argument in support of these lists. More-

over, the period of glory of those kings had ended with the Mahābhārata war. The Purāṇic authors would not busy themselves to invent something about kings who were dead and gone.

In the Purāṇas the history of kings is told genealogy-wise. Each dynasty had its own Sūta who compiled and preserved the वंशानुचरित of their kings. In so doing they incorporated at the appropriate place whatever they wanted to record about each important king.

Such genealogies were known as Vamśa or Vamśa-purāṇa lists which were the main source of the Purāṇic accounts of genealogies. Such ancient Vamśas do not now exist outside the Purāṇic description. The existing genealogies in the Purāṇas show that there also existed more than one version of the original Vamśa lists.

The Purāṇa Samhitā compiled by Vyāsa underwent four redactions at the hands of his pupils, based on four different versions of the archaic traditions, and the present authors of the Purāṇas based their accounts on those different traditions, which is responsible for the variations in the Vamśa-lists.

The dynastic lists in the Purāṇas have suffered several discrepancies owing to faulty transmission or the unhistorical point of view of the compilers, e.g. :—

- (1) The gāthā about King Viṣṇu-Vṛiddha of the Ikṣhvāku family in the Viṣṇu P. is misplaced.
- (2) In the Brahmanḍa P. several names are left out, and several lines are broken.
- (3) At several places necessary comments have been left out leading to some confusion, as, for example, in the list of Avanti-kings of the post-Mahābhārata period there has been some confusion. Similarly the list of the Śākya branch of the future Ikṣhvāku family has got mingled up with the Ikṣhvāku genealogy.
- (4) The forms of the royal names have also become changed.

Of the Purāṇic dynastic lists the genealogy of Ikshvāku kings alone is the best preserved, most complete, and probably unbroken. It may be divided into three portions for facility of treatment :—

- (1) From the beginning; i. e. from the time of Vaivasvata Manu to that of Ahinagu;
- (2) From the successors of Ahinagu to the time of the Mahābhārata war or the end of the Dvāpara;
- (3) The Ikshvāku kings of the Kali Age who ruled in the post-Mahābhārata period.

We propose to discuss here only the first two portions of this list.

The Ikshvāku dynastic list is found in the following fifteen Purāṇas that may be divided into four groups :—

- I. Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Viṣṇudharmottara and Devī-Bhāgavata ;
- II. Brahma, Harivaṃśa, and Śiva ;
- III. Kūrma and Liṅga ;
- IV. Matsya, Padma and Agni.

The Mahābhārata gives the list from the beginning up to Dhundhumāra. Amongst these the Vāyu is decidedly the oldest, the Brahmāṇḍa follows it almost literally. The present Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa appear to be two recensions of a single original; hence the Brahmāṇḍa calls itself Vāyu-prokta. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata belong to this group, but having mainly a religious interest and being subsequent productions, did not care about historical explanations or comments, or else lent to them a religious complexion. The list in Viṣṇu is in prose and that of Bhāgavata in verses, the latter being composed by the author of the Bhāgavata differs from that of Viṣṇu. The list in Garuḍa belongs to this group and the verses were composed by its author himself. The Ikshvāku list in the Viṣṇu-Dh. and Devī-Bhāgavata are incomplete, and although they follow the Vāyu version, the śloka in each are

their own. The list in the Mahābhārata upto Dhundhumāra is similar to Vāyu, and the ślokas also resemble. Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Viṣṇu-Dharmottara and Devī-Bhāgavata belong to a latter stratum of literary composition, still they give us many useful details. For the sake of convenience this version of the Ikshvāku genealogy may be designated as the Vāyu recension. Its chief feature is that it includes the names of all the Ikshvāku rulers and also contains historical comments in proper places.

The second recension is based on Brahma, Harivaṁśa and Śiva Purāṇa which we may name as the Brahma recension. The reading of Brahma and Harivaṁśa are almost literally the same, Śiva also follows it more or less closely. This version is in all details similar to that of Vāyu, excepting that between Kalmāshapāda and Dilīpa there is a difference of six or seven kings, which as will be seen later is significant. This version of the genealogy may have been based on a different recension of the original Vaṁśa.

The third recension is based on the Kūrma and Linga Purāṇas and may be named as the Kūrma version. Of this list, the names from Manu to Ahīnagu are generally the same as of Vāyu, but the list after that up to the end of Dvāpara is entirely different.

The fourth recension is that of the Matsya (a Purāṇa of almost the same antiquity as Vāyu), which includes the Padma and Agni also. Of these the Matsya and Padma are literally the same. The Agni gives only the names of kings in its own verses. This redaction was based upon a version of the Vaṁśa with the following special features :—

- (a) The names of unimportant kings are left out ;
- (b) From Manu to Ahīnagu this follows the Brahma list, and thereafter upto the end of Dvāpara the Kūrma list. This gives to this version its own importance, and the list may have been based upon an independent original.

The above four recensions of the Ikshvāku genealogy fall into two groups, firstly that of Vāyu and Brahma which

are similar, and secondly of Kūrma and Matsya which also have much identity. The above classified grouping has been proposed with a view to the Ikshvāku dynastic list from Manu to Bṛihadbala. Possibly other dynastic lists may dictate different groupings. We shall strive to fix a probable version of Ikshvāku genealogy by a study of these four groups.

Here an important point is to note the meaning of the word 'Vaṁśa'. We find its use in three other places; namely. (1) Vaṁśa Brahmana in Vedic literature, (2) Ṛshivaṁśa in the Purāṇas, and (3) Buddha-Vaṁśa in Buddhistic literature. In these three places nowhere is Vaṁśa indicative of family list. In the Vaṁśa-Brahmana it stands for a line of teachers and pupils through which they inherited the succession of Vedic Śākhās. The Ṛshi-Vaṁśa of the Purāṇas relates to the line of special Ṛshis who were born in succession to the original founder of the family and who became distinguished as Pravara teachers and who founded different family Branches. In the Buddha-Vaṁśa the line of succession is not from father to son, but of the twenty-five Great Men who obtained Buddhahood amongst whom Siddhārtha was the last.

The above uses indicate that the word Vaṁśa did not denote family succession only but also other kinds of succession.

Therefore when they spoke of the Ikshvāku Vaṁśa it was not recording the line from father to son, but giving the names of rulers as they came one after another. This Ikshvāku Vaṁśa must have had several branches. The Purāṇas do hint at such branches, but without recording their genealogical lists.*

The relationship between the names occurring in this list is of four kinds :—

- (1) B was the son of A; or A was the father of B;
- (2) B came from A (no relationship is indicated).

* E. G. (a) The fourteenth Ikshvāku ruler दृढाक्ष had two more brothers and the three gave rise to three different branches, (b) Reṇuka was an Ikshvāku king, his daughter Reṇukā was the mother of Paraśurāma. This Reṇuka belonged to some other Ikshvāku branch.

(3) B was begotten by A, or came after A (no relationship is indicated).

(4) B was heir to A

Of these in the case of (2) and (3) it was not necessary that A and B should be father and son. In the case of (4) B was only a successor of A. It was remarkable that even in the case of where B is said to be a son of A this relationship was not intended to be factual, for the word पुत्र also had the sense of a successor or follower, as in the case of Śākya-putra. Another instance is that दल and बल of the Ikshvāku family were real brothers, but in the list बल is said to be the son of दल. Therefore in the genealogical list Pitā may also indicate a predecessor and Putra his successor. Amongst the Ikshvākus the succession was not always from father to son, but the kingship was elective in which the people also had a hand. The council of ministers also exercised their influence in the choice of kings, because of which the ministers enjoyed the title of King-Makers. (राजकर्तारः). In the case of such kings it was necessary for them to be of Ikshvāku blood but not to be of the same branch or related as father and son; or to be the successor was not always to be the eldest son, but the best with respect to his virtues. This practice prevailed up to the time of the Śākyas. Let us take a few examples :

(1) Hariśchandra is called a Vaidhasa in the Śatapatha. The name of Vedhas does not occur in any Ikshvāku list. The eighth predecessor of Hariśchandra, king Trasadasyu, was the heir of his predecessor, Purukutsa. Vedhas might have been a predecessor in that particular Ikshvāku line in which Trasadasyu was born and hence Hariśchandra, the eighth descendant of Trasadasyu, was also called Vaidhasa, owing to his being descended from a predecessor called Vedhas. It points to the fact that Hariśchandra belonged to a different Ikshvāku line, and being a ruler was admitted into the list of Trasadasyu line.

(2) Similarly Rītuparna is said to be the son of Bhṛīṅgāśva in the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The name

of भृंगाश्व does not occur in the present Ikshvāku list. Hence this Rituparna must have been born in some different branch of the Ikshvāku family ; his name occurs in the genealogical list, since he became the royal successor. For this very reason he is said to be the heir of his predecessor, king Ayutāyu. The same is indicated by his patronymic Bhāṅgāśva (भान्गीश्व) since Bhṛiṅgāśva was an ancestor of his branch.

(3) After Kalmāshapāda and before Dilīpa II, the Vāyu and Kūrma versions give seven names, but Matsya and Brahma give only five or six, both of which are entirely different as follows :—

Vāyu and Kūrma
versions

कल्माषपाद

|

अश्मक

|

उरकाम

|

मूलक

|

शतरथ

|

इडविड

|

वृद्धशर्मा

|

विश्वसह

|

दिलीप II

Matsya and
Brahma versions

कल्माषपाद

|

सर्वकर्मा

|

अनरण्य

|

निघ्न

|

अनमित्र रघु

|

दुलिदुह

|

दिलीप II

The intervening names between कल्माषपाद and दिलीप II are so entirely different that their identity (excepting perhaps that of विश्वसह and दुलिदुह) seems to be impossible; nor is it possible to disown the one and accept the other, because the preceding names in both versions are the same according to all the Purāṇas, and also after the difference of this limited sector the names from दिलीप II upto अहीनगु are generally the same. This confusion

in the two lists points to the situation that for some generations there were two simultaneous branches accepted by the people as their rulers.

The fact also seems to have been like this : कल्माषपाद lost his throne because of a religious feud. At that time there were two sects, one being adherent of Varuṇa and the other of Indra. The first was older and the second comparatively new. The second one was in the ascendancy, still the old one had its staunch followers. The traditional Mantrin-cum, Purohita family of the Vasishṭhas pledged its devotion to Varuṇa, hence the family was called 'Āpava' and 'Maitrā-Varuṇī'. On the other hand Viśvāmitra stood to lend his support for Indra, inasmuch as Indra himself began to be called Kauśika after Viśvāmitra's family-name 'Kauśika', and his predecessor Kuśika was identified with Indra himself. In this religious feud Kalmāshapāda, a supporter of Viśvāmitra came to grief for his proving oppressive to the Vasishṭha family.

There are several versions of this calamity of Kalmāshapāda, as preserved in the accounts of the Brihaddevatā, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas. These legends will be considered at some other time. Suffice it here to say that Kalmāshapāda remained deposed for many years. It is said that Vasishṭha begot by levirate on his queen Madayantī a son named Aśmaka. We also know of a long drawn fierce struggle between the families of Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, in which the Jāmadagnayas who were related to and also the religious followers of Viśvāmitra supported him. This mutual hostility between the two families of priests continued even after Kalmāshapāda. Against this background it seems proper to infer that one of the two lists of kings mentioned above was attached to Viśvāmitra and the other to Vasishṭha, but one or the other king from the two lists often wavered in his loyalty for fear of earning the wrath of the other band. Hence, we find that the fury and attack of the Jāmadagnyas were directed against Sarvakarmā of the Matsya list and also

against Mūlaka of the Vāyu list, both of whom were almost contemporaries.

(4) The names from Dilīpa II to Ahīnagu of the Ikshvāku list as found in Matsya-Kūrma versions agree with those in the Vāyu-Brahma versions, but after that the Vāyu and Brahma give thirty-one names of whom the last Brihadbala was killed in the Mahābhārata war, as against the Matsya and Kūrma which give only six names, and those too are entirely different. It is well-known that Rāmachandra had divided his kingdom amongst his sons and nephews, thus bringing into existence several Ikshvāku kingdoms of smaller pretensions. It seems that for the post-Ahīnagu period the Matsya and Kūrma versions have taken their lists from one of these smaller Ikshvāku branches.

In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, there is a genealogical list of the Ikshvākus from Manu to the time of Rāma. This list widely differs from the list in the Purāṇas. The difference is chiefly two-fold :—(a) in the Purāṇic lists there are sixty-three generations from Ikshvāku to Rāma, whereas in Vālmīki the number is only thirty-six (b) the names in the two lists also widely differ. Of the thirty-six names in the Rāmāyaṇa, only eighteen are common in the two lists up to Rāma.

Besides the Ikshvāku list, Vālmīki gives three other genealogies, viz, (1) of Kuśika family, (2) of the Vaiśālī dynastic rulers, and (3) of Janaka family. These three lists are generally the same as given in the Purāṇas. Under these circumstances the divergence between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas in respect of the Ikshvāku genealogy must be due to more special reasons, since the Rāmāyaṇa is the great store-house of the Ikshvāku legends and traditions. It is impossible that a work like that of Vālmīki should have incorporated the genealogy of any minor branch. It seems reasonable to infer that the Ikshvāku list of Vālmīki belongs to that line in which Rāma was born, and which in fact had been the main line from the time of Ikshvāku. Consequently, of the main Vamśa only such names are found

in the Purāṇic lists as were elected to the throne, leaving the rest of the names in the two lists to be different. This argument finds support in the fact that amongst the eighteen names common to the two lists, the groups of five, two, two, five, three have the same order of precedence as in the Purāṇic lists. (Please consult the tables *infra*.)

As against this it may be argued that out of the eighteen names the three remaining ones are not in the same order in which they should be, hence this list is not worthy of credit. To this we may reply that these names are either secondary names (अपर नाम) of the persons in the Purāṇic lists—e. g. the name Asita of Vālmiki's list is equivalent to Bāhu. Bāhu was not only a predecessor of Sagara but also his father, and similarly the other two names were also secondary to the names in the Purāṇic lists or amongst the two lists two different persons bearing identical names also possessed these secondary names. On the whole our argument does not suffer by this reasoning against it.*

As to the difference in the number of generations there is also a satisfactory explanation. One generation of a ruler means an average of 15 years, which in the case of a person in the family list is 25 years. Calculated on this basis, 63 generations of rulers are equal to 945 (63×15) years, and 36 generations of family genealogy from father to son occupy

*Pargiter had adduced two more reasons to prove the unauthentic nature of this genealogy—firstly, Nahusha and Yayāti, the two names occurring one after another in this list were also Kings in the Aila dynastic lists. To this we reply that Nahusha and Yayāti were not exclusive names for the Chandra or Aila dynasty. They could also be adopted among others. This is also seen that if a particular person is named after his ancestor then he names his son after the name of the son of that ancestor. The same seems to have been the case here. Moreover in the R̥gveda we find the name Nahusha Mānava and Yayāti Nahusha amongst R̥shis, of whom the former is certainly the same as Nahusha of Vālmiki, because Mānava as an ancestral name (अभिजन नाम) has been used elsewhere for the Ikshvākus. This piece of evidence lends additional support to the list in Vālmiki. The second argument of Pargiter states that in the Rāmāyaṇa list there are six such names as occur in the same order in the Purāṇic list after Rāma. To this also we make a similar reply based on the natural desire of persons to name their sons after some hoary ancestors.

almost the same period that is about 900 years (36×25). Vālmīki's list gives definite proof of the fact that the Ikṣvāku list in the Purāṇas is that of a ruling dynasty; in other words its names and their order follow the succession of rulers, constituted of the names of persons belonging to one or the other branches of the Ikshvāku family.

(6) The Purāṇas also contain several family genealogical lists like those of the Yādavas, Sātvatas and Vṛishṇis. Their nature is entirely different from that of the Ikshvāku list, and they abound in so many references to ramifications of families and to internal relationships, that in comparison to them the Purāṇic Ikshvāku list can not be anything else except the list of Ikshvāku ruling kings. It does not seem necessary to adduce any more argument, since we have thrown sufficient light on the characteristic features of the Purāṇic Ikshvāku list, and we have probably succeeded in showing that the list of royal names there belongs to successive rulers of a dynasty and not to any ancestral list of father and son.

The available lists also show the following features :—

- (a) The names of uterine brothers also occur in the Ikshvāku list. At one or more places even family names are found. But this happens only when such persons had any political significance; the uterine brothers may have succeeded one another, or may have been the founder of new branches, or become martyrs to some cause. Similarly a female name is mentioned if her son was the ruler.
- (b) Such persons as did not become kings or rulers are mentioned only if they were connected with some great political event.

After this introduction it now remains to reconstruct a precise and undisputed list of the Ikshvāku genealogy as based on the several Purāṇic versions mentioned above. This list is as follows :—

मनु वैवस्वत*

I

1. इक्ष्वाकु
 2. विकुक्षि = देवराट्-शशाद, and 99 other sons.
 3. पुरंजय = ककुत्स्थ = इन्द्रवाह and 14 other sons
 4. अनेता = सुयोधन (अयोधन)
 5. पृथु
 6. दृषदश्व (विश्वगश्व, विष्टशश्व)
 7. आर्द (आद्र, आर्द्र, आन्ध्र, चान्द्र)
 8. युवनाश्व I
 9. श्रावस्त
 10. वत्सका (वंशक, वत्सुक)
 11. बृहदश्व
 12. कुवलाश्व = धुन्धुमार
-
- कपिलाश्व
13. दृढाश्व भद्राश्व (दंडाश्व, चन्द्राश्व)

In these lists the names of uterine brothers have been mentioned only if they were founders of new

* The Purāṇas give the following order of Manu's progeny :—

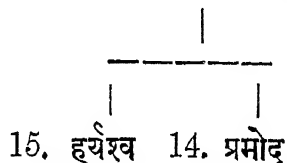
मनु वैवस्वत

(इल) इक्ष्वाकु नामाग धृष्ट शर्याति नरिष्यन्त प्रांशु नामानेदिष्ट कर्ष पृषध्र (इल)

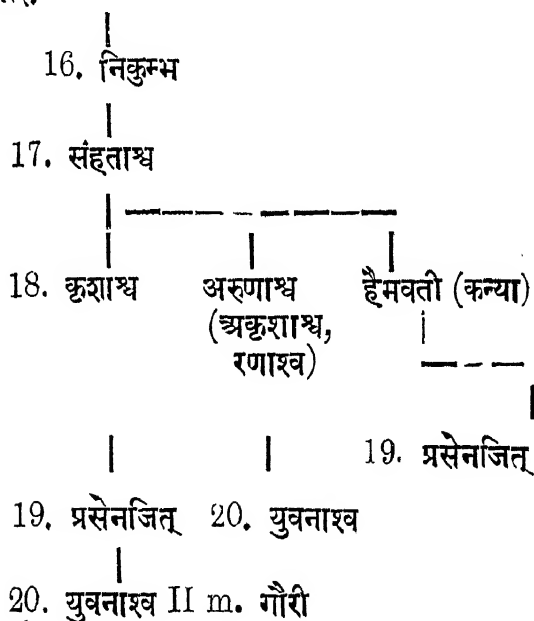
† See Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pratiloma*, p. 345. According to the Matsya and Padma of the Matsya-group and Liṅga of the Kārma-group वत्सक was the son of श्रावस्त. The collated reading of that verse is as follows :—

श्रावस्तश्च महातेजो वत्सकस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् ।
वत्साच्च बृहदश्वोऽभूत्कुवलाश्वस्ततोऽभवत् ॥

branches (वंशधर), or themselves rulers. In the present context the two brothers of दृढाश्व started new branches.



From the Agni Purāṇa-quotation (दृढाश्वात् हर्यश्वश्च प्रमोदकः) it appears that हर्यश्व and प्रमोद were real brothers of whom प्रमोद was younger. But in the Matsya and Kūrma versions the names of दृढाश्व, प्रमोद and हर्यश्व come one after another, i.e. they sat on the throne in this order. Other versions do not give the name of प्रमोद.



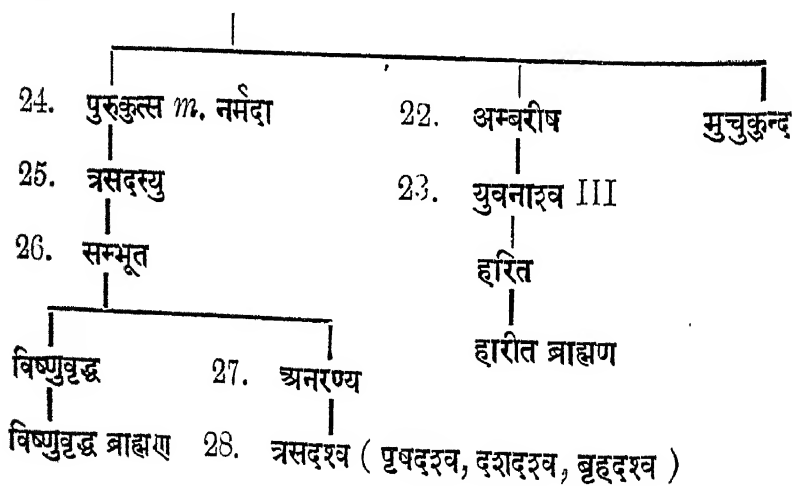
The Vāyu and Brahma groups give the name of प्रसेनजित् after कृशाश्व, but the name of his father is not clear. Matsya and Kūrma mention युवनाश्व after कृशाश्व and he is called the son of अरुणाश्व. The Harivaṃśa (a part of the Brahma group) goes into detail stating that संहताश्व had, besides two sons कृशाश्व and अरुणाश्व, also a daughter named हैमवती. प्रसेनजित् was her son and he sat on the throne after कृशाश्व, and then came युवनाश्व. The Matsya has omitted the names of unimportant kings and therefore the name of प्रसेनजित् is not there.

21. मांधाता *m.* चैत्ररथी—विंदुमती (इन्दुमती)

It is necessary to consider minutely the several lists after मांधाता, in which there is some confusion ; that can be removed only by a comparative study of the material.

मांधाता had three sons—पुरुकुत्स, अम्बरीष and मुचुकुन्द. The Purāṇas give their names in this order, but it is not certain if this order was due to the exigency of metre or of their age. After giving these names there is first mention of the generation coming after अम्बरीष. His heir was युवनाश्व II. His successor was हरित whose descendants became the हारीत-क्षत्रब्राह्मण. Thereafter the Purāṇas mention पुरुकुत्स; from his queen नर्मदा was born संभूत, his heir. संभूत had two sons—विष्णुवृद्ध and अनरण्य. विष्णुवृद्ध also became a क्षत्रब्राह्मण. From him were descended the विष्णुवृद्ध ब्राह्मणः. अनरण्य became a king. His son was त्रसदस्यु.

The purport of this is that after मांधाता, अम्बरीष became the king. His successor was युवनाश्व. His son became a Brāhmaṇa. Therefore, the royal power descended to his uncle पुरुकुत्स (brother of अम्बरीष). The line of kings after मांधाता may then be fixed as follows :—



Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa and Vishṇu-dharma have mixed up संभूत and अनरण्य as one person, but this cannot be accepted as is evident by विष्णुवृद्ध coming between the two.

|
29. हर्यश्च *m.* हषद्वती

After him only Vishṇu gives the name of हस्त as king, but the name not being found elsewhere and Vishṇu also not giving any detail about him, we have not included him in this list.

|
30. वसुमना (वसुमान्, सुमन, अरुण,
सुमति, सुधन्वा)

|
31. त्रिधन्वा

|
32. त्रय्यारुण

|
33. सत्यव्रत = त्रिशंकु *m.* सत्यरथा (सत्यरता,
सत्यव्रता, सत्यधना)

The Matsya group gives after सत्यव्रत the name of king सत्यरथ, but really this is a mislection of सत्यरथा who was his queen from the Kekaya country. The Brahma group clarifies this confusion.

|
34. हरिश्चन्द्र *m.* शैव्या

|
35. रोहित (रोहिताश्व)

|
36. हरित

|
37. चंचु (चंप, धुन्धु)

|
38. विजय

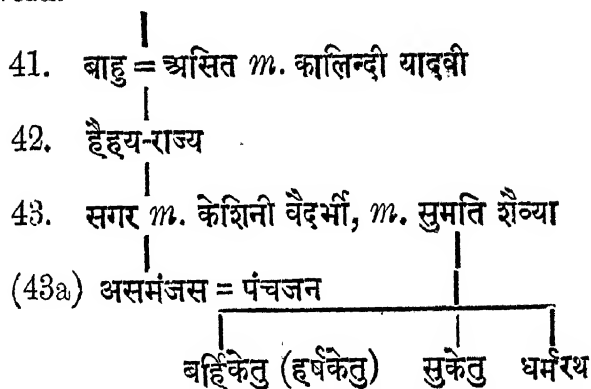
The Bhāgavata gives the name of सुदेव before विजय, its order being चम्प, सुदेव, विजय. The names of both सुदेव and विजय may be due to the fact that both brothers might have ruled. But it does not seem proper to count both as rulers on the authority of the Bhāgavata alone. It would be correct to take both as founders of branches (वंशधर).

|
39. रुरुक (भीरुक, कारुक, अलर्क)

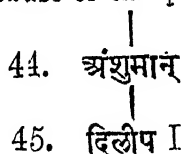
|
40. वृक

In the Matsya group after रोहित comes at once the name

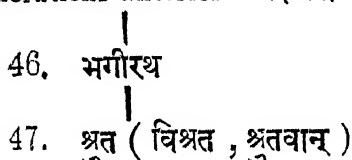
of वृक which shows that the intervening kings from 36 to 39 were short-lived and weak.



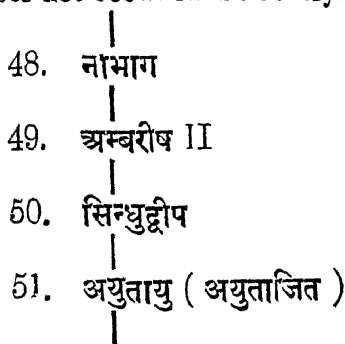
The Purāṇas differ about the names of सगर's queens and their sons. असमंजस was removed from his right to inherit, since he proved to be a tyrant even while a prince, but his name comes in the list because of this political event.



The Brahma group calls him खट्वाङ्ग which cannot be accepted, because all other groups mention खट्वाङ्ग as the name of दिलीप II in order to distinguish him from दिलीप I. Moreover, in the Shodaśarājika list of the Mahābhārata, the patronymic of दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग is ऐडविडि. This can be true only of दिलीप II, since ऐडविडि was three generations anterior to दिलीप.



This name does not occur in the Matsya group



52. ऋतुपर्व

53. सर्वकाम

54. सुदास = इन्द्रसाख (हंसमुख)

55: मित्रसह = कल्माषपाद *m.* मदयन्ती (दमयन्ती)

After कल्माषपाद in the case of six or seven kings, the list of Vāyu-Kūrma group is totally different from the Brahma-Matsya group. The reason of this difference has been explained above.

Brahma-Matsya versions

Vāyu-Kūrma versions

56. सर्वकर्मा

अश्मक

57. अनरण्य

उरकाम

58. निम्न

The Purāṇic statement about उरकाम is due to mislection, e.g.

59. अनमित्र

(1) अश्मकस्योत्तरायां तु

60. रघु I

मूलकस्तत्सुतोऽभवत्

(Vāyu)

According to both Brahma and Matsya groups अनमित्र and रघु I were the sons of निम्न who became kings one after the other, as indicated in the Brahma-version.

(2) अश्मकस्यौरसो यस्तु

मूलकस्तत्सुतोऽभवत्

(Brahmāṇḍa)

(3) अश्मकस्योत्तरायां तु

मूलकस्तु सुतोऽभवत्

(Kūrma)

61. दुलिदुह

(4) अश्मकस्योत्तरायां तु

मूलकस्तु सुतोऽभवत् ।

(Liṅga)

According to the Brahma-group रघु was followed by दुलिदुह as king who was the son of अनमित्र. The Matsya group does not give this name, but after रघु this list is confused as shown later. Therefore, the name of दुलिदुह should be given here.

A little attention makes it evident that the reading of Vāyu alone is authentic.

Probably दुलिदुह of the Vāyu-Kūrma group is the corrupt form of विश्वसह. Such corrupt forms crept into the text of the Purāṇas when their historical nature became subordinate to the religious purpose. In this very list त्रसदस्यु became दुस्सल and इन्द्रसख became हंसमुख. Similarly गौरी, wife of युवनाश्व, is said to be *atyantadhārmikā* in Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, which in fact was a corrupt reading for *Atinārātmaṇī* (daughter of अतीनार). In two mss. of Vāyu this correct form has been found, and it is also supported from other sources. Thus it was quite possible for विश्वसह to be changed to दुलिदुह or मुण्डिद्रुह. This probability receives support from the fact that the Brahma mentions दिलीप as the son of दुलिदुह, but according to the Vāyu-Kūrma group as that of विश्वसह.

|
मूलक
|
शतरथ (दशरथ)
|
इडविड
|
वृद्धशर्मा
|
विश्वसह (विश्वमहत्)
m. यशोदा पितृकन्या
|
दिलीप-खट्वाङ्ग

Of these two branches the principal was that of सर्वकर्मा who was the eldest own son of कल्माषपाद; whereas अश्मक was his youngest and *kshetraja* son. After दुलिदुह the place of the main branch was probably taken by the branch of अश्मक, because in the Mahābhārata दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग who was the successor of दुलिदुह is called a descendant of इडविड who was of the अश्मक branch. It means that according to the family list he was descended from इडविड, but according to the royal dynastic list he was the successor of विश्वसह ।

62. दिलीप = खट्वाङ्ग *m.* सुदक्षिणा मागधी

He was called खट्वाङ्ग in order to distinguish him from दिलीप I (No. 45)

63. रघु = दीर्घबाहु

He was called दीर्घबाहु in order to distinguish him from रघु I (No. 60)

The Vāyu and Kūrma groups insert the name of दीर्घबाहु between दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग and रघु, but this was an epithet of रघु, as clearly stated in the Brahma version. Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa also mentions रघु as the son of दिलीप

64. अज *m.* इन्दुमती वैदर्भी

According to the Matsya version the names from दिलीप to अज are as follows :—

दिलीप, अज (अजक), दीर्घबाहु, आजपाल (प्रजापाल, अजापाल), but this is unsupported by any other version and the Raghuvamśa and hence unacceptable.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 65. दशरथ <i>m.</i> कौशल्या, <i>m.</i> सुमित्रा | <i>m.</i> कैकेयी |
| 66. राम <i>m.</i> सीता | लक्ष्मण <i>m.</i> उर्मिला |
| 67. कुश <i>m.</i> कुसुद्वती लव | शत्रुघ्न <i>m.</i> श्रुतकीर्त्ति |

It has been mentioned above that after कुश in the ninth generation came अर्हीनगु. From अर्हीनगु to the Bhārata War there are two versions of the Ikshvāku list. Of these the list of the Vāyu and Brahma versions is the original Kuśa genealogy which is the same as in the Raghuvamśa. Hence we have also accepted it. The other list is too short and makes the interval between Rāma and the Bhārata War rather much too brief. Kālidāsa gives the names of kings from कुश to अग्निवर्ष (infra No. 91). Of these names only three are different from the list of Vāyu and Brahma versions about which our explanation is as follows :—

(1) In the Vāyu group the Vishṇu mentions the name of रु after अहीनयु. In the Brahma group the name of सुधन्वा comes at the same place. Both रु and सुधन्वा do not occur in the Raghuvamśa, but this name has been accepted by us, as it occurs in the two Purāṇic versions. Since the version of Brahma is comparatively more authentic than that of Vāyu-Vishṇu, we have preferred the name सुधन्वा. It appears that he was an unimportant ruler hence his name is omitted in the Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa versions and in Kālidāsa.

(2) Probably due to his being an unimportant king, the name of दल has been omitted by Kālidāsa after that of शिल (= शल of the Mahābhārata, and दल of Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa ; the name does not occur in Brahma). The name of दल is found in Vāyu and Brahma versions (Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa give it as बल, Vishṇu as वच्चल, Bhāgavata as बलस्थल, and Brahma as अनल) The Mahābhārata gives his legend which shows that he was the younger brother of शिव and succeeded him as king. Therefore the name of दल after शल or शिल cannot be left out in the list,

(3) In the Purāṇic genealogy हिरण्यनाभ कौशल्य-वसिष्ठ (or वरिष्ठ) seems to be one name, but Kālidāsa mentions हिरण्यनाभ, कौशल्य and बलिष्ठ as names of three kings in order. Here Kālidāsa seems to be right and the Purāṇic list seems to be mistaken, because in the Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (16.9 11,13) the epithet Kauśalya is given not to हिरण्यनाभ but to one called हैरण्यनाभ. This shows that हिरण्यनाभ and कौशल्य were different persons and कौशल्य was the descendant of हिरण्यनाभ, his own name being पर (Para) according to the Vedic sources. This also indicates that बलिष्ठ was an independent person. We give below the names upto अग्निवर्ण as found in the Raghuvamśa, the chief Purāṇic variants being given within brackets. In the Matsya version the line of future kings starts not from श्रुतायु but from बृहद्बल which shows the importance of this list.

68. अतिथि
 69. निषध
 70. नल
 71. नभ
 72. (पुण्डरीकाक्ष)
 73. क्षेमधन्वा
 74. देवानीक
 75. अहीनगु *
 76. सुधन्वा (रुरु)
 77. पारिपात्र (पारियात्र)
 78. शिल (शल, दल, देवल)
 79. दल (वल, वचल, बलस्थल, अनल)
 80. उन्नाभ (औक, उलूक, उत्क, उक्थ)
 81. वज्रणाभ (व्रजनाभ)
 82. शङ्खन
 83. व्युषिताश्व (ध्युषिताश्व, युषिताश्व)
 84. विश्वसह (विघृति)

*. After this the list of the Matsya-Kūrma version becomes different of which the best form, according to the Matsya is as follows :—

सहस्राक्ष, चंद्रावलोक, तारापीड, चन्द्रगिरि, भानुचन्द्र, श्रुतायु ।

These names do not differ in any of the lists. In the Liṅga alone श्रुतायु is equated with बृहद्वल e.g. :—

श्रुतायुरभवत्तस्माद् बृहद्वल इति श्रुतः ।

.....भारते यो निपातितः ॥

85. हिरण्यनाभ (कौसल्य)
 |
 86. पर कौसल्य (हिरण्यनाभ कौसल्य)
 |
 87. ब्रह्मनिष्ठ (वसिष्ठ, वरिष्ठ)
 |
 88. पुष्य (पुष्प)
 |
 89. ध्रुवसंधि (अर्थसिद्धि)
 |
 90. सुदर्शन
 |
 91. अभिवर्ण
 |
 92. शीघ्र (शीघ्रग)
 |
 93. मरु (मनु)
 |
 94. प्रसुश्रुत
 |
 95. सुसंधि
 |
 96. अमर्षण (अमर्ष)

This name occurs only in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata

97. सहस्वान् (महस्वान्)
 |
 98. विश्रुतवान् (विश्वभव, विश्वसाह)

The Bhāgavata gives here the names of प्रसेनजित् and तक्षक which being unsupported from other sources are left out.

99. बृहद्बल

This बृहद्बल was killed in the Bhārata war. After him begins the third sector of the Ikshvāku genealogy known as the line of the Future Ikshvāku Kings (भविष्य ऐश्वक वंशावली).

THE VISHNUDHARMOTTARA CHAPTERS ON MUSIC:
A CRITICAL STUDY

By

SHYAM CHAND MUKHERJEE.

[विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य तृतीयखण्डस्य अष्टादशाध्याये गीतलक्षणम्, एको-
नविंशतितमेऽध्याये आतोद्यविधिश्च वर्ण्यते । अस्मिन् लेखे उभयोः विमर्शः कृतः,
गीतस्य स्थान-ग्राम-स्वर-मूर्धना-तान-लयादीनां च विषये विचारः क्रियते ।
हास्यादि नवरसानां मध्ये केषु रसेषु के स्वरा प्रयुज्यन्ते इत्यप्यालोचितम् ।
आतोद्यस्य तत-सुषिर-धन-धवनद्वेति चत्वारः प्रकाराः, तिस्रो वृत्तयः,
द्विविधं प्रकरणं चेत्यादयो विषयाः वर्णिताः । अन्ते च गायकानां निवेशन-
विधिरपि निर्दिष्टः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवर्णनस्य पाठानां च नारदशिक्षा-बृहद्देशी-
नाट्यशास्त्र-वायुपुराण-संगीतरत्नाकरादिग्रन्थानां वर्णनैः पाठैश्च तुलनाप्यत्र बहुशः
कृता । पारिभाषिकशब्दानां व्याख्या अस्याध्ययनस्य विशिष्टो गुणः ।]

With the Hindus music (saṅgītam) has all along been considered as a means of spiritual realisation. Hence, music is sacred.

The traditional belief of the Hindus is that god Śiva was the originator of the threefold science of music; and his mystic dance symbolises the rhythmic motion of the universe. It may be pointed out here that though lord Śiva is associated with music, nowhere in the Vedic texts do we find him clearly connected with music and dance. In the Rāmāyaṇa, however, there is an indirect hint as to the relation between Śiva and music (VII. 16. 35). The Vāyupurāṇa, where various theories as regards the origin of music remain undiscussed (a characteristic feature of the later mythological texts), shows lord Śiva very often associated with music (II. 24-25). It is interesting to note that the Vishnudharmottara ascribes the origin of music to Viṣṇu (III. 34. 26 ff.).

Music in India is as old as the Vedas. The hymns of the Ṛik and Sāma-Vedaṣ are examples we have of

words set to music. These hymns were closely associated with the rituals performed in ancient times. The Vedas, Epics (specially the Rāmāyaṇa) Khila Harivaṁśa and Purāṇas throw welcome light on the close association of music with the sacrifices. Names of most of the tānas, mentioned in the earlier texts like the Nārādīya Śikshā (Sāmavedīya) and also in Vāyu and Vishṇudharmottara, have been given after those of the various sacrifices.

A considerable progress in the realm of music may be noticed in the references to music in the Rāmāyaṇa (c. 500 B. C.). The Mahābhārata (c. 450 B. C.); and the Pāli texts also refer to music (c. 300 B. C.).

Among important landmarks of music must also be counted some chapters of certain Purāṇas (and Upapurāṇas), particularly the Mārkaṇḍeya (c. 2nd century A. D.), Vāyu (c. 3rd century A. D.), Vishṇudharmottara (c. 5th century A. D.). The Hindus claim a great antiquity for these Purāṇas, and this seems to be corroborated by the technical terms used in them with reference to music. These texts are, however, full of copyists' errors in technical passages (treating of the Śilpaśāstra, Vāstuvidyā, Saṅgīta and Nṛitya).

The Vāyupurāṇa devotes two chapters (chs. 86-87 of Anandashrama edn.) which deal exclusively with music – specially with its theoretical side. As this Purāṇa does not mention either Bharata or his Nāṭyaśāstra, we have every reason to believe that the materials of the said chapters, have been taken from some other texts earlier than it. Names of 'tānas' as found in it are different from those mentioned in some extant works on music. For these reasons Dikshitar opines that "the Vāyu contents are certainly older than any regular treatise on the science of music" (cf. Some aspects of the Vāyu-Purāṇa, pp. 34-37). Some of the technical terms of music as well as the names of the musical instruments can be found in earlier texts like the Vedas, Jātakas, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

The oldest detailed exposition of the theory of Indian music has been given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is said to have been composed by the sage Bharata (there is a great doubt as to the authorship of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by a single man). There is only one chapter in it (chap. 28, K. M. Edn.) which deals with music proper i.e. gīta. This chapter gives a detailed exposition of the 'svaras', 'śrutis', 'grāmas', 'murchhanās', 'jātis', etc. The principles of this theory are still current in Indian music.

The *Nārādīya Śikshā* (c. 2nd-3rd century A.D.) has dealt with some technical terms of music like 'sthāna', 'svara', 'grāma', 'tāna', 'murchhanā' etc.

Another important treatise on music is the *Bṛhaddēśi* of Maṭaṅga, which according to Mr. O. C. Gangoly, stands between the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Saṅgīta Makaranda* of Nārada, i. e. sometime between the 4th and 7th century A. D. (cf. *Rāgas and Rāginis*, pp. 16-17). Maṭaṅga has given a detailed description of the 'śrutis', 'jātis', 'śvaras', 'grāmas', 'amśas', 'varṇas', 'alaṅkāras' and 'gītis'. He has referred to three varieties of songs viz., 'ārchika', 'gāthika' and 'sāmika'. Following Bharata, he has also taken into account only two grāmas, viz., 'śhaḍja', and 'madhyama'. He has named the 'tānas' after the sacrifices like 'Agniṣṭoma' etc.

Now, let us come to the subject of our special study, viz., chapters on music in the *Vishṇudharmottara* (a work of c. 400-500 A. D.). The *Vishṇudharmottara* throws considerable light on the science of music, and treats of music (both vocal and instrumental), dancing & dramaturgy (cf. chs 18-34, Book III). Names of the topics described in these chapters may be given below :—

1. Vocal music—chapter 18 ; 2. Instrumental music—chapter 19 ; 3. Definitions of 'Nāṭya', 'Nṛitya' etc—chapters 20-29 ; 4. 'Rasas'—chapter 30 ; 5. 'Bhāvas' and 'Rasas'—chapter 31 ; 6. Names and descriptions of various 'Mudrās'—chapters 32-33 ; and 7. Story of the origin of dancing from Vishṇu, and praise of worshipping deities with dance,—chapter 34,

In the opinion of Dr. M. Ghosh the Vishṇudharmottara* chapters on 'Nṛīṭṭya', 'Nāṭya' and 'Abhinaya' are dependent on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bhārata, and do not appear to be earlier than the 8th century A. D. (cf. English translation of the Nāṭya Śāstra—Vol. I. p. LXVII—by Dr. M. Ghosh). Dr. R. C. Hazra, too, thinks that the aforesaid chapters are based upon the Nāṭyaśāstra. He has tentatively placed the date of the former work, Vishṇudharmottara, sometime between A. D. 400—500.† In his opinion most of the verses of this work may date back to an early period though there are some which might have been incorporated into the body of the text afterwards. But, he has not raised any doubt as to the genuineness of these chapters—in spite of his remark that they were based upon the Nāṭyaśāstra (cf. *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*—Vol. I, pp. 200, 212-16—by Dr. R. C. Hazra). It may be pointed out here that divergent views exist as regards the exact date of the composition of the Nāṭya-śāstra. Modern researches have proved that the date of this work (i. e. Nāṭya Śāstra) cannot go beyond 3rd or 4th century A. D. (cf. *Hist. of Sanskrit Poetics*—Vol. I, p. 23 ff.—by Dr. S. K. De; *The Sāhityadarpaṇa Introduction*, pp. 22 and 45 by Dr. P. V. Kane; and Dr. M. Ghosh, op. cit. p., LXXXVL a—200 A. D.)

The reasons advocated as to the early date of the Nāṭya-śāstra (op. cit.) may also hold good in the case of (chapters 18-19 of) the Vishṇudharmottara, and many other works of ancient times. The latter work does not refer to Bharata (so far as the above chapters are concerned) as its source, though some scholars

* Vishṇudharmottara. We have followed the Venkatesvara press edition (Ven. Pr. Edn). Bombay.

† It may be pointed out here that Dr. Priya Bala Shah thinks that the Bk. III of the text—if not the whole of it—can be placed between c. 450-650 A.D. In spite of this she has not ruled out the possibility of an earlier date of the same (Vishṇudh., Bk. III. G. O. S., no: CXXX, vol. I, 1958, pp. xxii-xxviii). In the opinion of Dr. Stella Kramrisch chapters of the same belong to the 7th century A. D.—as they seem to be contemporaneous with the latest painting of Ajanta (Vishṇudh., Eng. Tr., 1924, p. 5). But we are inclined to place Book III of this Purāṇa before the Bṛīhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira i. e. the 1st half of the 6th century A. D.

have tried to show the indebtedness of the Viṣṇudharmottara-kāra to Bharata. There may be some similarity of ideas and expressions between these two works. Thus, like the Vāyupurāṇa chapters on music (II. 24-25) we may reasonably credit chapters 18-19 of the Viṣṇudharmottara (Book III) as materials of a work earlier than the Nāṭyaśāstra. Description of 3 'grāmas' such as 'shadja', 'madhyama' and 'gāndhāra' (the last one has not been dealt with by Bhārata), 15 'gāndhāra-grāmikās, and naming of 49 tānas after various Vedic sacrifices (which, though not found in the work of Bharata, are described in some detail in works like Nārādīya Śikshā of circa 2nd-3rd century A. D., Vāyupurāṇa (Ven. Pr. edn.) circa 3rd century A.D. and followed by some later works amongst which mention should be made of the Bṛihaddeśi of Mataṅga (composed between 4th-7th century A. D.) etc., prove beyond doubt that the aforesaid Viṣṇudharmottara chapters may be dated in the 5th century A. D., and not later.

A detailed discussion of the Viṣṇudharmottara chapters on music will convince any one about the truth or otherwise of the statement made above. It may be observed here that this work depends upon the Vedic, epic as well as other ancient texts in general, and the Nārādīya Śikshā and the Vāyupurāṇa (it may be observed here that, by its description of a Purāṇa as consisting of 4 Pādas, the Viṣṇudharmottara definitely points to the Vāyupurāṇa—see *Viṣṇudhm.* 'III. V.' 26) in particular, for its treatment of the chapters—(specially on music—including instrumental one). We shall presently show cogent proofs for the same.

Gleanings from the Viṣṇudharmottara chapters on music-vocal as well as instrumental (Book III, chapters 18-19). are being made in the following paragraphs. (The text is sometimes very corrupt).

Chap. 18—Gītālakṣaṇam (Vocal music)

(i) 'Trīṇi Sthānāni—nraḥ-kaṇṭhaḥ-śiraścha

In order to call a person standing at a distance the voice

should proceed from the head-register (śiras) ; and when he is at a shorter distance it should be from the chest (uras) ; and for calling a person at one's side the voice should come from the throat-register (kaṇṭha). These voice-registers (sthānāni) have the following pitches (sthāyis), viz., mandra (low), madhya (medium) and tāra (high or loud) (cf. Nār. Śik., I. 1. 7-8 ; Vāyu p. II. 25.4 ; N.S. 14. 48 54, 56 & 19. 11. preceeding vs. 99 and 101 ; and Bṛihhaddeśi, p. 211).

(ii) 'Trayo grāmāḥ— Shadja-madhyama-gāndhārāḥ' :— A combination of svaras (notes) is called grāma (English eqv. for it may be a scale or mode). Our music is traditionally based on the three 'grāmas' named, 'shadja' (it means born of six and indicates that this note—which has now become the tonic—was the last to arise in a downward series), 'madhyama' (it means middle, and suggests that at an earlier period it was the central note of the scales), and gāndhāra (it was the starting point of the gāndhāra scale). According to the Nāradiya Śikshā (1.1.6-7), Vāyupurāṇa (II. 24. 36) and Bṛihhaddeśi (p. 21), there are three grāmas'. but while the first two (Shadja and madhyama) are found on earth, the last (gāndhāra) one is reserved for heaven. The Bṛihhaddeśi gives stress upon the first two 'grāmas' (*Ibid*). As the Nāṭyaśāstra makes express mention of only the first two grāmas (28. 23, 28 ff, 35, 36 etc.), we may reasonably infer that the 'gāndhāra grāma' perhaps became obsolete at the time of the composition of the said treatise. 'Shadja' is the basic note from which the six other notes are described. It is also the best of all grāmas. The 'śruti-distribution' (22 according to the N. S.) among the svaras in the three 'grāmas' differs slightly, and Bharata has described the method by which the different śrutis may be formed.

(iii) 'Saptasvarāḥ - Shadja-rishabha-gāndhāra-madhyama-pañchama-ṛishāla-lalāṭavārāḥ' (seven 'svaras' of which the initials are sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, ni, and dha) :— The Nāradiya Śikshā (1. 2. 4-6), - Vāyupurāṇa (11. 24. 35. - 37), Nāṭyaśāstra (28.21) and Bṛihhaddeśi (p. 21) also refer to these 7 'svaras', but all

of them make 'nishāda' last. This order is violated by the author of the Vishṇudh, for it makes 'dhaivata' the last. But the C. M. S. of the same (consulted by Dr. P. Shah – henceforth P. S. – along with other MSS., viz. A, B & F – see her Introduction to the Vishṇudh., III) gives the usual order. We know that 'svara' can be measured and a study of this (measurement) incorporates – 'sthāna', 'grāma', 'śruti', 'mūrchanā', 'tāna', 'vṛitti', 'jāti', 'varṇa', 'tāla' and 'prabandha'.

(iv) 'Ekaviṃśatir mūrchanāḥ-sapta sapta pratigrāmāśritāḥ Tadyathāsām nāmāni':—

(a) Sauvirī – hāriṇāśvā (syā in Vāyu. P.; - 'śvā in N. S.)—kalopanatā (° valopeta in V.P.; V.P. stands for Vāyupurāṇa, and we have followed the Venkateśvara press edition of the same)—śuddhamadhyamā – mārgi (mārgavī in N.S.) – pauravī – ṛishyakā (it should be ṛishyakā) cheti || Etāḥ sapta madhyamagrāmīṇyaḥ uttara saṅgā | (A. & B. MSS. give the reading as uttaramandārijani, while C. MS. uttarasañchārijanī; P. S. emends the reading as uttaramandrā – rajanī). (b) Pranchinī (A, B & C MSS. omit it)—uttarāyatā – śuddhashadjā – matsarīkritā – āśvagrāntā – udgatā (abhir° in N.S.; uddhatā in some MSS) cha || etāḥ sapta shadjagrāmikāḥ; (c) Ālāpī (according to A B & C MSS. āpolī & S.R. ālāpā; P. S. prefers the latter reading) – kuntimā -- śraddhā (śuddhā according to P. S.) – uttarā – shadjā – pañcāyatā – udgatā (A & B. MSS. read uddhatā – which P. S. corrects as udgatā; Ven. Pr. edn. drops it) etāḥ sapta gāndhāragrāmikāḥ | (21 'mūrchanās' – 7 in each 'grāma', viz. 'madhyama' 7, 'shadjā' 7 and 'gāndhāra' 7; according to N. S. & Bṛhaddesī only 14).

The three 'grāmas' give rise to 21 'mūrchanās'. The ascent (ārohi) and descent (avarohi) taken in regular order – beginning and ending with the particular note of the voice – register – is called 'mūrchanā'. 7 mūrchanas are possible from any set of 7 notes. Names of the 7 'mūrchanas' in the 'gāndhāra grāma' (only to be found in S. R., a later work) are not to be found in the N. S. It may be pointed out here that the 7 'mūrchanās' of the 'gāndhāra grāma' as given in the

Nārādīya Śikshā (Nandi etc., 1.2.9) are termed as 'deva-murchhanās'. Do they stand for the 'murchhanās' of the 'gāndhāra grāma'? If so, they differ from those given in the Vishṇudh. (for the 'murchhanās' of the 'gāndhāra grāma', see S. R. i. e. Sangīta Ratnākara, 1. 4. 25-26.). As to the reason of calling the 'murchhanās' of this 'grāma', as 'uttarā' (cf. Vishṇudh.), see II. 49-51, 57 of the Vāyup. The 'murchhanās' of the other two 'grāmas' are more or less the same as given in the Nār. Śik— I. 2. 10 ff, Vāyup. — II. 24.38 ff, N.S. — 28.29 ff and Bṛihaddeśī- p. 22 ff.

(v) 'Ekonapañchāśat tānāḥ' :— (a) Mahāvratika (20) — Agnishtomika, atyagnishtomika, (A, B & C. MSS. drop it), vājapeyika (according to C. MS. only. Ven. pr. edn. omits it, see also V. P. and Bṛihdd), paṇḍarika (paṇḍraka in V. P.), āśvamedhika, rājasūyika, bāhusuvarṇika (chakra, in V. P.), gosavika, mahāvratika (vṛiṣṭika, V. P.), Brahmatāna (Brahmadāna in V. P.), Prājāpatya, nāgāśraya (paksha, V. P.; sarpa in Bṛihaddeśī), yajñāśraya, godānika (godohana in Bṛihaddeśī), hayakrānta, ajakrānta (mṛiga in V.P.), Vishṇukrānta, aranya (vareṇya in V. P.), mattakokila and ujīvika (udbhida-yāga in Bṛihaddeśī);

(b) Shadajagrāmika (14) :— Prasvāpana, paiśācha, (Sāgara), jivana, sāvitra, ardhasāvitra (sāvitṛī and ādya-sāvitṛī in Bṛihaddeśī), sarvatobhadra (name of a maṇḍala in Vāstuvidyā), suvarṇa, Viṣṇu (vaishṇu in V. P.), jishṇu, Viṣṇunara, śārada in V. P.), vijaya haṁsa, jyeshṭha;

(c) Gāndhāragrāmika (15) :—Tumburupriya, mahālakṣmaṇa, gāndharvānumata, Alambushapriya (shesṭha in V. P.), Nārada-priya, Bhīmasenapriya, vitāna (vinatā in V. P.), Mataṅga, Bhārgavapriya, abhirāma, saṁśrāvya, kinnarapriya, puṇya, manohara and kalyāṇakara.

So, there are altogether 49 'tānas' in the three 'grāmas'. Names of these 'tānas' in the first two groups, i.e. (a) and (b) are clearly given after the Vedic sacrificial names, and those

of the last group, i.e., (c) are after some celestial musicians and recognised heroes. Most of these names can be found in the Vāyupurāṇa (II. 24. 41-49) and Bṛihaddeśī (p. 26 ff.—names of various new tānas, given after sacrifices etc., can also be found in it). The Vāyupurāṇa does not complete the list of names of the 49 'tānas', for it gives only 42 names. Some of the 'tāna-names', given in it, differ from the Viṣṇudharmottara on the one hand and Bṛihaddeśī on the other. These names are not found in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

From a study of the names of the above 'tānas', we may reasonably opine that the sources of the Viṣṇudharmottara were possibly the Vāyupurāṇa and other earlier texts including the Vedic and epic ones. It may be pointed out here that the 'tānas' are included in the 'murchhanās'. Difference between the two is that while the latter includes all the seven notes, the former only one or two except madhyama in all 'grāmas' 'dhaivata' in the 'śaḍja grāma' and 'pañchama' in 'madhyama grāma'. The use of 'tānas' is said to be undistinguishing between the 'jātis', 'rāgas' etc. in both 'grāmas'. The modern use of the term 'tāna' is not very old; and 'murchhanā' in its original sense seems to have disappeared from the later Indian music.

(vi) ('Gāndharvam—) Etachchaturvidhaṁ svarapadalayāva-dhānayogāt' (svara-pada-laya and avadhāna make up tānas):— It may be pointed out here that save and except Dattilam and Viṣṇudharmottara no one has used the term 'avadhāna', which is the very soul of music (for a keen brain, sense of hearing, the vocal cords all join to effect concentration). The Viṣṇudharmottara line may be compared with that of Dattilam. Laya of the former stands for 'tāla' used in the latter (according to the latter gāndharva consists of 'svara', i. e. notes; 'tāla' i. e. time-measures; and 'pada' i. e. verbal themes). It seems that 'gāndharva' is a combination of vocal (gīti) as well as instrumental (ātodyā), music (NS. 28.8.) The Viṣṇudharmottara itself says in chapter 19 that 'tāla' includes 'laya' (layavattāla). The 'tāla' or time measure, bestows equanimity. Topics under

'tāla' are 'kāla', 'pāta', 'pada', 'bhāga', 'mātrā', 'parivarta', 'vastu', 'vidārī', 'aṅga', 'laya', 'yati', 'pāṇi', 'prakaraṇa', 'kriyā', 'vajra', 'gīti' and 'mārga', 'Laya' means the interval of time occupied by the 'aṅgas' in an 'āvarta'. It may be of 3 kinds viz. druta (quick), madhya (medium) and vilambita (slow). Among these the medium tempo determines the normal kalā i.e. unit-time (cf. N.S., ch. 31, vs. 4-10, 486-8).

(vi-a) Vādī-saṁvādī-antyavādī (anuvādī, acc. to N. S.):—Svaras, are divided into 4 kinds according to the number of 'śrutis' between them; and they are as follows:—vādī (sonant), saṁvādī (consonant), antyavādī (assonant, anuvādī according to N. S.) and vivādī (dissonant) (cf. Nāṭya Śāstra, 28. 22-4 and prose pages 303-4). Each note is vādī, or 'śaṁvādī' or 'anuvādī', or 'vivādī' to others. The Viśṇudharmottara mentions three such 'svaras' and terms virāma as 'vṛitti'. But, it is interesting to note that same text variantly calls chitrā, 'vṛitti.' (vārttika ?) and 'dakṣiṇā' as three 'vṛittis' in the next ch., i.e. 19. Are these meant for instrumental music only? However, on the authority of the Bṛīhaddeśī (p. 14) and Saṅgīta Makaranda (2-7) we may observe that 'vādī' is the predominant expression of the 'rāga'; 'saṁvādī' reinforces the 'vādī', 'anuvādīs' are the notes of a 'rāga' excluding the other two; and 'vivādīs' are their discordant position. The 'vādī' (or sonant) determines the emotional appeal of the 'murchhanā'. Each cycle of the 'murchhanā', consisting of an ascent and descent through the seven notes creates a fresh set of 'vādī' and 'saṁvādī'. This is conducive to creating new melodies.

(vii) Then the Viśṇudharmottara refers to the 'nava rasas' (sentiments), viz. 'hāsyā', 'śṛīṅārā', 'vīra', 'raudra', 'adbhuta', 'karuṇa' bibhatsa', 'bhayānaka', and śānta, and says that of the seven 'svaras' grouped into 5 - 'madhyama' and 'pañchama', 'shadjā' and 'pañchama' (according to N. S. ṛishabha and pañchama), 'nishāda' and 'gāndhārā'; 'dhaivata', and then 'madhyama' - the first group applies to 'hāsyā' and 'śṛīṅārā'; second to 'vīra'; 'raudra' and 'adbhuta'; third to 'karuṇa'; fourth to 'bibhatsa' and 'bhayānaka' and the fifth to 'śānta'. Of the

three 'layas' the 'madhyama' will suit 'hāśya' and 'Śringāra'; — 'vilambita' 'bibhatsa' and 'bhyānaka'; and 'druta' — 'vīra', raudra and 'adbhuta' rasas (cf. N. S. — 17. 99; 19. 11 after v. 102; 29 1-4 and 11. following v. 118).

(viii) 'Chokshā-prayoga' stands for 'śuddha (pure) — jāti' (in contradistinction to 'vikṛita' (modified) 'svaras' (meant for 'surārādhana' only ?).

(viii-a) Jāṭayaḥ daśalakṣaṇāḥ (i. e. the 10 characteristics of the jāṭis; for a detailed study please see N. S. 28. 37-39, 56-62 and 74-100):— 'Murchhanā-krama' has a note of inception, on which it ends also. That note is mostly called 'vādī or 'amśa'. If the latter is slightly shifted, then another 'melody-mould' is created from the 1st. These 'melody-moulds' are called 'jāti'. They are primitive melodies from which the 'rāgas' of later Hindu music developed. They are eighteen in number. The 10 distinguishing characteristics of the 'jāṭis' are as follows :—'Graha', 'amśa', 'tāra', 'mandra', 'nyāsa', 'apanyāsa', 'alpatva', 'bahutva', 'shāḍava' and 'oḍavita' (auḍavita in N. S.). The 'graha' is the note in which the song begins. It is an alternative term for the 'amśa'. The 'amśa' is like the key-note of the western music. It is always five notes above the 'graha' (for a distinction between 'amśa' and 'graha' please see Saṅgīta Ratnākara, I. 7. 29. 34 and 32-34). It is related to 'graha', 'apanyāsa', nyāsa and other notes and lies scattered throughout the song. The tāra and mandra denotes loud and low pitched notes. The nyāsa and apanyāsa are the respective names of the concluding and intermediate note of the melody mould. Alpatva and bahutva (i. e. reduction and amplification) denote whether the note is used often or once in a while (i. e. whether it is due to a slip or non-repetition; or imperfect pronunciation or oft-repetition. The 'shāḍava' and 'auḍavita', denote the hexatonic or pentatonic treatment of notes. On rare occasions they may also interchange with each other.

(ix) 'Alaṁkāraśchatvāro' (4 'alaṁkāras'):— The 'alaṁkāras' are ornamental graces appended to the 'varṇas' (melodic

curves). Without these 'alamkāras' a song remains merely a chant. It should be pointed out here that Vishṇudharmottara mentions only two 'varṇas' in the next chapter in connection with the description of the instrumental music. The Vāyupurāṇa, Nāṭyaśāstra, Bṛihaddeśi and other later texts refer to four 'varṇas'. The Vishṇudharmottara mentions four 'alamkāras' (the number rises to 30 in the N. S. and other later texts, N. S. 29. 23. 35). Such as 'prasannādi', 'prasannādyanta', 'prasannānta' and 'prasannamadhya' (which are more or less sthāyī varṇas). The Vāyupurāṇa verse give us the names of the following four 'alamkāraś' — sthāpani, kramarejina, pramāda and apramāda (II. 25. 9). The above purāṇa also says that the four requisites of the said 'alamkāras' are as follows:— samsthāna, pramāṇa, vikāra and lakṣhaṇa (II. 25. 22).

(x) Next we come to the seven types of songs, which are very old and seem to be ignored by the authors of Indian musical treatises. The Vishṇudharmottara gives their names as aparāntaka,† ullopya (ka in N. S.), mandraka, (madraka in N. S., 29. 36; 31. 220-21, and mandraka in Vāyupurāṇa, II. 25. 33), makarī (prakarī? in N. S. op. cit., and 31. 315 ff.)* uveṇaka (oveṇaka? N. S. op. cit 31. 323 ff.) sarovindu (rovindaka? — N. S. op. cit. & 31. 338 ff.) & uttama (uttara? — N. S. op. cit & 31. 350 ff.) (for these gītis, also see S. R., V. 58-59). It is said in verses 77-81, chap. 29 of the N. S. that the 'alamkāras depend upon the 'gītis'. In addition to these seven types of songs the Vishṇudharmottara gives the names of four more ancient songs of hymn type, viz. Ṛik-gāthā (Ṛik hymns), Pāṇikā (an ancient song?) Dakṣavihitā (named after Dakṣa?†) Brahma-gītikā

** A, B & C, MSS. read 'śadjabhashāyām', which has been rightly amended by p. S. as śaḍjaśabham.

* Strangely enough P. S. amends it as vaiṇika.

† 'Ullāpya' is the term used to denote an one-act play (uparūpaka)—full of fighting and back ground music (Sāhitva Darpaṇa, VI. 287—p. 515)

‡ It is said that Dakṣa-Prajāpati (praised by Yājñavalkya) is the creator of the Brahmagītis (Pra IX. 106.) Rk-gāthā, Pāṇikā, Dakṣavihitā and Brahma-gītikā (cf. Q. J. A. H. R. S., I, p. 59).

(it may be pointed out here that in vs. 369 ff. chap. 31 of the N. S., it is said that seven types of songs—uttered by Brahman—came out of the Sāma Veda; that the songs and instrumental music performed in the worship of gods would bring limitless merit to the devotee, and that the playing of drums etc. in the ‘chhedyaka tāla’ should invariably be followed in the Rik. and Pāṇikā hymns.). The Viṣṇudharmottara wishes that these four holy songs should be constantly practised (or it may be that the work wants that one of these four songs should be sung before the beginning of the seven songs already mentioned). At the end of chap. 18 of the same text it is said that if a musician does not attain the ‘paramapada’ (the highest step of Viṣṇu ?) then surely he will rejoice with the Lord as his attendant (see the concluding verses of ch. 18, Bk. III of the Viṣṇudh.).

Viṣṇudh. Chap.—19 Ātodyavidhānam (Instrumental music)

(i) ‘Chaturvidhamātodyam—tataṁ, sushiraṁ, ghaṇaṁ, avanaddhaṁ cha, tataṁ vīṇādi, śushiraṁ vaṁśādiḥ, ghaṇam tālādi, avanaddhaṁ muraḥjādi:—

Musical instruments which have always been held sacred with us are of four kinds. It may be pointed out here that the Viṣṇudharmottara and N. S. have taken into account the traditional or well-known instruments viz. ‘tata’ (stringed), ‘avanaddha’ (covered), ‘ghana’ (solid) and ‘sushira’ (hollow). Abhinavagupta and Śāraṅgadeva have explained in detail the importance of the stringed and hollow instruments in the production of an orchestra or a drama. They have also detailed the method of playing those instruments. In the age of Rāmāyaṇa the above four classes of instruments were in use (consult the Bālakāṇḍa and Ayodhyākāṇḍa).

(Among the musical instruments) stringed stands for the instruments having strings i. e. vīṇā etc., covered means percussion i. e. drum etc., solid cymbal etc., and hollow, flute etc.

(ii) Svarāstulyāḥ śārīrā vaiṇavāśca; tadvadvamśāḥ kintu yathā śārīrānām āroḥavarohāṇe tathā vaiṇavānām vaṁśānām viparyayāt, tālaḥ kālaprayojyah’:—The sources of the ‘svara’

are human body (throat), *vaiṇava* (lyre) and *vaṁśa* (flute). 'Svaras', *grāmas*, 'tānas', 'śrutis' etc. are available in the (wooden) *viṇā* as well as in the human throat (N. S. 28.13-15). As the notes coming out from human throat may be of ascending or descending order, so is the case with those created by a lyre or a flute. The *tāla* or time measure bestows equanimity. 'Kalā; an integral part of 'tālavidhi', denotes unit-time. By extending this unit-time fresh 'kalās' are created. The 'tāla vidhi' is applicable to both human voice and lyre-cum-flute. In 'mārga' type of music *mātrā* is equal to 5 ordinary *mātrās*.

(iii) *Tisro vṛittayaḥ citrā vṛittiḥ dakṣiṇā ceti* (acc. to P.S. ; V. P. edn. drops it). In playing the stringed instruments the four 'dhātus' are considered as very important (N. S., vs. 36 chap. 29). These again are related to three *vṛittis* (or procedures) on which the playing of the above instruments depend. The styles of procedure (*gativṛitti*) are classified into three, viz. *chitrā-vṛitti* (variegated), *vṛitti* (also known as *vārttika*, i. e. movement) *vṛitti* and *dakṣiṇāvṛitti* (dexterous). These are important in vocal, orchestral and instrumental music. The first gives prominence to vocal, and the third to instrumental. In the 'chitrā' there should be two 'mātrās', in the 'vṛitti' the twice of it and in *dakṣiṇā* its four-fold. These are the three types of 'kalās' (N. S., vs, 102 ff. 132 ff. chap. 29 ; vs. 123 ff.—chap. 31).

(iv) The *tāla* has twofold sources—*chañchatpuṭa* and *chāpapaṭa*. *Chañchatpuṭa* (*chanchatpuṭala* in *Vishnudharmatara* which is certainly a corrupt form) is *chaturasra* and *chapapaṭa* (*chapuṭa* in *Vishndh.* a corrupt form) *tryasra*. Each of these two 'tālas' have three varieties. 'yathākshara' (literal), 'dvikala' (of two *kalās*) and *chatushkala* (of four *kalās*). The two 'tālas' consist of long and short syllables: 'chañchatpuṭa' will consist of two long syllables—followed by one short and the final 'pluta' syllables (*yathākshara* variety); and 'chāpap uṭa' of one long syllable—followed by two short and final long syllables. A combination of these two is known as 'mīśra' (or mixed) 'tāla.' It includes the 'shaṭpitāputraka' ('tāputra' in *Viṣṇdh* is a corrupt form) and 'pañchapāṇi.' These are the three kinds of 'tālas.' Their

‘pātakalā’ (alternate placing of kalās is known as pāta) will be as follows :—‘Sannipāta’ ‘samyā’ (śampā in Viṣṇudharmottara is a corrupt form), ‘tāla’, ‘śamyā’; or ‘śamyā’, ‘tāla’, ‘śamyā-tāla’; or ‘tāla’, ‘samyā-tāla’, ‘samyā’. The ‘chaturasra’ is known as ‘yugma’, and ‘tryasra’ as ‘ayugma’ (ayuk in Viṣṇudh). From the point of sound the ‘tālas’ can be divided into two classes, viz., niḥśabda (silent) and saśabda (audible). The silent ‘tāla’ has again four varieties such as, ‘avāpa’ (avapā? in Viṣṇudh) ‘nishkrāma’, ‘vikshepa’ and ‘praveśaka’; and the ‘audible’ four, viz., ‘samyā’, ‘tāla’, ‘dhruva’, and ‘sannipāta’. It may be pointed out in this connection that some of these technical terms are not found in the Viṣṇudharmottara, but in order to explain the above passage we have taken the help of the N. S. verses (N. S. chap. 31, vs. 7 to 44).

(iv-a) ‘Prakarāṇam dvividhaṁ-kulakam chhedyakam cha-
These are the ‘tāla-gītis’: madraka etc. They are classed under two groups, viz., ‘kulaka’ and ‘chhedyaka’. If a piece or a part is complete by itself in meaning, it is termed as ‘chhedyaka’, but if two or more pieces collectively form a meaningful whole then it will be ‘kulaka’ (for a detailed study see the prakaraṇa sec. of Dattillam; and 31. 365 ff. of the N. S.).

(v) ‘Athāvanaddhaṁ—tatra paushkaravat-karaṇāṇvitaṁ
karuṇāṇvitaṁ to B. MS. (karaṇāṇvitaṁ ?) (cha)’ :—

This passage refers to the playing of ‘avanaddha’ (covered) and ‘pushkara’ (drums, viz., mṛdaṅga, an earthen drum like pakḥāvaj; paṇava, a drum or tabor; and dardura, a large gong (or bell) instruments. By the use of the word ‘kvaṇa’ (koṇa ?) it probably refers to the playing of the stringed instrument like ‘vīṇā’ etc. In connection with the playing of ‘pushkara’ instrument (which are generally of three kinds) the Viṣṇudharmottara refers to the following technical terms .—

(a) ‘Karaṇas’ (which are six in number, viz., rūpa, kṛta—
pratikṛita, pratibheda, rūpaśeṣa, ogha and pratiśūṣka,—see N. S., v. 92ff., ch. 33);

(b) ‘Shoḍaśāksharas’, i. e., 16 syllabic sounds like ka, kha

etc. (these are necessary for the mnemonic patterns of the pusskara music, cf. N. S. v. 40, chap. 33) :

(c) 'Pāṇi-prahatas' (hands strokes)—are of five kinds, viz., 'samapāṇi', ardhapāṇi', 'ardhārdha' (not ardhhyārdha) as given in the Viṣṇḍh.)—'pāṇi', 'ekapāṇi' (it should be pārśvāpāṇi) and 'pradeśinī' (samahasta and divihasta) ;

(d) 'Mārgas—which are of four varieties, viz., 'ahita' (it should be 'addita or adita), vitasta', 'ālipta' and 'gomukhī' (gomukha) ;

(e) 'Āliṅgya'—is probably the name of a drum, which is to be held against the breast of the player ;

(f) 'Dakṣhiṇa' and 'vāma' (or vāmaka) probaly indicate our 'dāhinā' and 'bāyā' tablās ; and

(g) 'Ūrdhva' (or ūrdhvaka) is probably the name of a drum—for a detailed discussion of these terms see N. S., vs. 40ff. chap. 33).

(v-a) As to the application of particular strokes in particular 'rasa' or combination of 'rasas' the Viṣṇḍh. says that 'addita' (not aṅghita as given in it) will be made in 'śṛiṅgāra' and 'hāsyā' sentiment ; 'vitasta' in 'vīra' 'raudra' and 'adbhuta' ; 'ālipta' in 'karuṇa' and 'śānta' and 'gomukhī' in bibhatsa and bhayānaka. Musical instruments, like 'dardura' and 'paṇava', should be played according to the 'aṇuvādita' variety (of stroke). It may be pointed out that 'āliṅgya' and 'mṛidaṅga' strokes give rise to the 'addita mārga.'

(vi) At the end of chapter 19, the Viṣṇudharmottara points out that the musicians should sit in the following manner—(known as kutapa, vinyāsa in the N. S.) :—

'Bhavanti cātra-nepathya-bhavana-dvāra-samānaraṅgābhi-vikṣaṇam || murajāḥ (corrupt text—there will be no pl. in muraja and mārdaṅgikāḥ) prsthata-steshāṁ tadvānmarjanikāḥ (mārdaṅgikāḥ)

The 'maurajika' and 'mārdaṅgika' (facing the east) between the doors of the green room ; the 'pāṇavika' and 'dardurika' on the dakṣhiṇa side facing the south and looking to the north ; the

'gātās' on the south and facing the north; 'vainīka' to the left and two vamsī-vādakas' to their right, and 'gāyikās' in the front of the 'gātās'. This description of the Viṣṇdh. tallies well with that of the N.S. (see, chap. 28. 4 ; 11. following v. 221. chap. 33).

So, from a study of the above two chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara (18 & 19), it is clear that though the treatment of vocal and instrumental music of this text has many things in common with the Nāṭyaśāstra and many other ancient texts, it would be wrong to ascribe it to the 8th century A. D. as opined by Dr. M. Ghosh, (op. cit., p. LXVII). The date of the same can hardly go beyond 5th century A. D. (Dr. R. C. Hazra, op. cit, pp. 200-212). We have tried to show in the previous paragraphs that the N. S. was not the only source of the Viṣṇdh., for it evidently follows several other earlier texts like Nāradiya Śikshā, and Vāyupurāṇa. Influences of Vedic and Epic texts as well as other older texts like Dattilam over the Vishṇdh. may also not be ruled out as impossible.

‘कति तत्त्वानि’

व्रजवल्लभ द्विवेदः

[In this article Shri Vraj Vallabh Dviveda gives thought to an important passage of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viz. XI. 22. 1-25. In it the problem of the exact number of *Tattvas* or ultimate categories (कति तत्त्वानि) is raised as a question put by Uddhava to Kṛishṇa. The reply is couched in the characteristic Bhāgavata way of synthesis. The learned author elaborates the number of *Tattvas* from one to thirty-four, as advocated by the adherents of the different religious and philosophical systems in ancient India.]

भारतीयदर्शनेषु यैः पदार्थैर्जगद्रचना भवति, सृष्टेरारम्भो विकासश्च भवति, तेषां तत्त्वमिति पारिभाषिकी संज्ञा वर्तते । तत्त्वदेवताप्रमाणादिभेदेन भिन्नेषु भारतीयेषु दर्शनेषु तत्त्वानां संख्यादिविषयेऽतीव वैषम्यं विद्यते । अस्यां परिस्थितौ विभिन्नवादाटविव्यामूढानां जिज्ञासूनां प्रातिनिध्यमिव कुर्वन्नुद्धवो भागवते भगवन्तं श्रीकृष्णं पृच्छति—

कति तत्त्वानि विश्वेश संख्यातान्यृषिभिः प्रभो ।

नवैकादश पञ्च त्रीण्यात्थ त्वमिह शुश्रुम् ॥

केचित् षड्विंशतिं प्राहुरपरे पञ्चविंशतिम् ।

सप्तैके नव षट् केचित्त्वार्येकादशापरे ॥

केचित् सप्तदश प्राहुः षोडशैके त्रयोदश ।

(भाग० ११।२२।१-३)

इतः परमस्याध्यायस्य आपञ्चविंशतिश्लोकं श्रीकृष्णेनैते उद्धवप्रश्नाः समाहिताः । “नैतदेवं यथात्थ त्वं यदहं वच्मि तत्तथा” (११।२२।५) इत्यभिमान एव वादानामेषां प्रवृत्तिहेतुः स्यात् श्रीकृष्णः । मतभेदेन तत्त्वसंख्याविषयं विशदं याख्याय प्रकरणोऽयं निश्चयः—

इति नानाप्रसंख्यानं तत्त्वानामृषिभिः कृतम् ।
सर्वं न्याय्यं युक्तिमत्त्वाद्विदुषां किमशोभनम् ॥२५॥

एवमेव अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिताया अष्टमाध्यायारम्भे तत्त्वसंख्यामनुरुद्धय प्रवृत्ता
विभिन्ना वादाः संक्षेपेण चर्चिताः सन्ति—

केचित् त्रैभूतिकीं सृष्टिं ब्रुवते तत्त्ववादिनः ।
चतुर्भूतमयीमन्ये केऽप्यन्ये, पाञ्चभौतिकीम् ॥
तां षड्धातुमयीमेके सप्तधातुमयीं परे ।
अष्टप्रकृतिकां केचिन्नवप्रकृतिकां परे ॥
दशतत्त्वमयीमेके केचिदेकादशात्मिकाम् ।
एवमुच्चावचां संख्यां तत्त्वप्रकृतिगोचराम् ॥
वदन्ति मुनयः सिद्धा देवा वेदास्तथैव च ।

(अहि० ८।२-५)

अत्र भागवतेऽहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां च विभिन्नाभिः संख्याभिः सह भूतधातु-
प्रकृतितत्त्वशब्दा व्यवहृताः । पर्यायवाचिन एते शब्दाः । तथोपीमे तेषां तेषां
वादानां पारिभाषिकीं परम्परां सूचयन्ति—तत्त्वानि कस्मिंश्चिद्वादे भूतनाम्ना, अपरत्र
धातुनाम्ना, अन्यत्र च प्रकृतिनाम्ना उच्यन्ते इति । अत्रोभयोरपि स्थल्योः
परम्परैषा सुरक्षिता तिष्ठति । चरकसंहितायां शारीरस्थाने प्रथमेऽध्याये पुरुषः
षड्धातुमयश्चतुर्विंशतिधातुमयश्चोक्तः । अत्र धातुशब्दप्रयोगस्तत्त्वार्थक एव ।

“एवं विवदतां हेतुं शक्तयो मे दुरत्ययाः” (११।२२।५) इति स्पष्टतराया-
मुक्तावपि भागवतटीकाकारैरपि समन्वयात्मिका भागवतदृष्टिर्नानुपालिता । भागवत-
संमतानि कति तत्त्वानीति विषयेऽपि विवदन्ते ते । भागवतस्य बहूनि व्याख्यानानि
समुपलभ्यन्ते । तानि प्रायशो रामानुज-निम्बार्क-मध्व-बल्लभ-चैतन्यानां प्रथितानां
वैष्णवाचार्याणां मतान्यनुसरन्ति । अस्य प्रकरणस्यैतन्मतानुयायिभिष्टीकाकारैः
स्वस्वसम्प्रदायानुरोधि व्याख्यानं विहितम् । अतः किमत्र भागवतसंमतमिति
प्रथमं परीक्ष्यते पुरस्तात् ।

भागवतेऽन्यत्र :—

नवैकादश पञ्च त्रीन् भावान् भूतेषु येन वै ।

ईक्षेताथैकमप्येषु तज्ज्ञानं मम निश्चितम् ॥ .

(११११११४)

इत्यष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानि निदर्शितानि । एषैव भागवतसंमततत्त्वानां संख्या । अत एव प्रकृताध्यायस्यारम्भे—“नवैकादश पञ्चत्रीण्यात् त्वमिह शुश्रुम” इत्यत्र त्वमात्थ = उक्तवानसीति प्रोवाच उद्धवः । अत्रोभयोरपि स्थलयोः—प्रकृतिपुरुषौ सहस्रहृद्धारौ, पञ्चतन्मात्राणि, एकादश इन्द्रियाणि, पञ्चभूतानि, त्रयो गुणाश्चेत्यष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानामुल्लेखो वर्तते इत्यत्र प्रायशः सर्वे टीकाकाराः समानाभिप्रायाः ।

चैतन्यनन्दनाम्नी विश्वनाथः “नवैकादश” (११११११४) इत्यस्य प्रमाणं तत्रैव क्रमं स्वीकरोति, अन्यत्र (११॥२२।१) तु प्रकृतिस्थाने ईश्वरं गणयित्वा आह—“अत्र प्रकृतिस्थाने त्रयो गुणा एव गृहीताः” इति । एवं चात्र तन्मते त्रयो गुणा एव प्रकृतिस्थानीयाः, तस्याः पृथक् सत्ता नास्ति । एतच्च मतं पाञ्चरात्रसंमतं वर्तते । पाञ्चरात्रसंहितासु प्रकृतिः सांख्यदर्शनवत् नित्या । तत्र हि सत्त्वरजस्तमसां गुणानां क्रमेणोत्पत्तिर्भवति । उत्पन्नानामेषां गुणानां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः । इत्थं च त्रिगुणरूपैव प्रकृतिरनित्या, न पृथङ्नित्यं प्रकृत्याख्यं तत्त्वं तस्मिन् मते । एतदेवात्र विश्वनाथेनाप्युक्तम् । पूर्वत्र (११११११४) तु तेन प्रकृतेस्त्रिगुणानां च पृथगुल्लेखः कृतः, ईश्वरतत्त्वं च तत्र न परिगणितम् । परस्परविरुद्धमेतत्स्थलद्वयीयं व्याख्यानम् । भागवते—“पुरुषः प्रकृतिः” (१११२२।२४) इत्यत्र प्रकृतेरेव ग्रहणं विद्यते न त्वीश्वरस्य । एवं च विश्वनाथचक्रवर्तिनः प्रकृतिस्थाने ईश्वरस्य ग्रहणं भागवतविरुद्धमेव प्रतीयते । पाञ्चरात्रसिद्धान्तानुसरणेनैव तस्य परिहारः कथञ्चित् कर्तुं शक्यते ।

विशिष्टाद्वैतिना वीरराघवाचार्येण श्लोकोऽयं (१११२२।१) इत्थं व्याख्यातः “कैश्चिदपिभिस्तत्त्वानि नव संख्यातानि, कैश्चित्त्वेकादश, कैश्चित्पञ्च । त्वं तु मायामात्रमनूयान्ते प्रतिषिध्य प्रशाम्यतीति त्रीणि तत्त्वान्यात्थ” इति । ११११११४ इत्यस्य व्याख्यानावसरे चाष्टाविंशतिभावाः परिगणिताः । आद्येषु नवसु भावेष्वनेन सुदर्शनाचार्येण च शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धा विसर्गशिल्पगत्युक्तयश्च संख्याताः ।”

रेतउत्सर्गो मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गश्चेत्युत्सर्गद्वयस्यैककोटित्वप्रापणेन न वेति निर्देशः, अन्यथा दशेति स्यात्” इति समाधानं चोपस्थापितम् ।

परवर्तिभिर्देवैर्गणवाचार्यैः प्रस्थानत्रयीवद् भागवतस्यापि प्रामाण्यमङ्गीकृत्य प्रस्थानचतुष्टयी संस्थापिता । यद्यपि रामानुजाचार्येण स्वकीयग्रन्थेषु कुत्रापि भागवतस्योल्लेखो न विहितः, किन्तु तदनुयायिभिर्भागवतस्यापि निमित्तं व्याख्यानं कृतम् । उक्तश्लोकव्याख्यानावसरे तस्यैव परिदर्शनं भवति ।

भागवते (११।२२।३-४) श्लोकयोः २६, २५, ७, ९, ६, ४, ११, १७, १६, १३ संख्याकानां तत्त्वानामुल्लेखः, परवर्तिषु श्लोकेषु तेषां निरूपणं च विद्यते । अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायामपि तत्त्वत्रयत आरभ्य एकादशतत्त्वं यावत् परिगणितानि, किन्तु तेषां विवरणं तत्र नास्ति । भागवते तेषां सत्यपि संक्षिप्ते विवरणे विभिन्नसंख्याकानां तत्त्वानामेषामङ्गीकर्तार आचार्याः सम्प्रदाया दर्शनानि वा कानीति न परिज्ञायते । अन्यत्र च २७, ३१, ३२, ३६ संख्याकान्यपि तत्त्वान्युपलभ्यन्ते । सर्वेषामेषां विषये संक्षेपेणात्र विचारः प्रस्तूयते ।

अद्वैतवादिन एकमेव परमतत्त्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । तद् ब्रह्म, परवासुदेवः, शिवः, शक्तिः, शून्यं वेति दर्शनभेदेन भिद्यते ।

द्वैतवादिनां मते ईश्वरो जीवश्चेति द्वे तत्त्वे स्तः । स्वतन्त्रास्वतन्त्रभेदेन द्विविधं तत्त्वमिति श्रुतिः प्राहुः । जीवा-जीवाख्ये द्वे तत्त्वे ईत्यार्हताः ।

जीवेश्वराभ्यां सह प्रकृतेः संमेलनेन त्रीणि तत्त्वानि जायन्ते । ^१मन्त्रिकोपनिषद्—“अद्वैतं द्वैतमित्याहुस्त्रिधा तम्” इत्युक्तम् । ^२चूलिकोपनिषदपि पाठभेदेनैतद्वचनमुपलभ्यते । छान्दोग्योपनिषदि (६।४) पृथिव्यप्तेजाग्निं सृष्टिकारणत्वेन व्याख्यातानि । एतदेव वेदान्तिलिङ्गनिबन्धनस्य आधारस्थलम् । अन्यत्र च “स एकधा भवति त्रिधा भवति पञ्चधा सप्तधा नवधा पुनश्चैकादशः स्मृतः”

१. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे, पृ. २७ आनन्दाश्रमीये द्वितीये संस्करणे ।

२. निर्णयसागरीयोपनिषत्संग्रहस्य पञ्चमे संस्करणे, पृ. २५२

३. आनन्दाश्रमीयोपनिषदां समुच्चये, पृ. २७२

(७।२६।२) इत्युक्तम् । 'केचन आचार्यास्त्रयो गुणा एव जगत्कारणानीति मन्यन्ते । रामानुजनिम्बार्काचार्ययोर्मते ब्रह्मचिदचित्रामकानि त्रीणि तत्त्वानि सन्ति । रामानुजमतानुयायिनौ सुदर्शनसूरिवीरराघवाचार्यौ निम्बार्कानुयायी शुकदेवश्च भागवतस्यैतस्य प्रकरणस्य तत्त्वत्रयप्रतिपादनपरमेव व्याख्यानं कृतवन्तः । अपरे रामानुजीया द्रव्याद्रव्यभेदेन द्विविधं तत्त्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति ।

नान्दिकश्चतुर्त्तन्यां सृष्टिमातन्दते । पञ्चिमात्रं नाङ्गीकृतम् । पाल्वाङ्-
मयेऽपि महाभूतेषु धातुषु वा आकाशः न परिगणितः । तत्रापि चत्वार्येव
महाभूतानि । परवर्तिनि बौद्धसाहित्येऽस्यासंस्कृतधातुषु समावेशः कृतः ।
बुद्धकालीनाः केचन जडवादिनो दार्शनिका अपि चत्वारि भूतानि मन्यन्ते स्म ।
भागवते “चत्वार्येवेति तत्रापि तेज आपोऽन्नमात्मनः” (११।२२।२१) इति
चत्वारि भूतानि परिगणितानि । अत्र ह्यन्नेन्द्रोऽग्निमृद्गर्गित्तत्त्वत्रयैः साकं
चतुर्थमात्मतत्त्वं समावेशितम् ।

पञ्चभूतात्मिका सृष्टिरुपनिषत्सु नैकत्र परिवर्णिता । वेदान्तस्य पञ्चीकरण-
प्रक्रियामुं सिद्धान्तमेवालम्बते । भागवतस्य प्रस्तुते प्रकरणे पञ्चभूतसिद्धान्तः
पृथङ् न निर्दिष्टः । अष्टाविंशतितत्त्वपरिगणनावसरे पञ्चशब्देन पञ्चतन्मात्राणां
पञ्चभूतानां बोल्लेखणीकाकारैः कृतः । “सत्त्वं ज्ञानम्” (११।२२।१३) इति
पञ्चव्याख्यायां शुकदेवेन ब्रह्मचिदचिद्विः साकं कालस्वभावयोः परिगणनेन पञ्च
तत्त्वानि स्वीकृतानि । वीरराघवेण च “इति नाना” (११।२२।२५) इत्यत्र तेजः,
जलम्, अन्नम्, आत्मा, वायुश्चेति पञ्च तत्त्वानि परिदर्शितानि । जीवाकाशधर्मा-
धर्मपुद्गलास्तिकायाः पञ्च तत्त्वानीत्याह तैकदेशिनः^१ ।

“षडित्यत्रापि भूतानि पञ्च षष्ठः परः पुमान्” (११।२२।२०) इति
वर्तन्ते षट् तत्त्वानि । अयं च सिद्धान्त आत्मषष्ठवादत्वेन प्रसिद्धयति ।
चरकसंहितायाः शारीरस्थाने चैष “खादयश्चेतनाषष्ठा धातवः पुरुषः स्मृतः”
(१।१६) इत्यादिना व्याख्यातः । पञ्चमाध्याये च—” पञ्धानुसमुदाहो हि

१. तत्रैवटीकायाम्, पृ. २७३

२. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे, पृ. २८

सामान्यतः सर्वलोकः” इत्युक्तम् । अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायाम्—“तां (सृष्टिं)
तत्त्वानिनेः” (८।३) इति षड्धातुकसृष्टिवाद उपस्थापितः । नागार्जुनेन
नान्यनिर्गुणतौ चत्वारि भूतानि, आकाशविज्ञाने चेति षड्धातवः प्रतिपादिताः ।
षड्धातुकवाद आयुर्वेदविदां बौद्धानां वा स्यात् । सुश्रुतसंहितायाः शारीरस्थाने—
“वैद्यके तु स्वभावमीश्वरं कालं यदृच्छां नियतिं तथा । परिणामं च मन्यन्ते
प्रकृतिं पृथुदर्शिनः ॥” इति षट् तत्त्वानि परिगणितानि । स्वभावेश्वरकालनियतयो
दर्शनान्तरेष्वपि तत्त्वानि स्वीकृतानि । “कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा”
(१।२) इति श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि यदृच्छातत्त्ववादिनामुल्लेखो वर्तते ।

“सत्तैव धातव इति तत्रार्थाः पञ्च खादयः । ज्ञानमात्मा” (१।१२२।१४)
अत्र सप्तधातुवादः समुपस्थापितः । व्याख्यातृभिश्च ज्ञानमात्मा चेति जीवात्मपर-
मात्मानावङ्गीकृतौ । वस्तुतस्त्वेदपि मतमायुर्वेदविदां प्रतीयते । चरकसंहितायाः
पूर्वोद्धृते स्थले यद्यपि चेतनाधातुरेव पुरुषोऽङ्गीकृतस्तथाप्यात्मनः पृथग् ज्ञानमङ्गी-
कुर्वतामपि तत्र कश्चन मतविशेषः स्पष्टादिति संभाव्यते । भागवते—“सत्त्वं ज्ञानं^३
रजः कर्म तमेऽज्ञानमिति त्रयोदशः । गुणव्यतिकरः कालः स्वभावः सूत्रमेव च ॥”
(१।१२२।१३) इत्यत्रान्येषां तत्त्वानां परिगणितेष्वष्टाविंशतितत्त्वेषु समावेशः
कृतः । अतो ज्ञायते केषाञ्चन मते एतानि तत्त्वानि त्रयोदशानि । श्लोकोऽयं
व्याख्यातृभिरनेकधा व्याख्यातः । अनेकैरत्र केवलं कालस्वभावौ चर्चितौ । केचन
कालमेव मतान्तरेण पृथक् तत्त्वमङ्गीकृत्य तस्य गुणेषु समावेशं कुर्वन्ति । अपरे
सूत्रमपि पृथक् तत्त्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । श्रीधरस्वामिनात्र ज्ञानादीनां यथायथमन्तर्भावः ।
प्रदर्शितः । राधारमणोस्वामिनैकादशश्लोकव्याख्यायां ज्ञानतत्त्वस्य पार्थक्यशङ्को-
पस्थापिता । त्रयोदशः श्लोको यद्यपि श्रीधरस्वामिना न विशदं व्याख्यातस्तथापि
तत्प्रदर्शितया पद्धत्या श्लोकस्यास्य—ज्ञानस्य सत्त्वे, कर्मणो रजसि, अज्ञानस्य

१. म. म. गोपीनाथकविराजमहोदयेन “Theism in Ancient India”
शीर्षके निबन्धे स्वभाव-नियति-काल-यदृच्छावादानां सम्यक् परिचय उपस्थापितः ।
द्रष्टव्यम्—Sarasvati Bhavan Studies, Vol. II, P. 93-111.

२. “प्रधानमेव महदहङ्कारादिरूपतया परिणतं सर्वस्य निमित्तमिति परिणामवादिनः”
इति उल्लेखान्तराद्यैः व्याचख्यौ ।

३. “सत्त्वात् संजायते ज्ञानम्” (भगवद्गीतायाम्, १।४।१७)

तमसि समावेशः, कालो गुणानां व्यतिकर एव, स्वभावः सत्त्वगुणरजस्तमोः संपद्यते । वराहमिहिरेण बृहत्संहितायाम्—“कालं कारणमेके स्वभावमपरे परे जगुः कर्म” (१।७) इत्युक्तम् । तद्व्याख्यायां भट्टोदयलेनेतानि मतानि संक्षेपेण निरूपितानि । वल्लभमतानुयायी पुरुषोत्तमः प्रस्थानरत्नाकरे प्रमेयप्रकरणे (पृ. १६४-१६५) प्रमेयस्य स्वरूपकोटौ अक्षरेण सह कालस्वभावकर्मणां समावेशं करोति । एवमेव ज्ञानाज्ञाने तत्त्वान्तरे इत्यङ्गीकुर्वाणा आसन् केचन । ज्ञानं तत्त्वान्तरमित्यङ्गीकुर्वाणा आयुर्वेदविद् एव स्युः, यतो हि भागवतेऽहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां चात्र धातुशब्दप्रयोगो विद्यते । बौद्धानां वैतन्मतं स्यात् । नागार्जुनेन माध्यमिकवृत्तौ पञ्च महाभूतानि विज्ञानं चेति षड्धातवोऽभिहिताः । विज्ञानं चात्र ज्ञानस्वरूपमेव । शिवोपनिषदि—“पञ्चविंशकमज्ञानम्” (१।१२) इत्यज्ञानं पञ्चविंशतितनं तत्त्वमङ्गीकृतम् । “अज्ञानमेव मुमुक्षुणा मुक्तिपथप्रवृत्तेनाभ्युपगन्तव्यम्, न तु ज्ञानम्” इत्यज्ञानवादिनां मतं गुणरत्नेन षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयटीकायां प्रपञ्चितम् । पालिवाङ्मये पकुधकच्चायनस्यान्येषां दार्शनिकानां च सप्तकायवाद उपस्थापितः । अत्र चत्वारि महाभूतानि, आत्मा, सुखदुःखे चेति सप्त तत्त्वान्यङ्गीकृतानि । जीवाजीवास्तवबन्धसंवरनिर्जरमौक्षाः सप्त तत्त्वानीत्यपरे आर्हतैकदेशिनः ।

अष्टतत्त्ववादिनः सिद्धान्तस्य भागवते नोल्लेखः, अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां तु वर्तते । अनया संख्यया सह तत्र प्रकृतिशब्दप्रयोगो वर्तते । एष च सिद्धान्तो गीतायाम्—“भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च । अहङ्कार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥” (७।४) इत्येवमुपलभ्यते । चरकसंहितायां शारीरस्थाने—प्रकृतिश्चाष्टधातुकी” (१।१७) इत्युक्तम् । शिवपुराणे^१ च प्रकृतिमहदहङ्कार-पञ्चतन्मात्ररूपा अष्टौ प्रकृतय उक्ताः । गीतायामत्र सांख्यसंमतमूलप्रकृतेः परिगणनं नास्ति । तस्य स्थाने मनः परिगृहीतम्, संमिलितानामेषामष्टधा भिन्ना प्रकृतिरिति च निरूपणं कृतम् । इयं चापरा प्रकृतिः । भागवते—“अष्टौ प्रकृतयश्चैव पुरुषश्च नवेत्यथ” (१।१२।२४) इति नवतत्त्वपरिगणनेऽष्टप्रकृतीनामुल्लेखोऽस्ति । एतच्च गीतासंमतमेव प्रतीयते, यतो हि तत्राष्टप्रकृतिभ्योऽतिरिक्तं नवमं

१. द्रष्टव्यम्—पृ. १६-१८

२. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे, पृ. २४

३. शिवपुराणे वायवीयसंहितायां पूर्वभागे, १०।३६

कानां षोडश पदार्थाः प्रमाणसमुच्चये तद्वृत्तौ च षोडशतत्त्व-
रूपेण परिगणिताः । प्रश्नोपनिषदि—“षोडशकलः पुरुषः” (६।१) इत्युक्तम् ।
षोडशकलाश्च—“स प्राणमसृजत प्राणाच्छ्रद्धां खं वायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवोन्द्रियं
मनः । अन्नमन्नाद्वीर्यं तपो मन्त्राः कर्म लोका लोकेषु च नाम च ॥” (६।४)
इति परिगणिताः । आभिः कलाभिः सह वर्तमानः पुरुषः स्वयं सप्तदशः स्मृतः ।
भागवतीयनिरूपणस्य तु कश्चनान्य एवाधारः स्यात् ।

निर्वाक्यमनुयायिना शुक्रदेवेन “पुरुषः प्रकृतिर्व्यक्तम्” (१।१२२।१४-
१५) इत्यादिश्लोकद्वयव्याख्यायां विंशतितत्त्वपक्ष उपस्थापितः, न केनाप्यन्येन
टीकाकारेण । वस्तुतत्त्वत्राध्यायारम्भे पञ्चतत्त्वानां नवतत्त्वानामथ चैकादश-
तत्त्वानां परिगणनमस्ति, पञ्च तत्त्वानि (पञ्च महाभूतानि), त्रीणि तत्त्वानि (त्रिगुणानि)
च प्रसिद्धानि, अतस्तानि नोल्लिखितानि । अग्रिमे श्लोके ज्ञानेन्द्रियकर्मेन्द्रिय-
दश विषया निरूपिता वर्तन्ते । अस्य श्लोकस्य व्याख्याकारैरन्यथैव
व्याख्यानं विहितम् । श्रीयग्यनिना पूर्वार्द्धे पञ्चतत्त्वानि, उत्तरार्द्धे च कर्मे-
न्द्रियाणां फलानि प्रदर्शितानि । चैतन्यमतानुयायिना जीवगोस्वामिना विश्व-
नाथेन चाप्ययमेवार्थः प्रकटीकृतः । विजयध्वजेन शुक्रदेवेन चोपरि प्रदर्शितो
यथार्थ एवात्र प्रकटीकृतः, पूर्वत्र (१।१४।१४) तु नवैव विषयाः परिगणिताः ।
माध्वमते—परमात्मलक्ष्मीजीवाव्याकृताकाशप्रकृतिगुणत्रयमहत्तत्त्वाहङ्कारतत्त्वबुद्धिमन-
इन्द्रियमात्राब्रह्माण्डविद्यावर्णान्धकारवासनाकालप्रतिबिम्बभेदाद् दिशुर्निद्राप्रकृति-
कृतानि सन्ति ।

प्रकृत्यादिचतुर्विंशतिजटतत्त्वानि चेतनं पुरुषतत्त्वं च स्वीकृत्य सांख्यकारि-
कायां पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानि निरूपितानि । पुराणेषु प्रतिपादिते निरीश्वरसांख्ये
एतेषां विस्तरेण प्रपञ्चो विद्यते । योगसूत्रे, महाभारते, पुराणेषु च प्रदर्शिते
सेश्वरसांख्ये ईश्वरेण सह षड्विंशतितत्त्वानि सन्ति । ^१मण्डूक्यव्याख्यायां ^२मण्डल-
ब्राह्मणोपनिषदि चैतानि चर्चितानि । ^३महोपनिषदि, ^४नारदपरिव्राजकोपनिषदि,

१. “तत्त्वानि षोडशमुच्च” (१४ कारि.) ।

२. मा. का. २।२६

३. म. ब्रा. उ. १।४

४. म. उ. १।१

५. निर्णयनानन्दोपनिषद्, अष्टमः पञ्चमे संस्करणे, पृ. ३२१

‘नारायणपूजनापिन्यां च पञ्चविंशति तत्त्वानि निरूपितानि । ^२सामरहस्योपनिषदि महाविष्णुः षड्विंशं तत्त्वं निगदितम् । ^३मन्त्रिकोपनिषत् ^४चूलिकोपनिषच्च षड्विंशं सप्तविंशं च तत्त्वमङ्गीकुरुतः । शिवोपनिषदि—“गुणो बुद्धिरहङ्कारस्तन्मात्राणोन्द्रियाणि च । भूतानि च चतुर्विंशदिति पाशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ पञ्चविंशकमज्ञानं सहजं सर्वदेहिनाम् । प्रज्ञालयं तन्मूलं प्रकृतिः कारणाय नः ॥ षड्विंशकश्च पुरुषः पशुरज्ञः शिवागमे । सप्तविंश इति प्रोक्तः शिवः सर्वजगत्पतिः ॥” (१।११-१२) इत्येवं तत्त्वानि निरूपितानि । चूलिकोपनिषद्वाख्याता ^५नारायणः—“मात्रा बुद्धिरहङ्कारः मनोबुद्धिरहङ्कृतिः । महान् प्रधानं तत्त्वानि षड्विंशः परमेश्वरः ॥ चित्तेन साहित्ये सप्तविंशः” इत्येवं सप्तविंशतितत्त्वानि परिगणयति । “सप्तविंशमथापरे” इति श्रुतिव्याख्यानावसरे ^६वीरराघवाचार्यः ^७सुदर्शनाचार्यश्च सप्तविंशतितत्त्वसंख्यां कालं पृथक् तत्त्वमङ्गीकृत्य पूरयतः । ‘वेदान्तदेशिकेनापि—“तं षड्विंशकमित्याहुः सप्तविंशमथापरे” इति श्रुतिं समुद्धृत्य कालः परमव्योम (नित्यविभूतिः) च पृथक् तत्त्वे परिगणितो सर्वमेतदुपर्युद्धृतशिवोपनिषद्वचनापरिचयसूचकं प्रतीयते ।

भागवतसंमतान्यष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानि पूर्वं निरूपितानि । पुरुषोत्तमेन प्रस्थान-रत्नाकरे प्रमेयप्रकरणे (पृ. १६४) प्रमेयस्य स्वरूपकोटि-कारणकोटि-कार्यकोटि-नामान्त्रयो भेदाः कृताः । स्वरूपकोटौ अक्षर-काल-कर्म-स्वभावानां परिगणनमस्ति । कारणकोटौ भागवतसंमतानामष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानामन्तर्भावो विद्यते । अपूर्ण एवायं ग्रन्थ उपलब्धः, अतः कार्यकोटौ केषां परिगणनमिति न परिज्ञायते ।

अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहितायां शुद्धेतरसृष्टिप्रकरणे षष्ठेऽध्याये कूटस्थपुरुषस्य त्रिगुणानां च मध्ये शक्तिनियतिकालानां त्रयाणां तत्त्वानां परिगणनं वर्तते । कालात् क्रमशः सत्त्वरजस्तमसामुत्पत्तिः । एषां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः । प्रकृतिश्च

१. अञ्जारसंस्करणे, पृ. ७८

२. तत्रैव, पृ. २४१

३. निर्णयसागरियोपनिषत्संग्रहस्य पञ्चमे संस्करणे, पृ. २५२

४. आनन्दश्रमीयोपनिषदां समुच्चये, पृ. २७२

५. तत्रैव, पृ. २७३

६. भागवतव्याख्यायाम्, ११।२२।१३-१६

७. तत्रैव, ११।२२।१७

८. वेदान्तदेशिकग्रन्थमालायां तत्त्वमुक्ताकलाये, पृ. १६३

त्रिगुणेभ्यो न पृथक् तत्त्वान्तरम् । भागवते तु प्रकृतिस्त्रिगुणानि च पृथक् तत्त्वान्तरानि सन्ति । एवं चाहिबुध्न्यसंहितायां त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि प्रतिपादितानि । अत्र च शुद्धसृष्टेः समावेशो नास्ति ।

नानाप्रकारिकायां—“एकत्रिंशक इत्याहुः” (२।२६) इत्येकत्रिंशत्तत्त्ववादी सिद्धान्त उल्लिखितः । अत्र भाष्ये—“पाशुपतास्तु रागाविद्यानियतिकालमायाधिकास्तः त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि इति ब्रुवते” इत्युक्तम् । शैवागमेषु षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि इति ब्रुवते” इत्युक्तम् । शैवागमेषु षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि प्रतिपादितानि । नन्वेतेषु त्रिंशत्तत्त्वेषु शिवशक्तिसदाशिवेश्वरशुद्धविद्यानामकानां पञ्चतत्त्वानां संयोजनेनैषा संख्या संपद्यते ।

माध्वमतानुयायी विजयध्वजः “सर्गादौ” (११।२२।१७) इति पञ्चव्याख्यायाम्—“चतुस्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानीति भागवतं मतम्” इत्याह ।

षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयटीकायां गुणरत्नकृतायाम्—“सूत्रकृदाख्ये द्वितीयेऽङ्के परावादुकानां त्रीणि शतानि त्रिषष्ट्यधिकानि परिसंख्यायन्ते । तदर्थसंग्रहग्राथेयम्—
‘असिइसयं किरियाणं अकिरियवाईण होइ चुलसीई ।

अन्नाणिअ सत्तट्टी वेणइयाणं च बत्तीसं ॥” (पृ० १०)

इत्युक्तम् । अन्यान्यपि नानामतानि बौद्धनिकायेषु महाभारतपुराणादिषु च दरीदृश्यन्ते । अस्यां परिस्थितौ विविधास्वासु दृष्टिषु सामञ्जस्यं सम्पादयता भागवतकारेण युक्तमेवोक्तम्—“इति नाना प्रसंख्यानं तत्त्वानामृषिभिः कृतम् । सर्वं न्याय्यम्” (११।२२।२५) इति । इयमेव भागवतानां समन्वयात्मिका दृष्टिः कालक्रमेण पल्लविता । एतन्प्रभावितानामेव—“यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति” इत्यादयः पद्यबन्धाः समुपलभ्यन्ते । अत एव “केनचिच्चिरन्तनेनार्हतेनाप्युक्तम्—

श्रोतव्यः सौगतो धर्मः कर्तव्यः पुनरार्हतः ।

वैदिको व्यवहर्तव्यो ध्यातव्यः परमः शिवः ॥

१. अर्थात्यधिकं शतं क्रियावादिनाम् अक्रियावादिनां भवति चतुरशीनिः । अज्ञानिनां सप्तपष्ठिवैनयिकायां च द्वात्रिंशत् ॥ इति च्छाया ।

२. षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयटीकायां मणिभद्रकृतायाम्, पृ. ६५ (तृतीये संस्करणे)

METRES IN THE HARIVAMŚA PURĀṆA

BY

BINA PANDEY

[अस्मिन् लेखे हरिवंशपुराणान्तर्गतानि छन्दांसि आश्रित्य विचारः क्रियते । तत्र सर्वप्राधान्येन तु श्लोकवृत्तस्य संप्रयोगः । तदन्तरम् आर्या-वसन्ततिलकोपजातिवंशस्थेन्दुवज्रेन्द्रवंशोपेन्द्रवज्रा - रुचिरा - वातोर्मा - मालिनी-शालिनी-प्रहर्षिणी-पुष्पिताप्रापरवक्त्राख्यानि छन्दांसि ग्रन्थे काव्यात्मकत्व-प्रतिपादनाय रसानुकूल्येन भावानामभिव्यक्तये च प्रयुक्तानि । अन्यविधानि छन्दांसि पादेषु वर्णानां न्यूनाधिक्येन विषमवृत्तस्वरूपाणि । तैः ग्रन्थस्य आपेक्षिकं प्राचीनत्वं सूच्यते । पद्यगन्धर्वांशस्यापि एकमुदाहरणं हरिवंशे प्राप्यते, तत्तु स्तोत्रे एव ।]

About three-fourths of the epic and Purāṇic poetry is couched in the Anuṣṭup or Śloka metre. But other classical Kāvya metres have also been used for an explicit purpose. The metres of the Harivaṁśa may broadly be classified under three different heads, viz. regular metres with fixed number of syllables, irregular metres with some uneven Pādas i. e. the Vishama Vṛttas of Sanskrit poetry, and thirdly some prose-like metres which seem to have been used for a variety of purpose on occasions.

THE REGULAR METRES

Of the regular metres besides the Śloka the Harivaṁśa has the following :—

आर्या, वसन्ततिलका, उपजाति, वंशस्थ, इन्द्रवज्रा, इन्द्रवंशा, उपेन्द्रवज्रा, रुचिरा, वातोर्मा, मालिनी, शालिनी, प्रहर्षिणी, पुष्पिताप्रा, अपरवक्त्र.

Of these Āryā has been used twice in the Hariv. in the beginning of the Harivaṁśaparvan.¹ Vasantatilakā occurs twice and that also in the beginning of the Harivaṁśaparvan.² Both these metres have been used only to sing the praise

1. Hariv. I. 1. 3, 7.

2. „ I. 1. 2, 4.

of the Hariv. and its compiler. Vasantatilakā is one of the rare metres of the Mbh. like the Hariv.¹ These two metres become common in the later Purāṇas, being set apart for expressing the emotions of the devotees. This use of the Vasantatilakā finds culmination in the Padma² and to an extent in the Bhāgavata.

Certain metres in the Hariv. have been used for the explicit purpose of introducing variety in between the monotonous Śloka metre. Sometimes the change of metre takes place where the poet experiences intensity of emotion. Thus the chapter narrating the grandeur of Viṣṇu including his incarnations presents the prosaic enumeration of the deeds of each incarnation in Śloka metre, while the virtues of Viṣṇu have been expressed though the Upajāti, Upendravajrā, Indravajrā and Vamśastha.³

A number of other instances exhibiting the intensity of emotion of a slightly different nature may be cited in the Hariv. The poet in close kinship with Nature is exalted to a state of ecstasy and the metres are Upajāti, Indravajrā, Upendravajra and Vamśastha. The description of the rainy season by Pradyumna is in the Upajāti metre.⁴

It is a chapter of grand aesthetic appeal. Pradyumna registers similar intensity of emotion for the flaming beauty of Prabhāvatī. Upajāti is the most suitable metre for such poetry.

Upajāti, Vamśastha, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā and Indravamśā are some of the metres which the Hariv. employs for the feeling of devotion to God. Thus, Janārdana, one of the devotees of Viṣṇu, who has gone into raptures at seeing Kṛishṇa utters his experience through the Indravajrā metre—

1. Vasantatilakā has been used 7 times in the Mbh. while it occurs only 5 times in the Hariv.

2. Padma, Uttara. 294. 112; Uttara 19. 45; Śrīṣṭi 28. 157.

3. Hariv. 3. 82.

4. „ 2. 95. 1-39.

अद्राक्षमेनं यदुभिः पुरातनैः संसेव्यमानं मुनिवृन्दमुख्यैः ।
संस्तूयमानं प्रभुभिः समागधैः स्मितप्रवालाधरपल्लवारुणम् ¹ ॥

The long prayer to Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu by Ghaṇṭākarma is in Indravajrā metre—

यमाहुराद्यं विबुधा जगत्पतिं सर्वस्य धातारमजं जनित्रम् ।
नमोऽनील-नयन-सुख-स्थूलास्थविष्ठं हरिमेव विष्णुम् ² ॥

Like the Indravajrā and Indravamśā, Upendravajrā has frequently been used to enshrine the tender feelings of devotion to God. The long prayer to Nṛsiṃha by Brahmā after the killing of Hiranyakaśipu is in the Upendravajrā—

परां च सिद्धिं परमं च देवं परं च मन्त्रं परमं मनश्च ।
परं च धर्मं परमं यशश्च त्वामाहुरग्यं पुरुषं पुराणम् ³ ॥

Exceptions abound not only in the Hariv. but also in the other Purāṇas and epics, Thus the thoughts of devotion to the deity have sometimes been expressed in the simple Śloka metre, as in the mutual prayers between Śiva and Vishṇu in the Bhavishyaparvan⁴ and the prayers to goddess Āryā by the sages⁵, Pradyumna⁶ and Aniruddha⁷. Some of the prayers in the Hariv. have also been expressed in irregular metres.

The later Purāṇas have a larger number of classical metres than the older ones. But the Purāṇas of a still later period have their metres restricted to Vamśastha and Upajāti. Thus these two metres have frequently been used for prayers in the Bṛhannāradiya⁸ and Bṛhaddharma⁹, as mentioned before.

1. Hariv. 3. 118. 3.

2. „ 3. 82. 11; also 3. 80. 38-51

3. „ 3. 47. 27, also 28-33.

4. Hariv. 3. 87-90

5. „ 2 3.

6. „ 2. 107. 6-13.

7. „ 2. 120. 6-34.

8. Bṛhannāradiya. 1. 66; 2.11 (Bibl. Indica).

9. Bṛhaddharma, Pūrv. 5.-(Bibl. Indica).

The Paurāṇikas are not very rigid in conforming to a particular metre. Consequently, the Śloka, Upajāti, Indravajrā, Indravamśā, and sometimes Drutavilambita have been freely used for diverse expressions.

Sometimes the purpose of inserting a metre in between the monotonous Śloka is slightly different in the Purāṇas and epics including the Hariv. There is a common tendency to change the metre at the end of a canto. The changed metre sometimes acts as a concluding passage, in which the idea scattered in the canto is neatly summed up. For instance, the chapters describing the battle between the gods and the demons, usually end with a change in metre. The chapter which describes the march of Śambara ends in Indravajrā—

व्यासक्तवैडूर्यसुवर्णजालं, नानाविहंगैरपि भक्तिचित्रम् ।
विद्युत्प्रभं भीमरवं सुवेगं रथं समारुह्य रराज दैत्यः ॥¹

The chapter which narrates 'Śiva's arrival to see Kṛṣṇa on the peak of Badarī ends in an appropriate Vamśastha :

स सर्वलोकप्रभवो भवो विभुः, जटी च साक्षात्पणवात्मकः कृती ।
द्रष्टुं हरिं विष्णुमुदारविक्रमो ययौ यथेष्टं पिशिताशनैर्वृतः ॥²

The Purāṇas, the Mbh. and the Hariv. show only restricted instances of changing the metre at the end of a chapter, but the Sargas of the Rāmāyaṇa usually end in metres other than the Śloka, a feature well maintained in the classical Kāvya where change of meter at the end of a Sarga was considered essential.

The metres like Mālinī, Pushpitāgrā, Ruchirā, Praharṣiṇī, Vātormī, Śālinī and Aparavaktra have been put in between the Śloka for the purpose of giving vent to feelings of deeper nature as in the case of the other metres discussed above.

These metres put in between the common Śloka for the

1. Hariv. 3. 5. 28.

2. „ 3. 86. 18.

purpose of variety depend on the fancy of the poets. Hopkins is right when he calls these fancy metres, as at times these have been used with no special purpose in view but only to exhibit the poet's stock of metres. The statement holds ground if we observe the places where these fancy metres have been used. These metres in the Hariv. do not lack irregularities, which is so common an element of the irregular metres of the epics and Purāṇas. They have some common flaws and are less polished than those found in the Kāvya.

THE IRREGULAR METRES

Amongst metres of 32, 34, 36 syllables the Mbh. has the greatest number, Hariv. has less of them and the Purāṇas present a still lesser number.

The irregular metres may be called passages of uneven Pādas. These occur twice in the Hariv., firstly in the Rudra stotra by Kaśyapa and secondly in the glorification of Āpas (Water) by a Vratinī in the context of Puṇyavrata :—

आपो देव्य ऋषीणां हि विश्वधात्र्यो
दिव्या मदन्त्यो या शंकरा धर्मधात्र्यः ।
हिरण्यवर्णा पावका शिवतमेन
रसेन श्रेयसो मां जुषन्तु ॥

According to Hopkins the Jagatī and Trishtubh meters with extra syllables are called hypermetre,³ while Dr. Edgerton amplifying the hypothesis put forth by Hopkins, holds that the metre with less than the required syllables is called submetrical⁴. Arnold calls these irregular metres hybrid verse.⁵

Hopkins has classified hypermetres in the Hariv. into two varieties. The hymn addressed to Āpas by a Vratinī is

1. Hariv. 2. 72.

2. Hariv. 2. 79.9.

3. Hopkins, *GEL.*, p. 252-253.

4. JAOS., Vol. 59, p. 160.

5. Arnold, *Vedic Metre* p. 16,

an instance of single hypermetre. Hopkins calls these hymns single hypermetre, as only three or four syllables are surplus to the fixed number. The prayer to Śiva by Kaśyapa is an instance of double hypermetre because more than three or four syllables exceed the fixed number¹. The instance of the single and double hypermetre may be read respectively as follows :—

Vishama Vṛitta or Trishṭubh hypermetre

Single hypermetre

आपो देव्य ऋषीणां हि विश्वधात्र्यो—one syllable more

दिव्या मदन्त्यो याः शङ्करा धर्मधात्र्यः² |—two syllables more.

Vishama Vṛitta or Trishṭubh double hypermetre.

Double hypermetre

भुङ्क्ते य एको विभुर्जगतो विश्वमग्र्यं—four syllables more.

धानां धाम सुकृत्तिवात्र घृष्यः³ ||—eleven syllables of the Trishṭubh
(regular Pāda)

The Mbh. abounds in these irregular metres. It is not necessary that every irregular metre should be a hypermetre. We come across instances where submetrical lines have been inserted between the hypermetrical ones ; for instance a Śloka in the Mbh. where a woman, whose son lies dead having been stung by a snake, dissuades a hunter who wants to kill it in revenge, after proving the futility of anger and violence—

नास्मिन् हते पन्नगे पुत्रको मे सम्प्राप्स्यते लुब्धक जीवितं वै ।

गुणं वाऽन्यं नास्य वधे प्रपश्ये तस्मात् सर्पं लुब्धक मुञ्च जीवम्⁴ ॥

The above Śloka is an irregular metre as the first part of the second line is Trishṭubh submetrical and the first part of the first line and the second part of the same line is Trishṭubh hypermetre. The first part of the second line has one syllable less

1. Hopkins, *GEL.*, p. 297-298.

2. Hariv. 2. 79. 9.

3. „ 2. 72. 32.

4. Mbh. XIII 1. 24. (South. Rec., Madras).

while the second part of the same line has two syllables more in a *Triṣṭubh* pāda. The older portions of the Mbh. have a considerably larger number of such metres.

The Purāṇas give comparatively few instances of such irregular metres. Most of them being later compilations than the older parts of the Mbh. tend more towards polished classical metres.

THE PROSE-LIKE METRE

The prose-like metres found in the Hariv., the Mbh. and the Purāṇas have a significant place in the history of Indian prosody. Some of the prose passages found in the Mbh. seem to be a queer mingling of prose and poetry.

There is only one instance in the Hariv. where such passages have been used. The prayer to Viṣṇu-Nṛsiṃha by Brāhmā has been composed in prose-like metre throughout the length of this chapter.¹ These passages cannot rigidly be called prose ones, as we find in some of them a rhyming scheme which is missing in ordinary prose—

विश्वस्य पते वृताच्यसि अनन्तकर्मन् द्रुह्यनवंश स्ववंश विश्वपास्त्वं त्वमेव
विश्वं बिभर्षि वरार्थिनो नस्त्रायस्व² ।

As regards the position of these prose-like passages in Sanskrit metres not much can be said with certainty. But nobody, it seems, will disagree with the fact that these passages are not very late and that they seem to be an outcome of peculiar fancy of the Sanskrit prose-writers for poetry. Hopkins holds that these prose-like passages come between prose and metre. These prose-passages are neither old nor absolutely later and reflect the tendency of the prose-writers who could not abstain from the charm of poetry.³

1. Hariv. 3. 68. 7.

2. Ibid. 3. 68. 7.

3. Hopkins, *GEL.*, p. 272 : Of what sort is this metrical prose ? It is, I think, an early form of popular verse, older than the present epic Śloka, which as I have remarked above is probably more refined than it was when first written and is less free even than the epic Śloka. It is not, however, necessarily antique, nor necessarily modern. It is, in short, the instrument of the perpetual story-teller, a naive form recurring in and out of proselike rhymes in fairy tales,

The prose-like metres mentioned above should not be confused with pure prose found in the Mbh. and in some of the Purāṇas. Thus the prose which has been used for the philosophical discussion of the sages cannot be confused with prose-like metre. This is because this prose resembles the terse prose of the commentator.¹

The third variety of prose-passages may be seen in the Purāṇas. These passages come in between the terse prose-style of the Mbh. and the prose-like metre of the Hariv. and also of some parvans of the Mbh. But the passages of the third type found in the Purāṇas bring out beautiful imageries, at times touching the level of the ornate and refined Kāvya. These passages have some resemblance with those found in the Kādambarī or later prose works of similar nature.²

To conclude, from the point of view of prosody, the Hariv. seems to be of an earlier stage than most of the other Purāṇas.

Firstly the poet of the Hariv. has been careful enough to make a proper distribution of the metres in his text, even if there is not a good number of them. The charm of the Śloka metre, however, is supreme in his mind.

Secondly, some of the metres found in the later Purāṇas are missing in the Hariv.; e.g. Lalita and Drutavilambita³ are non-existent in the Hariv.

Thirdly, the Vasantatilakā occurs only twice in the Hariv. This metre is not much popular in the two epics. But it has become a favourite mode of expression in the Purāṇas like the Bhāgavata, the Padma and the Viṣṇu.

1. Mbh. XII. 303. 7-10—यद्भवानाह किं व्यक्तं किमव्यक्तमिति । अत्र ब्रूमः । अव्यक्तमप्राक्तमतर्क्यमपरिमेयमव्यक्तम् ।

2. Bhāgavata. V. 2. 4—सा च तदाश्रमोपवनमतिरमणीयं विविधनिविड-विटपिविटपनिकरसंक्षिप्तपुरटलतारुदस्थलविहंगमिधुनैः.....जलाशयकमलाकरमुपवध्राम ।

Padma. Pātala 112. 51—शीघ्रं विविधकरितुरगशकटशिबिकान्दोलिकाभिरति-सुमगरूपभोगविलासक्रियातिगुणा हि विदितविविधचेष्टा ...योषितो.....आगच्छन् ।

3. Padma. Uttāra, 224. 18. (Ānandaśrama San. Series).

The poetry of the Purāṇas exhibits three different tunes in the use of metres. The earlier Purāṇas do not have a large number of them, while the later ones show a tendency to overemphasise the variety. The Purāṇas of more recent compilation have fallen back again on the Śloka metre paying no heed to the effect which the variety of metres has on the mind of the reader. Hence the later Purāṇas of encyclopaedic nature like the Agni, Garuḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bṛihannāradiya, Bṛihaddaharma and Brahmaparivarta have to some extent ignored the value of the fancy-metres as a means to literary accomplishment.

पुराणचयनम्

महादेवी गायत्री

विराड्रूपां महादेवीं गायत्रीं वेदमातरम् ।

ध्यात्वा तस्यास्त्वथाङ्गेषु ध्यायेदेताश्च देवताः ॥

पिण्डब्रह्माण्डयोरैक्याद्भावयेत्स्वतनौ तथा ।

देवीरूपे निजे देहे तन्मयत्वाय साधकः ॥

नादेवोऽभ्यर्चयेद् देवमिति वेदविदो विदुः ।

ततोऽभेदाय काये स्वे भावयेद् देवता इमाः ॥

(देवीभागवत १२।४।४-६)

One should meditate upon the Great Goddess in Her cosmic form as Gāyatrī, the mother of the Vedas. In the various limbs of Her body he should meditate on the several deities.

Similarly the devotee should conceive in his own body the identity of the microcosm and the macrocosm. Regarding the body as a form of the Goddess Herself, he should meditate to become identified with Her.

Those versed in the Vedas declare that one who does not share the nature of the deity can not worship the Deity. Therefore, to attain non-distinction with Him he should meditate upon the deities in his own body.

THE LEGEND OF PRITHU,
A STUDY IN THE PROCESS OF INDIVIDUATION
By

RONALD M. HUNTINGTON

[आदिराजपृथोराख्यानं भागवतपुराणे (स्कन्ध ४, अ० १४-२३) सविस्तरमुपलभ्यते । वायुपुराणे (अ० ६२) विष्णुपुराणे (अंश १ अ० १३) च पृथुचरितस्य सन्निवेशः प्राप्यते । एषां सर्वेषां मूलं त्वथर्ववेदीयेऽष्टमे काण्डे दशमे सूक्ते उपलभ्यते । तत्र विराजाख्याया धेनोर्दोग्धृणां मध्ये पृथुर्वा वैन्योऽपि श्रूयते । 'पृथिवी' 'पृथिवी' 'पृथिवी' च कं विशिष्टार्थं प्रत्याययतीत्यस्य विवेचनम् अमेरिका-देशनिवासिना श्रीहंटरिगटनमहोदयेनात्र कृतम् । पृथोराख्यानस्य एषा व्याख्या प्राध्यापकटुंगनहोदयानां मनोविज्ञानशास्त्रमधिकृत्य प्रस्तुता । पुराणान्तर्गता-ख्यानानाम् अध्ययनाय इयं नवीयसी सरणिः । अत्र 'पृथिवी' 'कामदुघा धेनुः', 'गोमातेत्यादि' शब्दैः या समष्टिरूपा मानसी शक्तिः साऽभिधीयते । इन्द्रश्च मनस्तत्त्वं यद् व्यष्टिरूपं विज्ञानं प्रज्ञानं ज्ञानकर्मेन्द्रियाणि चाधितिष्ठति । पृथुश्च जाग्रदवस्थायां क्रियाशक्तेरधिष्ठाता अहंरूपः मानसतत्त्वविशेषः । पृथुः प्रजाभिः राज्येऽभिषिच्यते, स धर्माणामुपस्थाता शाश्वत्पथिकृत्य च भवति, दिव्यवैष्णव-तेजसा तस्य संज्ञानं भवति, स आदिराजसंज्ञां च लभते । तं राजानं प्राप्य पृथिवी स्वस्या दोहनमनुमन्यते । इन्द्रेण सह पृथोः पर्यवस्थापनं भवति, तस्य च विजये सर्वे महीयन्ते ।]

The Myth

When Prithu was born full-grown from the lifeless body of the wicked King Vena, the Gandharvas sang, the Siddhas showered the earth with sweet-scented flowers, and the Creator himself, Brahmā, led all the greatest of the gods to the scene with rejoicing. Preparations were begun immediately for the traditional Vedic rites, and the new monarch was enthroned to the delight of the inhabitants of his kingdom and of all the gods, who presented Prithu with gifts befitting their respective stations. Despite the modest king's protestations that he was not yet worthy of their eulogies, minstrels glorified him in beautiful phrases, for the auspicious marks on his body showed that he was a part manifestation of Vishṇu, come to restore *dharma* in the world.

On this happy occasion, however, Prithu came to know that all was not well in his realm. Those who dwelt in that land were emaciated from lack of food, merely empty shells, "even as trees with fire burning in the hollows of their trunks."¹ Certainly this was through no fault of his; he had just been acclaimed as *rājā*, one who rules with the affection or love (*anurāga*) of his people.² The web of *karma* in which the new king now found himself bound had been spun over long ages, and its direction had become apparent and inevitable two generations earlier.

Prithu's grandfather Aṅga (literally, "the physical body")³ married Sunithā, the daughter of Death (*mṛityu*), and the sole issue from that ill-fated marriage was Vena (literally, "anxiousness, yearning, desire").⁴ That Vena was early in life peculiarly attached to his maternal grandfather is explicitly stated, as well as illustrated by stories of his boyhood. Taking up his bow and playing the role of a hunter, he would kill innocent deer, in the woods to no purpose. Worse than that, he would violently strangle children of his own age at play. King Aṅga attempted to correct his son by various forms of punishment, but to no avail. Disgusted with his home, the emperor arose one night unobserved and departed. Though Aṅga's ministers and friends were grief-stricken and searched the entire globe, they were unable to find any trace of him. Recognizing the need for a king, the sages reluctantly chose his son Vena to occupy the throne.

His preoccupation with mortality became even more intense when Vena became the sovereign. Intoxicated by this new power, the haughty but insecure king issued a proclamation: "You must not perform any sacrifices, or make gifts or pour

1. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 17. 10.

2. So explained in Vāyu Purāṇa 62, though there is no etymological justification. The two terms are derived from different roots.

3. Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1018.

oblations into the sacred fire, O twice-born ones."⁵ And when a group of sages approached Vena to counsel him against such foolish and dangerous action, the rash young monarch angrily retorted that as the king, he was the lord of all and the sustainer of the people. No longer was the elixir of immortality (*soma*) to be offered to the gods; Vena was determined that henceforth it should be his. "Therefore worship me, O Brāhmins, through religious rites, and bear offerings to me."⁶

At this the sages decided that Vena was no longer fit to be king, and they killed with their *mantras* that one who had already destroyed himself by his own attitude toward God.⁷ Their deed was at best, however only a palliative. They had hardly returned to the River Sarasvatī (i. e., the Goddess of Learning) to resume their meditation when they perceived a great cloud of dust darkening the entire land, which had dried up from lack of life-giving water. The blinding dust was caused by thieves and robbers running in every direction despoiling the kingdom. The unifying influence of a central governor, however bad or inadequate he had been, was no longer present. Anarchy was the result.

Once more the sages had to act, to avoid being themselves choked by the dust arising from the evil forces set free in the unfertile land. Returning to where the dead King Vena lay, they seized him and churned his left arm vigorously.⁸ There arose from this action a dwarfish man with exceptionally short limbs, red hair, and "the complexion of a charred stake."

5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 14. 6.

6. *Ibid.*, IV. 14. 28.

7. The specific method of the sages varies. In Vishṇu Purāṇa I. 13 the instrument of death is consecrated blades of *kusa* grass; in Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 15. 34 it is the tremendous power latent in the sound *ham*. On the latter, cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1946). pp. 49-50.

8. Vāyu Purāṇa 62. 119 states that this was done prior to Vena's death and caused his demise. Other sources read "thigh" for "left arm" (or "left hand"). The writer of the Vāyu account was aware of the significance of the *manus sinistra*.

He bowed low and, being frightened, said to the sages, "What shall I do?" They said, "Sit down" (*nishīda*), and therefore he became known by the name Nishāda. He took upon himself the terrible sins of Vena even while being born, and thus the wickedness of the dead ruler was extracted. Next the sages grasped Vena's right arm and from this churning was born the mighty and good King Prithu upon whom the responsibility now lay to restore life and orderliness to the realm.

Pondering the pitiful plight of his subjects, Prithu reasoned that their affliction was due to Earth herself, who had withheld the nourishing food from them. In great anger, he fitted an arrow to his bow and went forth to slay Earth, just as Śiva had with a single arrow pierced the Tripura.⁹ Seeing the king thus, Earth assumed the form of a cow and fled from his wrath. Prithu, with his arrow still poised, gave chase through all the quarters of the earth, the heavens, sky, and even the underworld. Finally Earth, unable to find refuge anywhere from the king's single-minded pursuit, stopped and addressed him. She began by flattering Prithu with sweet phrases, appealing to his knowledge of *dharma*, his graciousness and his kindness, and then concluded: "If you destroy me, an undecaying boat on which the entire universe rests, how could you support yourself and all these created beings on the surface of waters?"¹⁰

The response was a restatement of the original intention to kill Earth, but now the tone and the identity of the speaker seem to have subtly changed. For as the reply ended—"I shall support the creatures by the sheer strength of my yogic power"—Earth was seized with great trembling and terror, and bowed reverently with folded hands. "Glory to the Supreme person (*purusha*)...by whom I have been created," she said submissively,

9. *Vid.* Bhāgavata Purāṇa VII.10 for one version of this famous legend. Śiva Tripurāntaka is the subject of a magnificent sculptured scene in Cave XV at Ellūra; the same story is depicted a little less dramatically in a relief in Cave XVI, the famous Kailāsa Temple.

10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 17. 21.

recognizing that her assailant was not merely the earthly king but the Lord Himself acting through Pṛithu.¹¹

After a lengthy eulogy of that Transcendent Self which had been revealed to her, Earth once more addresses King Pṛithu, but in the light of that revelation. She humbly suggests that the ancient sages discovered and tested the methods for realization of human goals, and that anyone foolishly attempting to accomplish his purpose more quickly by an alternative way is foredoomed to failure. She explains that the nourishing food had been withheld since it was being misused by impious persons who had not undertaken any religious vows. Earth had devoured the food to save it from complete annihilation. "O thou hero with strong arms,...select a proper calf, a fit milk-pail, and one to draw the milk. Then full of love for the calf, I will provide for you in the form of sweet milk the nourishing food desired by living beings. O powerful king, remove my ruggedness and make me level (*sama*),¹² so that I may produce milk, the source of all vegetation, equally all around."¹³

Taking for his calf Svāyambhuva Maṇu, the first son of the Creator Brahmā, and using his own palms as the milk-pail, Pṛithu received from Earth all the *ośhadhis* (medicinal herbs; also, annual plants which die after becoming ripe). After him all other created beings—sages, gods, demons, serpents, even trees and mountains—each group bringing its distinctive calf and milk-pail, drew from the cow milk in the form of the primary

11. This seems to be the only possible interpretation of IV. 17. 28-36 which both maintains fidelity to the actual text and at the same time provides a basis for understanding the important attitudinal changes that take place at this climactic moment in Earth and, subsequently, Pṛithu. According to this theory, Pṛithu's self (ego) is temporarily displaced in 22-27 by the greater Self.

12. Cf. Bhagavad Gītā 2.48 *et passim*, where *śamatva* (equanimity, even-mindedness) is a key concept. From this perspective, "ruggedness" may be interpreted as imbalance of the Psychic forces.

13. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 18. 9-11; Viṣṇu Purāṇa I 13, 39.

objects of their desires,¹⁴ for "Earth is a wish-fulfilling cow" (*kāmadughā*).¹⁵

King Prithu now used his bow for constructive purposes,¹⁶ uprooting or crushing mountains with it, and mostly levelling (*sama*) the surface of the whole earth.¹⁷ Thus he was reconciled with Earth, who had been transformed into a *kāmadughā*, and full of delight and parental love, he addressed her as his daughter (*prithivī*).¹⁸

Before the advent of Prithu, people had no conception of different kinds of dwellings. Villages, hamlets, and other cooperative communities of a semi-autonomous nature were completely unknown to them. The ruler was able to effect a new unity in diversity by planning and building habitations

14. The symbolic significance of the calf and milk-pail brought by each category of creatures, and the product of Earth received by each, is interesting in itself, but tangent to the development of the main theme.

15. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 18.26; cf. 18.28 and 19.7. The *kāmadughā* of this legend is psychologically the equivalent of the desire-satisfying "cow of plenty," Kāmadhenu, produced at the time of the churning of the Ocean of Milk; cf. Matsya Purāṇa 248-50, Bhāgavata Purāṇa VIII. 91, and many other sources.

16. On the symbolism of the bow, cf. Muṇḍaka Upanishad II. 2. 3-4;

धनुर्गृहीत्वौषनिषदं महास्त्रं शरं ह्युपासान्निशितं सन्ध्ययीत ।

आयम्य तद्भावागतेन चेतसा लक्ष्यं तदेवाश्वरं सौम्यं विद्धि ॥३॥

प्रणवो धनुः शरो ह्यात्मा ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते ।

अप्रमत्तेन वेद्धव्यं शरवत् तन्मयो भवेत् ॥४॥

Taking as the bow the Upanishad, the great weapon,
fix in it the arrow sharpened by meditation.

Drawing it with a mind filled with That, O fair youth,
penetrate that Imperishable as the target.

The *praṇava* [the mystical syllable *aum*] is the bow; the arrow is one's self [*ātman*]; Brahman is spoken of as the target.

That [i. e., Brahman] is to be penetrated with unfaltering aim; one must become united with That even as the arrow [is united with its target].

17. In Viṣṇu Purāṇa I. 13.31, this feat precedes the milking. It is clear from a psychological point of view that the "milking of the cow" and the "levelling of the earth" must proceed simultaneously for either to be fully effective.

18. I. e., since she had been "brought to life" by him. The reference is not merely etiological.

of every kind over the entire earth for all the subjects of his realm, and everything was done "with due regard for propriety." He even taught the inhabitants how to dig mines for themselves. Within this orderly arrangement they began to live comfortably in peace, prosperity, and security.¹⁹

To capitalize upon the advances made thus far one further thing was needful, and to this the monarch next turned his attention. He consecrated himself at the bank of the Sarasvatī River in preparation for the performance of one hundred horse-sacrifices (*hayamedha*,; the same as *aśvamedha*) to set the seal upon his conquest of chaos and restoration of productivity in his kingdom. As the festivities progressed in grandeur and intensity, Indra became increasingly jealous, for he realized that they would obscure his own position and achievements.²⁰ Accordingly, he began to put obstacles in the way of the ceremonies and, when this tactic did not suffice to curtail the rites, he stole the sacrificial animal at the final *aśvamedha*, himself remaining invisible to the people. The sage Atri, however, detected Indra hastening through the sky and urged Pṛithu's son to kill him.²¹ When the young warrior took up the chase, Indra assumed a disguise of matted locks and was all covered with ashes, and the prince mistook him for piety incarnate and withheld his arrow. Again Atri

19. The legend of Pṛithu as found in the Vishṇu Purāṇa concludes on this note.

20. From earliest Vedic record, Indra represents conscious mind-power. He is the ruler of the *indriyas*, or the five sensory organs. Sometimes a further differentiation is made, with these five organs (*jñānendriyāṇi*) being accompanied by the five organs of actions (*karmendriyāṇi*)—larynx, hand, foot, anus, and genitals. There are important parallels in the Hebrew Yahweh and the Greco-Roman Zeus-Jupiter.

21. Atri ("devourer"; R̥g Veda II. 8.5) was the father of Soma and thus progenitor of the lunar race. In the present legend he functions as a sublimated manifestation of the Kali-aspect of the unconscious. To outward appearances the friend of the hero, the "wise old man" of tradition, in reality he wishes the destruction of consciousness and the return of the hero to the all-embracing, and therefore life-strangling, realm of the Mother. It is interesting to observe that he does not approach Pṛithu directly, but works through the king's beloved son,

prevailed upon him, and this time Indra disappeared from the youth's view, leaving the horse behind him. Pṛithu's son returned the animal to the sacrificial grounds, and was from that time known as Vijitāśva, "the conqueror, or controller of the horse."

Even yet Indra had no intention of permitting the hundredth *asvamedha* to be consummated successfully and, under cover of a thick darkness which he created, again stole the horse. Since he was unable to break the golden chain with which it had been secured to the sacrificial post, he had to carry these along as well. Again Atri saw Indra and directed Pṛithu's son to go after him. The hero hesitated, however, for Indra held prominently in his hand a human skull (*kapāla*) and a *kharvāṅga* (a type of club, considered to be the weapon of Śiva the destroyer). At the insistent urging of Atri, Vijitāśva discharged an arrow in violent rage. Indra thereupon gave up the horse and his form and stood hidden in his heaven (*svar*, the "realm of light"), while the son of Pṛithu again returned to his father's sacrifice with the horse.

By now a degree of dissension was developing within the kingdom, as shown by the fact that some of the people affected the garb of Indra.²² Pṛithu, discovering what had been happening to the sacrificial rites, furiously snatched up an arrow to strike at Indra himself. But the priests²³ prevented his impetuous outburst, saying that they would invoke the presence of Indra with powerful *mantras* and throw him into the sacrificial fire as an oblation. In a fit of rage and indignation, they had just begun their rite when Brahmā suddenly appeared before them. He reminded them that *yajña* (sacrifice) was but another name of the Indra whom they were bent on destroying, and that the gods being worshipped in the sacrifice were all only forms of

22. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 19.23-25 is obviously a clumsy attempt on the part of some later writer to utilize this portion of the Pṛithu legend in fighting a heretical sect. Similarly, the speech of Brahmā has been subject to interpolations in vss. 35-38.

23. *Ritviḥa*, from *ṛita+yaj*. Hence, those in charge of propriety of orderliness in sacrifice.

Indra, who in turn was a manifestation of the Lord Himself. Then the Creator addressed Prithu : "It is not fit for you to be angry with the great Indra, who is your second self.²⁴ He asked the king to consider the harm already done (in the form of disunity) by Indra's interference with the final *aśvamedha* and Prithu's insistence on its completion, and suggested that he brood no more over the incident but have due regard for the welfare of the world.

Accepting the advice of Brahmā, Prithu desisted from the sacrifice and, by bestowing affection on Indra, effected a truce with him. Once more the kingdom waxed in prosperity, and the gods showered their boons on the valiant and wise king. The Lord Himself appeared with Indra, and the latter, ashamed of his conduct, tendered his apologies and was embraced by Prithu. Thus King Prithu became the first illustrious sovereign (*ādi-rāja*) over this entire earth and, having established an unequalled reputation, eventually attained to the highest realm.

The Commentary

One invariable trait of a living myth is its susceptibility to interpretation on many different levels. The present story, for example, may be meaningfully approached cosmologically as symbolizing the re-creation of the world, in which case it forms a parallel to the most obvious elucidation of the ubiquitous flood legend.²⁵ Or it may be rendered sociologically as an allegorical representation of the "man of the hour" or, in Toynbee's terminology, the "creative minority" meeting the challenge posed by a particular civilization in crisis. Still another exegesis may be made from a psychological viewpoint, and if the latter is the method followed here, it must not be construed as barring other equally valid renderings.

The legend of Prithu relates to that critical phase in the life of the individual which Carl Jung has so often

24. Bhāgavata Purāṇa IV. 19.33.

25. Cf. Suryakanta, *The Flood Legend in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1950).

characterized as the time of supreme psychological importance—the individuation process. That Prithu's unique task as a hero-saviour is to effect a reconciliation and rebirth and thus to become "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" is hinted by his name.²⁶ Prithu comes from a form of the root *prath*, and signifies one who extends, increases, unfolds, discloses, reveals, or gives light.²⁷ In terms of the microcosm of the psyche, Prithu represents the conscious ego-complex capable of the arduous and dangerous dual process of integration-differentiation which is essential to psychic wholeness, i. e., ultimate realization of the self.

Āṅga is the first "ruler" to be considered. As his name implies (*āṅga*, "the limbs of the body"), he created an imbalance in the psychic forces by giving to consciousness an excessive masculine emphasis upon physical strength, activity, the extraversion of *rajas guṇa*. In youth and early manhood such a pattern is not *per se* unwholesome.

The man in the first half of life, with its biological orientation, can usually, thanks to the youthfulness of his whole organism, afford to expand his life and make something of it that is generally serviceable.²⁸

The compensatory function of the unconscious is revealed in the role of Āṅga's wife, who symbolizes the absolute negation of physical vitality, death, or *tamas guṇa* in its ultimate form. The subservience of the wife, or in other language the relative dormancy of the unconscious, is disturbed by the absence of any change in the ruler as time passes. So in the deep womb of the feminine unconscious an autonomous complex began to develop, eventually being born in the conscious sphere to challenge the one-sidedness of the ego.

26. I Corinthians 15:20. The term *ādī* in Prithu's common epithet, *ādirāja*, has in addition to the sense of primary position in time the atemporal connotation of *fons et origo*.

27. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 645-46, 678.

28. C. G. Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928), p. 69.

Āṅga proved impotent against the onslaught of Vena, anxiety, and with his effectiveness as a ruler no longer able to be maintained, disappeared from his central position. At this the sages, who represent human wisdom at its best, reluctantly crowned Vena. It may be regarded as a commonplace to remark at this point that the enthronement of a neurosis prevented complete psychic disintegration and permitted a degree of adaptability and integration, however inadequate and inevitably self-defeating it became in the course of events. Jung's characterization is particularly apt in this regard :

A neurosis has really come to an end when it has overcome the wrongly oriented ego. The neurosis itself is not healed; it heals us. The man is ill, but the illness is an attempt of nature to heal him. We can therefore learn a great deal for the good of our health from the illness itself, and that which appears to the neurotic person as absolutely to be rejected is just the part which contains the true gold which we should otherwise never have found.²⁹

In the light of this analysis, Vena's rejection of sacrifice is the natural and expected consequence. Dying to one's self was exactly the necessity of which he was incapable.

Vena is a vivid picture of *ahaṃkāra* ("I-am-ness") in its most negative and ultimately destructive form, an ego-complex that is unwilling to accept its conditional nature. He is the "I am" intent upon extending itself infinitely into an "I will be," yet cognizant of the temporally limited validity of the assertion, "I was." But the basic anxiety resulting from an awareness of the mortality of the physical body is incapable of functioning for any length of time as a center of integration. Since Vena was already spiritually dead, as the story states, the sages merely brought about his physical death, although

29. C. G. Jung, "Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Psychotherapie," *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete*, VII (1934). 13, quoted in Jolande Jacobi, *Psychological Reflections* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. 85.

with the naive assumption that a cure had been effected and that progress might ensue without any ruler at all.

The grave error in what Jung has labelled the "reductionist" method of therapy became apparent as soon as the sages had retired to their home. "In neurosis psychic energy is present, but undoubtedly it is there in an inferior and unserviceable form."³⁰ The reductive treatment acted as a solvent of this inferior form and by it was obtained free but neutral energy, without any teleological orientation. "For the neurotic to lose his neurosis is tantamount to losing his object in life, whereby life is robbed of its zest and its meaning."³¹

The dust of utter confusion that covered the land is obviously symbolic of total psychic collapse. There was no potential ruler in the entire realm of consciousness. That the conscious forces were unable of themselves to restore order is shown by the sages' decision to churn the arms of the dead king. They had no idea of the outcome, but could only hope that "the grace of God" might be operative as a result of their active expression of need and total dependence. Yet there seems to exist within consciousness some dim intuitive realization of a distinction between the forces making for wholeness and those producing further fragmentation, for the sages were able to recognize Nishāda as a *tāmasic* evolute, set him to one side, and continue the churning. And the very fact that Nishāda is not immediately destroyed, but is retained in the conscious sphere in an inactive role, is to be taken as testimony that the forces of healing have gained the ascendancy. Nishāda is sent as a test of the sincerity of the conscious desire for healing and willingness to undertake the heroic adventure.

Prīthu is then given to consciousness as a new creative center. He is, of course, to occupy the position of the ego, but his qualifications for the task ahead are promising. To be

30. C. G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), pp. 46-47.

31. Jung, "Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Psychotherapie," p. 10, quoted in Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

sure, Prithu is from one perspective a direct continuation of the line of Aṅga and Vena, a constellation of those psychic factors which in their particular fusion and utilization had brought only disaster. There must be a continuation of personality; redemption is always a process of transformation, not replacement, of the existent psyche. But Prithu, the son of Vena, is significantly also informed by the Divine. He is, in the terms of the myth, a "part manifestation of Viṣṇu". That is, the ego now contains an additional element which was formerly lacking, the vision or seed of psychic wholeness. In still another frame of reference, if Nishāda represents *tamas guṇa*, Prithu is to be understood as an incarnation of *rajas guṇa* with the essential stabilizing influence of *sattva* added.³²

The task assigned to Prithu is cast in the traditional heroic mould.³³ He must take upon himself the work of a re-creation of the universe, an ordering of chaos parallel to that primal creation which took place in the eternal beginning. He is to be the agent of the birth ἀνάσσειν (i.e., again *and* from above). To be worthy of the crown of success, he must meet and effect a working relationship with the Mother and the Father, represented respectively by the Earth-cow and Indra.

The first phase of necessary activity for Prithu involves a counteracting of the libido-regression which has produced starvation of the conscious faculties. Only then will sufficient psychic energy be made available to essay the still more difficult missions ahead. For the beginning of the attack to release the dammed-up energy the hero has to muster every bit of energy still under conscious control to a single sharp point. Whether Prithu's arrow be interpreted in a traditional Hindu manner as the symbolic result of concentrated meditation or from the point of view of depth psychology, its meaning is ultimately the same.³⁴ In the latter orientation, the arrow is symbolic

32. In the Divine Trinity, Viṣṇu, the Preserver, represents *sattva guṇa*. *vid.* Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 2. 23.

33. Cf. Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1949), 416 pp.; especially pp. 97-171.

34. *Vid. supra*, fn. 16.

of the male organ, and the feminine must be fertilized so that offspring may result.³⁵

In this connection the significance of Prithu's son in the later development of the legend becomes apparent. He represents the offspring of the union between Prithu, the ruling complex of the conscious mind, and the Earth-cow, the feminine unconscious in its creative aspect. The son does not, however, represent the total integration of the "Wonderful Boy" or "Child-Savior" archetype, since it is the ego rather than the Father-God imago to whom he traces his paternity.³⁶ Thus he almost brings Prithu to destruction by shooting his arrow at Indra, though unbidden by Prithu to take such a role. The son in this instance represents the seed of rebellion, the Luciferian element in the non-ego realm of consciousness. His unsuccessfulness in the attack upon Indra is on the surface apparently due to one of two reasons: (1) his own trembling from emotional rage, making the sharp point concentration go amiss, or (2) Indra's extreme agility and elusiveness (i.e., the "grace of God"). But the battle is not in the last analysis for the son to fight, but rather for his father, the ruler. Only the father has the arrow strong enough to do the job, and for this reason Brahmā does not order Prithu, but requests him to desist, pointing out that the destruction of the power of the conscious mind would be the inevitable result of ill-advised hostility. Indra, the master of the *indriyas* needs to become a cooperating partner, not to be destroyed.

When Prithu aimed his arrow at the Earth, she took the form of a cow and tried to elude him. The scene is a dramatic illustration of the ambivalence of the Great Mother, a theme which has been given full expression in Hindu conceptions of

35 Note that the conscious mind, as compared to the unconscious, is always masculine. On arrow-symbolism, *vid.* C. G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1936), pp. 288-92.

36. *Vid.* C. G. Jung and C. Kerényi, *Essays on a Science of Mythology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1949), "Psychology of the Child-Archetype," pp. 97-119. Cf. *Rig Veda* VI, 70.3:

प्र प्रजामिर्जायते धर्मणस्पति ।

the Goddess, and which is developed as the episode of Pṛithu and the Earth-cow progresses. Although trying to escape from the king, Earth does so under the outward aspect of that suggestive Vedic symbol of docility and willing providence, the all-nourishing *gomātā* (mother cow).³⁷ She is here woman as the arch-temptress, the bewitching object and potential fulfiller of all desires (*kāmadhenu*).

Pṛithu was persistent in his pursuit, and even when the cow stopped he stood unflinching with his arrow poised through her empty flattery and seductive entreaties. Perceiving the sincerity and the power of her adversary, she suddenly became conciliatory and suggested the means whereby the nourishing flow of milk might be reactivated. The calves that had to be brought to stimulate the love of the cow represent, of course powerful archetypal images through which each aspect of the conscious mind could receive the requisite psychic energy in various serviceable forms. For instance, Pṛithu's "calf" was Svāyambhuva Manu, the progenitor of the species of mankind, his "milk-pail" was his own hands, symbolizing acceptance of the conditional state of humanity, and the "milk" was received in the form of curative plants which had to be put to immediate use lest they decay (*oshadhis*). The sages brought Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, and received the holy Veda in the organs of hearing, speech, and mind. The carnivorous beasts received flesh for milk in the pail of their body, using the lion, the king of beasts, as the calf, and so on.

Again the theme of ambivalence is stressed. Earth had withheld the energy from all, and now all are represented at the milking, not only those creatures regarded as morally good

37. Cf. Hathor, the cow-mother in Egyptian mythology. One of the many approaches to Vedic cow-symbolism is fully treated in Sri Aurobindo, *On the Veda* (Pondicherry : Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1956), pp. 51-52 *et passim*. For a detailed analysis of the "Great Mother" archetype in the various mythological traditions of the world, *vid.* Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1955).

but the apparently destructive forces as well.³⁸ "Holiness is wholeness," as Josef Goldbrunner has perceptively stated,³⁹ and the path of becoming which leads to integration consists in progressive recognition of and identification with the paradoxical qualities of the human psyche (i. e., reality), rather than their denial and consequent projection. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar arrives at the same conclusion :

One of the greatest lessons that the Epics and the Purāṇas teach us is the composite character of human nature. They bring to us the fundamental thought that man is composed of good and evil elements and that not even the greatest is exempt from this alloy.⁴⁰

With the renewal of creative harmony between the unconscious and the ego and the restoration of libido to the conscious sphere, the work of revivification was able to proceed. Prithu excised or reduced to proper dimensions those forces which were productive of excessive conscious imbalances and inhibited the even distribution of psychic energy.⁴¹ The building of villages and dwellings is symbolic of a functional diversity within the over-all unity provided by a single ruler. It is interesting to observe that the process of establishing order included the granting of a sizable degree of autonomy to the subjects. The *ākirāja* having functioned as the "once-for-all" pathfinder, he taught the people how to dig their own mines, that is, how to gain direct access to the life-giving energies of the unconscious for themselves.

The Prithu legend in the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas concludes with the milking of the Earth-cow. Their version,

38. Cf. Matthew 5:45 : "For he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust."

39. Josef Goldbrunner, *Holiness is Wholeness* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1955).

40. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, "Some Thoughts on the Purāṇas," *Prabuddha Bharata*, LVIII (February, 1953), 89.

41. Cf. Isaiah 40 : 4 : "Every valley shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be made low ; the uneven ground shall become level, and the rough places a plain."

differing only in minor details from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa account to this point, may well represent an earlier form of the story.⁴² A still earlier, perhaps the original, nucleus of the episode of the milking of the Earth is traceable in the Atharva Veda (VIII. 10), where the cow is called Virāj and Prithī Vainya (son of Vena) is the third of eight who draw her milk. Prior to the Atharva Veda, the name of Prithu, son of Vena, is mentioned in R̥g Veda VIII. 9.10, and R̥g Veda X.148 is attributed to him. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V. 3. 5. 4) contains a characterization of Prithu as the “first anointed king,” equivalent to the *ādirāja* epithet in the Purāṇic versions. The latter three references prove by their very brevity and lack of detail that the king was a well-known figure from earliest literary times, but there is no way of determining in what form the present legend was associated with him, if at all.

However the legend may have evolved, from a psychological viewpoint it is clear that its continuation in the performance of the *śvamedhas* and the meeting with Indra is justifiable, meaningful, and even essential. Prithu has successfully met the first challenge on the path to individuation. But an insidious danger arises at this stage of the developmental process, insidious because it is so “natural” and therefore unrecognized. This is the inescapable peril that Jung has termed “psychic inflation.” The new creativity which has come as a result of the encounter with the unconscious is attributed to the cleverness of the conscious self.

For a while a man goes about feeling semi-divine, sure of himself and sure of his way, ready to advise anybody and everybody on what they ought to do. Something comes to puncture his blown-out balloon of self-admiration ; and suddenly he is nothing, less than nothing.....

Seen in retrospect, this running between the opposites of *hubris* and *nemesis* is a highly salutary discipline..... For most

42. The Vāyu Purāṇa is generally conceded to represent very early Purāṇic tradition. Cf. Devendrakumar Rajaram Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa* (Poona : Deccan College, 1946), pp. 3, 134-35, 162-63.

people it is the only way of coming to a fundamental realization, absolutely necessary to wholeness, *viz.* that a man cannot create himself; he can only be created: and without the creative process is nothing.⁴³

This is the lesson which must still be learned by Prithu. He has not yet effected a reconciliation with the gods; Earth has become a partner, but not the Heavens. To become fully human, Prithu must recognize not only the grandeur but also the misery of man.

After the process of differentiation had been virtually completed, the people of the land began to live in prosperity, and Prithu consecrated himself for the performance of one hundred *aśvamedhas*. The jealousy of Indra was aroused, since that number of sacrifices was his exclusive prerogative as king of the gods.⁴⁴ Twice Indra intervened at the final *aśvamedha* and, (unknown to Prithu, stole the sacrificial horse. And twice Prithu's son pursued him and restored the horse to the ceremonial site without, however, effecting any solution of the basic conflict. Fortunately for all, Brahmā intervened before the priests and Prithu could make good their threats against Indra, and the rites were curtailed with the hundredth *aśvamedha* remaining unfinished. A subsequent reconciliation was brought about on the initiative of Prithu, who bestowed affection on Indra, and the latter in turn apologized for his conduct. As a result, the entire universe flourished in a manner unequalled in former times.

The roles of the various actors in this tense drama need to be clearly delineated in order to arrive at an understanding of its significance. Prithu still represents the central power in the individuating psyche. It would be slightly incorrect to refer to him as the ego, since by this time the dissolution (or extension) of the ego has been partially accomplished in

43. P. W. Martin, *Experiment in Depth: a Study of the Work of Jung, Eliot, and Toynebee* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1955), p. 211.

44. Vāyu Purāṇa 64, 5-8.

the process of integrating the unconscious forces. Thus he is both less than and more than mere ego, but has manifestly become the victim of a psychic inflation comparable to that which ended more tragically in the parallel Greek myths of Icarus and Phaethon.⁴⁵ The ultimate success of Prithu is due to the last-minute intervention of Brahmā who as the Creator, consistently represents the wholesome drive toward individuation and progressive unfoldment whenever he appears in the story. Even the priests, who like the sages stand for human wisdom at its best, were misled at the crucial moment into desiring the extinction of Indra, although in contrast to Prithu's extreme wrath they seem to represent a return to rationality. But rationality and rationalization are very closely related, and the presence of strong emotion is sufficient to transform the first imperceptibly into the second. Murder received a self-delusory approval when it could be regarded as "justifiable homicide."

It has already been intimated that Prithu's son is indicative of the beginnings of a split in the psychic integrity. Despite the progressive achievements of his father, he obviously remained altogether too much under the influence of his mother, the Unconscious, or he would have been able to detect the single flaw in Atri as an adviser in the present instance. Atri was, of course, renowned from Vedic times as a great ṛishi, author of many hymns in praise of the gods, father of Soma and son of Brahmā. But when the sacrificial horse was stolen, Atri alone was able to see Indra "under cover of a thick darkness", a certain cue to his alignment as a "son of darkness" in this particular stage of the spiritual path. If Atri's way had prevailed, the unstable and hard-won partial selfhood represented by Prithu, bereft of its strongest ally against the

45. Icarus, it will be remembered, tried to fly to the sun on man-made wings. His foolhardy attempt to conquer the heavens ended in his falling into the waters. Phaethon was totally unable to control the powers of the sun, and would have set the universe on fire had not Zeus slain him with a thunderbolt.

Unconscious, would eventually have been swallowed up in that dark, all-engulfing chasm.

But what of the strange part played by Indra in this legend? Is there any justification for what appears at first reading to be the infantile behavior of a jealous and powerful miscreant? Within the limits of this paper the answer can only be summarized, for a full discussion would necessitate a detailed examination of the entire complex development of the concept of Indra, from Vedic times to the numerous Purāṇic stories in which he figures prominently. There is a strand of continuity throughout, however, and it provides the key to his role in the legend of Prithu. From the hard-fighting soma-quaffing, vigorous deity of the R̥g Vedic hymns to the blustering, sometimes arrogant or conceited, yet always courageous king of the gods in the Purāṇas, the invariable emphasis is upon extraverted masculinity. He represents all those qualities which are traditionally most prized in men—physical strength, bravery, self-reliance, ambition—developed to their symbolic utmost.

Indra's designation as the ruler of the organs of sense and action suggests analysis in term of Jung's psychological types. Jung has distinguished four functions of the psyche—Sensation (establishes "the fact something is there"), Thinking ("gives the interpretation of that which is perceived"), Feeling ("establishes the value of the object"), and Intuition (the "immediate awareness of relationships").⁴⁶

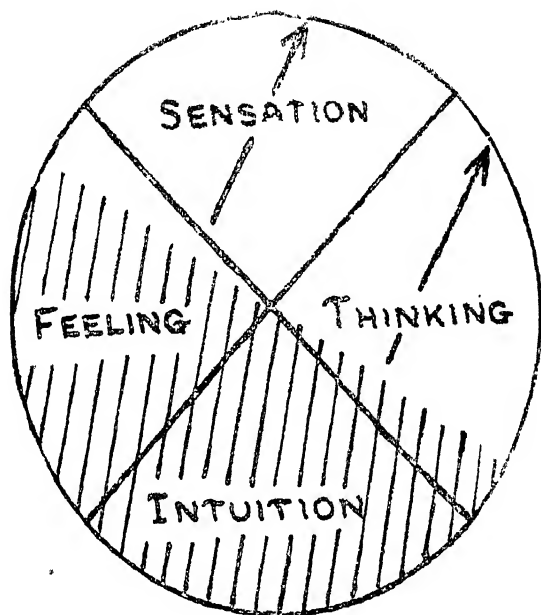
By psychological function I understand a certain form of psychic activity that remains theoretically the same under varying circumstances. From the energetic standpoint a function is a phenomenal form of libido which theoretically remains constant in much the same way as physical force can be considered as the form or momentary manifestation of physical energy.⁴⁷

46. The definitions of the four functions are from C. G. Jung, "Psychological Factors Determining Human Behaviour" *Factors Determining Human Behavior* (Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1936), pp. 60-61.

47. C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1923) p. 547.

As a matter of experience and observation Jung postulates a compensatory relationship between pairs of functions, and further submits that in each individual a primary and a secondary function will be emphasized. Their opposite and complementary functions will tend to be relegated to the unconscious.⁴⁸

In the case of Indra, the following diagram is enlightening.⁴⁹



The strong outgoing emphasis on sensation, coupled with a secondary thinking function, relegates to the unconscious the feeling and intuitional functions. Morality is basically an exercise of the function of feeling, as Jung defines the term, since moral judgments have to do with values, and values are undeterminable by the use of the thinking or sensation functions alone. For his mastery over the organs of sense and action, therefore, Indra must pay in the form of diminished moral sensitivity. The amount of libido available in the human psyche being limited, over-development in one area inevitably produces under-development in another. And insofar as Indra identifies totally with the masculine conscious functions, a

48. Individuation may be defined from this viewpoint as the conscious integration and balancing of the activities of the four functions.

49. Adapted from Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

conclusion suggested not only by his own activity but by the relative unimportance in mythology of his feminine counterpart (i. e., his wife Indrāṇī), the unrecognized compensatory functions in the feminine unconscious must either be projected into the environment or, more characteristically, erupt in sudden "irrational" outbursts.

The foregoing analysis of Indra's personality discloses his similarity to Yahweh, the Old Testament god, in the Biblical story of Job.

The character thus revealed fits a personality who can only convince himself that he exists through his relation to an object. Such dependence on the object is absolute when the subject is totally lacking in self-reflection and therefore has no insight into himself. It is as if he existed only by reason of the fact that he has an object which assures him that he is really there.⁵⁰

It is assuredly no coincidence that Indra is the recipient of more than 250 R̥g Vedic hymns, a number exceeded only by those in praise of Agni. He needs constant praise and propitiation to reassure him of his own greatness and importance to others, and in order to dispel that subtle and Satanic seed of doubt within him, resulting from the violence done to the unconscious functions and memories of the sometimes unfortunate effects of past fits of jealousy or temper. In short, Indra's apparent irrationality or immorality is due to the totally repressed unconscious, the feminine side, for despite the fact that Indra symbolizes conscious mind-power, he often acts impulsively, i. e., without conscious forethought.

Prithu can benefit from his fortuitous encounter with Indra for, as a potential victim of psychic inflation, he is desperately in need of exactly what Indra has to offer. The extreme peril to the king at this stage is not the aroused hostility of Indra, but the life-strangling warmth and tender solicitude of the

50. C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion: West and East* (New York Pantheon Books, 1958), "Answer to Job," p. 372.

Great Mother. Only a strong and extraverted asseration of conscious mind-power in an endeavor to regain a firm hold on external reality can save him from the deceptively comfortable grip of the unconscious. Although Pṛithu began by resenting Indra and foolishly challenging the god in just the area where the latter excelled, physical strength, he was persuaded by Brahmā to desist from such a fruitless undertaking which could only conclude in self-destruction.

At the same time, Indra can learn from Pṛithu who, once he has renounced his animosity toward the god, represents a keener degree of consciousness based upon self-reflection. Indra has never come to terms with his need for such circumspection, because he has seldom met an insuperable obstacle that would force him to hesitate and hence to turn his energies inward. When the situation has arisen, he has been content to suffer some embarrassment or loss of face, but not to seek the deeper remedy which would make a recurrence impossible. In the final analysis, Pṛithu emerges superior in the precise areas of Indra's greatest weakness, morality and the humility that results from an awareness of one's own limitations and in recognition of this, Indra stooped to touch Pṛithu's feet in apology.

The incomplete final *aśvamedha* stands as mute but eloquent testimony to the human predicament. To live as a created being is inevitably a limitation. Man "must, in order to survive, always be mindful of his impotence."⁵¹ And in order to be most truly man, he must consciously accept his conditional nature. But it may be no distortion of the Purāṇic myth to suggest that the one hundredth *aśvamedha* was symbolically consummated when Pṛithu resigned his earthly existence for the realm of *sachchidānanda*.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

THE ONE RUDRA AND THE MANY

By

V. S. AGRAWALA.

[यजुर्वेदसंहितायां षोडशोध्यायः शतरुद्रियमित्याख्यायते इदमेव मत्स्य-पुराणे नमःस्तोत्रमिति नाम्नाऽभिहितम् (अ० ४७, श्लो० १६८) । तत्र च याजुषपाठस्यैवोपबृंहणम् (अ० ४७, श्लो० १२८-१६७) । अस्य व्याख्या द्रोणपर्वणि (पूनासंस्करणे अ० १७३) अपि प्राप्यते । प्राक्सृष्टिकाले एको रुद्रः अव्यक्तरूपः । तस्यैव स्थाणुरिति संज्ञा ('अतिष्ठत् स्थाणुभूतः स सहस्रं परिवत्सरान्' द्रोण० १७३।५६) । पश्चात् सृष्टिदशायां स एको रुद्रः भेदमुपेयिवान्, यस्माद् असंख्यातानि सहस्राणि रुद्राणां समुत्पन्नानि । तान्येव रुद्रगणाः, प्रमथाः, पार्षदाः, रौद्राः पशवो वा कथ्यन्ते । तेषामेव पुराणेषु सिंहा इति वेदेषु च सालावृका इति संज्ञा । स्थाणुरूपः शिव एको यतिः महाश्रमणः ; स एव असन्नरूप ऋषिश्च निवृत्तिपथमारूढः । यतिरूपस्य तस्यैव सृष्टिविधौ देव इत्याख्या जायते । देवेषिता यतय एव सर्गविधौ समर्था भवन्ति । एकस्य बहुधाभाव एवेयं नानारूपा सृष्टिः । तस्मै नमोभावः शतरुद्रियस्य प्रयोजनम् ।]

There is One Rudra, no second—says the Veda :

एक एव रुद्रो न द्वितीयाय तस्थे । (तै० सं० १।८।६।१)

The One is called Sthāṇu (स्थाणु), the changeless, eternal, transcendent, beyond time and space. He is the Unmanifest One :

अव्यक्तो लिंगमुच्यते । (Līṅga Purāṇa, I. 3. 1.)

'The unmanifest form is called Līṅga'. [Fig. 1]. He is the cause of the universe, the seed that sprouts as the World-Tree.

The One becomes the Many by His inherent power. In manifestation the One Rudra transforms Himself as the thousand Rudras :

असंख्याताः सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा अधि भूम्याम् ।

(Yajurveda 16. 54)

'Innumerable thousands are the Rudras on the face of the earth'. In the vast billowy ocean of Infinity, each centre of

manifestation called Bhava is Rudra embodied. According to the Śiva Mahāpurāṇa, the innumerable Rudras are the Rudra-Gaṇas, representing his mind-born creation (मानसी सृष्टि, वायवीय संहिता, ch. 14). [Fig. 2].

The One Rudra is the Absolute and the Rudra-Gaṇas or Pramathas are his immanent powers. The One Rudra corresponds to the Collective Unconscious and the Pramathas or Gaṇas to the manifold centres of individuation. The One becoming the Many is the true nature of creation. Originally Śakti is one; on the plane of creation she becomes manifold. It is the one Energy that is in the language of Veda called Aditi—the Infinite Mother. She is the embodiment of Continuity, imperishable because space and time cannot modify her existence.

The same Energy (Śakti) becomes fragmented, i. e. Diti, the mother of Asuras, the principle of Discontinuity. She is manifest in each individual centre as Mātṛikā, a Mother representing the generative principle.

Aditi is the mother of the Devas, symbolising the principle of light and immortality. Diti is its opposite principle of darkness, death and disintegration.

The active principle of individuation is symbolised as Daksha. Each generative process is a Yajña of which the presiding genius is Daksha Prajāpati. If Daksha is hostile to Rudra, his yajña is doomed. Without Śiva, Daksha is in the grip of death. Śiva is the cosmic principle of immortality—Amṛitam.

True yajña is the symbol of divinity or Amṛitam. Daksha suffers decapitation at the hands of Rudra. When he propitiates Śiva, he is united to the immortal principle called Aja, the Unborn, symbolically represented as the Aja or Goat's head of Daksha. Aja is the same as Aja Ekapād (अज एकापाद्), the first and foremost of the Eleven Rudras, the single immortal Essence called Ekam (अजस्य रूपे किमपि स्विदेकम्, R̥gveda I. 164. 6). He is one-footed, i. e. स्थाणु, the principle of *sthiti* or stasis. पाद् Or foot means motion.

एकपाद् signifies the absence of all motion or centrifugal forces, i.e. the locking of all forces in the centre, or the absence of extrovert movement. Rudra as अजैकपाद् देव is स्थानु, the Motionless One. By means of the Tāṇḍava dance He releases the vortex of motion and becomes the Many. [Fig. 3]. In the words of the Līṅga Purāṇa (I. 106. 25-26) the dance is the ambrosial potion which Divine Lord Śiva releases for His consort, Devī Umā or Śakti.

Rudra as one of the great gods is called Mahādeva the Supreme Deity, and identified with Agni. He is also Indra, and the Sun, conceived of as an aspect of Agni in heaven. In the cosmogony of the Veda and the Purāṇas the Waters are fecundated by the seed of Agni or Rudra : आपो गर्भं यस्य शुभ्रं धरित्र्यः । (Hariv. II. 72. 30). Agni is frequently referred to in the Rīgveda as अपां गर्भः (R.V. III. 5. 3). The Vaiśvānara Agni has entered the womb of Waters :

वैश्वानरो यास्वग्निः प्रविष्टस्ता आपो देवोरिह मामवन्तु ।

(ऋ० ७।४९।४)

Speaking of Viśvakarmā Prajāpati, it is said in the Rīgveda :

परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्या परो देवेभिरसुरैर्यदस्ति ।

कं स्विद् गर्भं प्रथमं दध आपो यत्र देवाः समपश्यन्त विश्वे ॥

(ऋ० १०।८३।५)

‘That which is earlier than this earth and heaven, before the Asuras and Gods had being,—What was the germ primeval which the waters received where all the Gods were seen together’. (Griffiths)

The Waters here represent the principle of Virāj, also called Parameshthī, the same as Rīta (ऋतमेव परमेष्ठी, तै० ब्रा० १।५।१।१), and Mahat of the Gītā (मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म, १।४।३). It is the पारमेष्ठ्य सोम or the Universal substratum of Primordial matter (प्रधान प्रकृति) that is quickened into creative activity by the seed of Svayambhū Prajāpati. Svayambhū is Agni, the Father depositing his seed in the Parameshthī, the Universal, spoken of as the Mother. They typify the Cosmic Parents. स्वयम्भू is अग्नि and परमेष्ठी is

सोम, the latter represents the Infinite Ocean of Energy (समुद्र) which remains in equanimity in the beginning, but becomes quickened by the seed of the self-existent Creator into universal creation (भुवनस्य रेतः). The two generative Principles अग्नि and सोम bear several other names :

1. अग्नि	सोम	2. स्वयम्भू	परमेष्ठी
3. सत्य	ऋत	4. पिता	माता
5. द्यौः	पृथिवी	6. रेतस्	योनि
7. तपस्	समुद्र	8. गर्भ	आपः
9. बीजप्रदपिता	महद्ब्रह्म	10. पुरुष	प्रकृति
11. रुद्र-शिव	उमा-पार्वती	12. वृषा-नर	योषा-नारी
13. आमु	तुच्छय (अभव)	14. अंगिरस्	भृगु

Manifesting in the above dual aspects, they possess a common womb and unite to beget the Babe or Boy that is called the Prāṇa or Vaiśvānara. The Mahābhārata gives a clear exposition of this symbolism.

अग्नीषोमौ कथं पूर्वमेकयोनी प्रवर्तितौ ।

(शान्ति पर्व, अ० ३२९।१)

In reply to this, it is said there :

तम एव पुरस्ताद् अभवद् विश्वरूपम् ।

सा विश्वस्य जननीत्येवमस्यार्थोऽनुभाष्यते ।

तस्येदानीं तमःसंभवस्य पुरुषस्य...नेत्राभ्यामग्नीषोमौ ससर्ज ।

ततो भूतसर्गे प्रवृत्ते प्रजाक्रमवशाद् ब्रह्मक्षत्रमुपातिष्ठत् ।

यः सोमस्तद् ब्रह्म...योऽग्निस्तद् क्षत्रम् । स चाग्निर्ब्रह्म ।

(शान्तिपर्व, मोक्षधर्म, ३२९।१४-६)

In the *ante principium* stage both Father-Agni & Mother-Soma, act as a single pair ; both are referred to as तमस्-

तम आसीत्तमसा गूढमग्रेऽप्रकेतं सलिलं सर्वमा इदम् ।

तुच्छेयनाव्यपिहितं यदासीत् तपसस्तन्महिनाजायतैकम् ॥

In the beginning there was Darkness (i.e. Svayambhū, the Father Principle), concealed by Darkness (i.e. Parameshthī, the Mother Principle). This universe (इदं सर्वम्) stood as an indiscriminate Chaos (सलिल). The vast creative principle (आमु) was enveloped by formless void (तुच्छ्य). Then through the might of Tapas was produced the principle of Individual Manifestation (एकम्)'.

The principle of सलिलं is the same as आपः, variously called समुद्र, सोम, ऋत, and परमेष्ठी. It is primordial Matter, the unformed void. The principle of Tapas, Heat or Agni first makes its appearance on the substratum of that nebulous mass and itself becomes the seed to quicken or impregnate it for cosmic creation. This gives birth to centres of individual manifestation, Such points of individuation are referred to as *Ekam* or *Manas*—the Individual Mind—, the first mental or conscious construct of the universe. This controls a vortex of energy and begins to regulate a determined mass of matter.

This integrated system of manifestation is termed as *Yajña*, which comprises in a unified and conjoint manner the Trinitarian principle of manifestation, diversely enunciated as मन-प्राण-वाक्, अग्नि-इन्द्र-सोम, ऋक्-यजु-साम, अव्यय-अक्षर-क्षर, पर-परावर-अवर, स्वयम्भू-सूर्य-पृथिवी, etc.

In the language of science we designate it as the Potential, the Kinetic, the Thermal—the three forms of one and the same primal Energy. Energy is Warmth or Temperature, which is called *Tapas* or *Agni*. Its first manifestation is witnessed against the substratum of सोम or आपः—

अग्ने अपां समिध्यसे दुरोणे नित्यः सूनो सहस्रः जातवेदः । (ऋ० ३।२५।५)

‘In the Flood’s home, art thou enkindled, Agni Jātavedas, the eternal Son of Energy’ (Rv. III. 25. 5). The principle of the Primal Flood (Soma or Āpah) is spoken of as the Mother (अम्बा, अम्बिका, जनित्री, माता) and Agni is called अपां गर्भः, the Child of the Flood, a favourite epithet in the R̥gveda, which is borrowed in the Purāṇas, in the form of varying symbols,

In the case of Śiva, the symbol of आपः or सोम is उमा पार्वती, and the composite form of अर्धनारीश्वर is the same as that of अग्नीषोमौ, both representing a single progenitive principle (एकयोनी) as stated in the Śāntiparvan. In order to understand the full symbolism of Agni, we should remember the following equation:

$$\text{अग्नि} = \text{ब्रह्म} = \text{सूर्य} = \text{रुद्र} = \text{अक्षर}$$

The characteristic feature of each is movement, pulsation, activity, i. e. प्राणन-अपानन or समंचन-प्रसारण, the dynamic rhythm of expansion and contraction.

RUDRA-ŚIVA AS YATI

The Harivaṁśa II. 72, 3 refers to an important Vedic symbolism, viz. the principle of Yati and the Sālāvṛikas :

शालवृकान्यो यतिरूपो निजघ्ने दत्तानिन्द्रेण प्रणुदो हितानाम् ।

Who is the archetypal single Yati, and who constitute his retinue of numerous Yatis? Who are Sālāvṛikas and why are they so named? What is the significance of the Yatis with respect to Indra and Rudra? These queries have a bearing on an ancient cosmogonic myth of the R̥gveda :

त्वमिन्द्र शालवृकान्सहस्रमासन् दधिषे अश्विना ववृत्याः ।

(ऋ० १०।७३।३)

‘Thousand hyenas in thy mouth thou holdest, O Indra.
Mayest thou turn the Asivins hither’.

The Indra and the Sālāvṛika motif is repeated in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, VI.2.7.5; Atharvaveda, II.27.5; Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, VIII.1.4, XIII.4.17, XIV.11.28. XVIII.1.9, XIX.4.7; and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII.28. Esoterically it refers to the Self-existent One and the manifestation of the many from that One, to the undifferentiated Ocean of Infinity and its endless fragmentation on the plane of creational activity. Each Sālāvṛika is a lopped off morsel of life-energy (Prāṇa), i.e. an individual unit of discontinuity.

Śiva is the great Yati or Yogī, the lord of ascetics (यतिरूपः), the same as एकर्षि and यम of the Yajurveda (40. 16,



Fig. 1 (p. 211)

एको रुद्रः स्थाणुरूपः

Rudra in Unmanifest Linga Form

Gupta period, circa 400 A. D.

A stone sculpture found in Central India.

—Collection Pupul Jayakar, Bombay



Fig. 2 (p. 212)

असंख्याता रुद्राः

A Rudra-Gana, as one of the Innumerable Rudras

Date, Provenance & Collection as of Fig. 1.



Fig. 3 (p. 213)

चतुर्भुजी शिवताण्डवमूर्तिः

Śiva performing the Tandava Dance

Kāṇva recension, Īśa Upanishad). The resplendant Sun in the heavens is the archetypal Yogī or Yati, with his space-encompassing mass of matted-locks in the form of tawny rays (व्योमकेश, पिंगलजट). This Yama (Yati, Yogī) is the regulating principle for the evolution of the ordered cosmos; it is the emergence of the system from out of the disorderly nebulous mass preceding it. It is the first settling of the principle of Yajña, the world of Devas against the dark region of the Asuras. The Asuras represent the riotous forces which leap and dart in the primeval ocean of disrupted energy. Āsuric forces are also symbolically spoken of as Vṛitra Ahi, the hissing vipers loosening and stretching out their coiled masses as creation takes place. Regular creation is preceded by an elemental struggle between angelic and titanic powers, interlocked with each other, and out of their cosmic convulsion emerges finally the triumphant procession of the etherial forces, the Devas, over the chthonic dark powers called the Asuras.

Against the background of the primeval violent movements of disorder, what the Purāṇa writers call क्षोभ or मन्थन, that which is thrown up as the focal point of orderly motion is the Sun-सूर्य, also called इन्द्र and रुद्र. (अत्रा समुद्रे आगूहं सूर्यमजमर्तन R̥gveda X.72.7). Sūrya is verily the perfection of creational activity and of Nature's æsthetic endeavour (कल्याणतम तेजस्):

पूषन्नेकर्षे यम सूर्यं प्राजापत्य व्यूहं रश्मीन् समूहं तेजो

यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि ।

योऽसावसौ पुरुषः सोऽहमस्मि । (ईश उ० १६)

The Sun is the offspring of Prajāpati, the Nourisher (Pūshā), the Supreme Rishi or Yati, the over-all Controller (Yama). The expansion and contraction of his rays is his rhythm, his fairest form to behold.

'He' is the cosmic person and 'I' am the individual—we both belong to the same Akṣhara, or the principle of cosmising pulsation.

Sūrya is the same as Indra (cf. द्यौरिन्द्रेण गर्भिणी ; इन्द्रः सूर्य-मरोयच्छत्, ऋ० ८।३।६). Indra and Indrāṇī are said to be the two aspects of one Person, the former symbolised in the right eye and his consort in the left. They are the positive and negative, the cathode and anode of a single life-function (Maitrī Up. VII. 11). इन्द्र-इन्द्राणी pair of the Veda is the same as रुद्र-रुद्राणी in the Purāṇas ; both are equivalent to अग्नीषोम. Rudra is Agni and Rudrāṇī is Soma ;

अहमग्निर्महातेजाः सोमश्चैषा महाम्बिका ।

अहमग्निश्च सोमश्च प्रकृत्या पुरुषः स्वयम् ॥

(लिंग पु० १।३।७)

Also—

अग्निरित्युच्यते रौद्री घोरा या तैजसी तनुः ।

सोमः शाक्तोऽमृतमयः शक्तेः शान्तिकरी तनुः ॥

(शिवमहापुराण, वायवीयसंहिता २८।३)

As stated in the मोक्षधर्म पर्व—

अपि हि पुराणे भवति । एकयोन्यात्मकावग्नीषोमो । देवाश्चाग्निमुखा इति ।
एकयोनित्वाच्च परस्परं महयन्तो लोकान् धारयत् इति ।

(शान्तिपर्व ३२८।५)

Agni is of terrific nature (*raudra*, *ghora*) when it repels Soma, as in the case of Rudra estranged from Satī. Agni-Rudra is then an aspect of death (*Mrityu*, *Kāla*). The plant in the grip of death, even if watered, does not retain its life-sap. But Agni becomes life-giving and bestower of immortality (*amṛita-maya*) when it is reconciled to Soma. Śiva wedded to Pārvati becomes androgynous (अर्धनारीनरवपुः). Rudra and Satī repel; Śiva and Pārvati attract each other.

Agni as Sūrya, Rudra and Indra represents the principle of Yama, the focus round which Life spins out in an ever-expanding vortex ; it is the सप्ततन्तु यज्ञ measuring out its web.

THE YATIS

Śiva has two aspects—He is One and the Many. As One, He is एको रुद्रो न द्वितीयाय तस्थे, As many, He is a hundred-

thousand Rudras (असंख्याता सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा अधि भूम्याम्). As the One Supreme Ascetic, He is fixed and changeless (स्थाय), i. e. beyond all the modifications of time and space. As such he is unmanifest and does not create. For creation, the One Yati transforms himself into many :

यद्देवा अदः सलिले सुसंरब्धा अतिष्ठत । अत्रा वो नृत्यतामिव तीव्रो रेणुरजायत
(RV. X. 72. 6)

यद्देवा यतयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत । अत्रा समुद्र आगूहमा सूर्यमजभर्तन ॥
(RV. X. 72. 7)

Each universe (भुवन) is the mass formed by the spinning and dancing movement of the Yati-like Devas or the Divine Ascetics. This dance is performed on the surface of the primeval ocean ; out of the dance they discover the Sun. The controlling principle in the formation of the worlds is इन्द्र or सूर्य, the Supreme God, and Rudra the Supreme Yati :

इन्द्रे ह विश्वा भुवनानि येमिरे । (RV. VIII. 3. 6).

The Cosmic powers, the Devas, dance like the whirling Yatis and bring forth the Sun. It is the dance of Yogī Śiva, his Tāṇḍava with the whole team of Rudras, Gaṇas and Pramathas (लिंग पु० १।१०६।२५). He who is One Rudra manifests as the team of Eleven Rudras (एकादश रुद्राः) for creative activity. As One He is Unborn (Aja) with one foot, called अजैकपाद्. The One-footed Deity is truly स्थाय, that which exists without movement :

अजस्य रूपे किमपि सिंदेकम् । (Rv. I. 164. 6)

Indra has his troop of the Seven Maruts, Rudra of Eleven Rudras and Sūrya of Twelve Ādityas. Each constitutes a Gaṇa moving in tune with its chief. These are the Yatis, the 'ascetic hordes' who play an essential part in the *repertoire* of creational symbolism. The Yatis were mythologically believed to be 'an ancient race of ascetics connected with the Bhṛigus, and, according to one legend, said to have taken part in the creation of the world' (Griffith, R̥gveda, VIII, 3. 9, f.n.). The birth of the Eleven Rudras and from them

again the generation of the myraids of Rudras are essential elements in the creative process of the One becoming the many.

These Rudras are sometimes spoken of as emanations of Rudra himself and sometimes as having been created by Brahmā from the body of the cosmic Cow called Surabhi (Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, III. 14. 39-41; Liṅga Purāṇa, I. 22. 23-25). The list of names is also varied (Matsya, 5, 29-30, 153. 19; Liṅga, I, 82, 40-41; Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Brahma Parva 125, 7).

These Rudras are the primal Yatis of creation. अजैकपाद् is the same as अज or अव्यय पुरुष. अहिर्बुध्न्य is the same as वृत्र or त्रित आप्त्य. विरूपाक्ष is the same as त्वष्टा essential for fashioning of forms (cf. त्वष्टा रूपणि पिशतु). रैवत connected with रेवती or पूषा is essential for gathering of the gross material elements. Others like सावित्र, त्र्यम्बक, जयन्त, अपराजित are but symbols of the different principles that operate in the creative process. The Sāvitra Rudra typifies the propelling power transmitted to the individual centre. The Tryambaka represents the trinitarian principle of generation as Mind, Life and Matter. Jayanta is the war-like hero, and Aparājita is he who triumphs against the Asuras. The Purāṇas are explicit in stating that these Rudras are but archetypes. By themselves they were unable to create the animal forms. Thereupon Śiva created out of himself his female energy. Śiva-Pārvatī then became the universal parents. The Universe of Rudra is called the Rodasī (रोदसी), in which the law of male and female is operative. Therein द्यौः is the Father and पृथिवी is the Mother. All species of living creatures within the womb of the Rodasī are under the control of Agni-Soma union of the two parents. The एकादश रुद्राः give birth by differentiation to millions and billions of Rudras, but each is the offspring of these Two Parents. Each has its mouth or assimilation in the form of Vaiśvānara Fire. The Vaiśvānara is the bodily Fire, the metabolic force possessing the essential characteristic of assimilation and elimination :

वैश्वानरमुखाः सर्वे विश्वरूपाः कषर्दिनः ।

नीलकण्ठाः सितग्रीवास्तोक्षदंष्ट्रास्त्रिलोचनाः ॥३१५॥

विभज्य बहुधात्मानं जरामृत्युविवर्जिताः ।

क्रीडन्ते विविधैर्भविर्भोगान्प्राप्य सुदुर्लभान् ॥३१९॥

एकादशानां रुद्राणां कोट्योऽनेका महात्मनाम् ॥३२०॥

एभिः सह महात्मानो देवदेवो महेश्वरः ।

भक्तानुकम्पनो भगवान्मोदते पार्वतीप्रियः ॥३२१॥

(वायु पु० अ० १०१)

In Vedic symbolism we have the formula :

यतयः = मुनयो वातरशनाः = सप्त ऋषयः = असत्प्राणाः ।

The Yatis are the Prāṇic forces, which start those whirling movements that tend to evolve individuating centres. They are girdled by Vāta or the Maruts, viz. the Seven Prāṇas that are attached to each Indra or मध्य प्राण. As वातरशना मुनयः they are like young boys who have not yet donned the robe. The robe is the enveloping principle, that which gives birth to विवस्वाद्, or the Sun as the archetype of manifestation.

In the Purāṇas these Munis tread the path of निवृत्ति. They are created by Brahmā as सन, सनक, सनन्दन, सनातन, सनत्कुमार, सनत्सुजात and कपिल.

They retire to the forest and do not enter the householder's life. Thereupon Prajāpati creates another brood of Seven Sages, viz. मरीचि, अंगिरा, अत्रि, पुलस्त्य, पुलह, क्रतु, वसिष्ठ (शान्ति० 327-61-65).

According to the Śatapatha these primal Ṛishis are only forms of Prāṇic energy and as such are called Asat, in contradistinction to the Bhūtas which are Sat¹. We have here three successive principles, viz. Asat, Rishi and Prāṇa. The three are inter-related or virtually different forms of one and the

१. असद्वाऽइदमग्रऽआसीत् । तदाहुः किं तदसदासीदिति । ऋषयो वाव तेऽग्रेऽसदासीत् । तदाहुः के तऽऋषय इति । प्राणा वाऽऋषयः । ते यत्पुरास्मात् सर्वस्मादिदमिच्छन्तः श्रमेण तपसारिर्षस्तस्माद् ऋषयः । (शत० ६।१।१।१)

same principle, viz. the Vital Airs as Yatis. Toil (श्रम) and Austerity (तपस्) are the Yati's way for creative endeavour; they wear themselves out (अरिषन्), with whirling movements as a troupe of dancers. The Yatis are essential in the scheme of creative movement. There are seven Devas whom Aditi generated.

सप्तभिः पुत्रैरदितिरुषप्रैत्पूव्यं युगम् ।

(ऋ० १०.१७२।९)

Each Deva has a Yati or Muni associate to complete his creative work.

मुनिर्देवस्य देवस्य सौकृत्याय सखा हितः ।

(ऋ० १०.१९६।४)

As One, this Muni of matted locks is the same as Rudra-Śiva, called Dhurjati. But in his manifold form He becomes Sapta-Muni or Ekādaśa-Rudra. This Yati is called देवेषित (ऋ० १०.१९६।५), i. e. impelled or inspired by the gods. As Mahādeva, the gods wait upon Him and adore Him.

The matted locks are his rays, or radiation, also called प्रवर्ग्य or उच्छिष्ट, the element separated from Him and utilised in the creative process.

THE SĀLĀVRİKAS

Indra cast away the Yatis to the Sālāvrikas. This was a Vedic motif. In the Purāṇa it is said that Śiva as the great Yati vanquished the Śālāvrikas, which had been created by Indra as quickeners of different units (हितानां प्रणुदः) and made them over to Rudra (Harivaṃśa, II 72-31). This is reminiscent of the R̥gveda, येना यतिभ्यो भृगवे धने हिते (VIII 3. 9), i. e. Indra assigns to the Yatis the function of the individual distribution of treasures, where धन is the same as Vasu, and धनेहिते is equal to वसुधान (cf. रत्नधातम function of Agni), referring to the creation of each new life with the help of Vasus, who comprise the triple principle of Life, Mind & Matter.

शालावृक of the R̥igveda is the same as शालावृक of the Purāṇas. शाला is a house (गृह, दम) and each human body is treated as an abode in which प्राण or Life resides as a guest and waxes (वर्धमानं स्वे दमे ऋ० १।१।८ ; जुष्टो दमूना अतिथिदुरोणे, ऋ० ५।४।५ ; स दर्शत-श्रीरतिथिगृहे गृहे, ऋ० १०।९।१२).

Life-Principle is spoken of as a lion (सिंह), a tiger (व्याघ्र), or a hyena (शालावृक). These are the royal beasts of the forest, feeding on flesh and blood. Food eaten is converted by the bodily fire into secretions and one of them is blood. Blood is the symbol *par excellence* of Life, or Prāṇa, the Rajas or Akshara functioning in the body. The colour of Rajas is red, and so is that of blood, the secretion rich in red corpuscles. It is the solar rays that transmit the ruddy element to the blood.

The lion is the animal feeding on the sap of life, the blood. The bodies of all creatures or animals are made of the five material elements of which earth is the most conspicuous. Life consists in the miracle of blood flowing into the arteries and veins and saturating the body with rejuvenative potency.

भूम्या अनुगन्तुमाना कस्वित् । (ऋ० १।१६।४)

‘What is the source of the blood of earth, the life, the spirit?’ This biological query holds the key to the mystery of life. The conversion of water into blood, and of blood into the seed that creates life, and of that seed again into mind—these are the arch mysteries. The principle of energy within each body feeding on the blood of the earth is metaphorically spoken of as the Lion, which is the same as the Hyena from the point of view of symbolism. Both feed on blood or the life-sap. Both live in the forest and are friendly to the Yati or the forest recluse. The lion is an attendant of Śiva :

कैलासगौरं वृषमारुक्षोः पदार्थं रुद्रमृदुम् ।

अवेहि मां किंकरमष्टमूर्तेः कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुंभमित्रम् ॥

(रघु० २।३५)

Of the Ashtamūrtis of Śiva, i. e. Mind, Life, Matter (मनसो ज्ञानं कर्म च), the five gross elements are symbolised by the lion. He is a manifestation of Śiva, and the whole fraternity of lions (known as माया सहस्रं सिंहानां, Vāyu 101.291) chained to the pillars in the shrine of Śiva, represent so many manifestations of Rudra. Agni-Rudra has transformed himself as so many lions or hyenas :—

यद्वै सहस्रं सिंहानामीश्वरेण महात्मना ।

व्यपनीय स्वकादेहात्क्रोधास्ते सिंहविग्रहाः ॥

वैश्वानरमयैः पाशैः संरुद्धास्तु पृथक् पृथक् ।

(वायु० १०१. २९४-२९५)

Thus each centre of individuation is a lion or hyena feeding on blood and flesh. The Yatis are also forms of Rudra, the innumerable turning spirals or vortices of one basic energy, which is symbolically the same as so many Gaṇas or Pramathas of Rudra of every conceivable form. They are together known as the Śata-Rudras. Each human or animal body is the abode of one Yati, or one Rudra, or his servant one Simha, or one Sālāvṛika. The One cosmic divine energy of Rudra becomes divided into the many Rudras or Sālāvṛikas. Each of these hyenas holds in his mouth the triple Yatis, i. e. the tripartite life-principle of Manas, Prāṇa and Vāk, i. e. Mind, Life and Matter.

TAMIL VERSIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS

By

V. RAGHAVAN

[पुराणपत्रिकायाः प्रथमसंस्करणे द्राविड्यामनूदितस्य पद्यमयस्य
मत्स्यपुराणस्य स्वरूपं वर्णितं, तस्य मूलसंस्कृतमत्स्यपाठनिर्णये उपयोगश्च
विचारितः । अन्येषामपि पुराणानामुपपुराणानां पौराणिकसंहितानां, तद्भागानां
च द्राविड्यां येऽनुवादा मुद्रिता अमुद्रिता वा वर्तन्ते ते ऽत्र लेखे वर्ण्यन्ते ।

—वे. रा.]

In the first issue of this Bulletin, an account was given of the Tamil Matsya-purāṇa, its unique character and bearing on the textual problems of that Purāṇa. In the present contribution it is proposed to describe the other Purāṇas that are available in Tamil versions. As already pointed out, some of these translations are earlier than the oldest extant manuscripts of the respective Sanskrit texts and are of value in the textual criticism of these Purāṇas.

The great religious revival that appeared in the Pallava times and expressed itself in literature, psalm, and temple and sculpture shows indeed the wide knowledge and vogue in the Tamil country of the Purāṇic material, the stories, forms of deities, worships etc., as found in the Purāṇas. Epigraphy shows that endowments were made in the South Indian temples for the exposition of the epics and Purāṇas. Two of the Purāṇas, the Bhāgavata on the side of Viṣṇu and the Sāta Saṁhitā, described as part of the Skanda-purāṇa, on the side of Śiva, bear unmistakable evidences of South Indian nativity. The two epics were done into Tamil very early, a Tamil Bhārata going to the Sangam age itself. The Purāṇic mythology and the religious and cultural milieu are already reflected in the Sangam works, particularly in the Paripāḍal. The account of the sixty-three Śaiva Saints by Sundaramūrti, one of them, who belonged to the later Pallava times, is referred to as a Purāṇa. The Yāpperunkala vṛitti (prosody) cites a work called *Purāṇa*.

sāgara in *veṇḍā*-metre; the text and the gloss are both by Jain writers and the Purāṇa-sāgara mentioned here may well be a Jain work; but it is all the same interesting to note that in the 10-11th centuries, it was natural to compose Purāṇic works in Tamil.

A more specific reference to Hindu Purāṇic works in Tamil is forthcoming from the inscriptions of the 12th century. On the western wall of the Pāṭaliśvara temple at Tiruppātiripuliyūr (Cuddalore Old Town, known as the Pāṭaliputra of the South), there is an inscription from which we learn that in the 41st and 49th regnal years (1111, 1119 A. D.) of the Chola King Kulottuṅga (A. D. 1018), there was an important scholar and religious personality known as Viraittalaivan Parasamaya-Kolari, a recluse (muni); among his works mentioned in this epigraph are a play, the Kannivana-purāṇa and the Ashtādaśa-purāṇa.¹ The last mentioned work of this author was perhaps a single succinct account of all the 18 Purāṇas and not a collection of Tamil renderings of all the 18 Purāṇas.

For a sustained effort to render into Tamil the various Purāṇas in Sanskrit, we have to come to the later Vijayanagar and the post-Vijayanagar periods. The ground was prepared by the rise of the great temples, and the growth of the importance of different shrines, on the sanctity of many of which *māhātmyas* had come to be composed in Tamil-verse. Most of these māhātmya-works in Tamil² are called Purāṇas, and in the wake of the Kannivana-purāṇa already referred to, there arose the Kōyirpurāṇa on Chidambaram by the great Śaiva teacher Umāpati Sivāchārya (end of 13th and beginning of 14th century) [For mss. see Madras D. no. 571 R. No. 1264], the Tiruvārūr Purāṇa by Sambandha Muni at the end of the 16th century, the Setupurāṇa (Mss. in Tanjore and Madras Libraries), the Purāṇas

1. SII. VII. 752-3. See also my "Methods of Popular Religious Education in South India," "Cultural Heritage of India," Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, IV. pp. 503-14.

2. For mss. of several of these, see Descriptive Catalogues of the Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library and the Sarasvatī Mahāl, Tanjore.

of Tirupparaṅgiri and Tiruvayyāru by Nirambavalagiya Deśikar¹, the Tirumaluvāḍi-purāṇa of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśār (16th cent.), the Uttarakośamaṅgai-purāṇa of Māśilāmaṇi Sambandhar, the Chidambara-purāṇa in the beginning of the 16th century by Purāṇa Tirumalaināthan, the Vṛiddhāchala-purāṇa of Jñāna-kūttar (Madras D. nos. 630-8), the Tiruvāṅchhiya-purāṇa of Kalandaikumāran in the beginning of the 17th century, Aghoramuni's Purāṇas on Kumbhakoṇam, Vedāranyam etc., the Palanittihala-purāṇa of Bālasubrahmaṇya Kavirāyar of the first quarter of the 17th century, the Aruṇāchala-purāṇa (Madras D. 550), the Sevvandi (Tiruchi)-purāṇa (Madras D. 583) and Tiruviriñchhai-purāṇa of Ellappa Nāvalar of the middle of the 16th century, the Tiruvāppanūr-purāṇa of Kandasāmi Pulavar of the first half of the 17th century, the Tirukkurugai-mānmiyam of Kurugai Perumāl (last quarter of the 16th cent.), the Kāñchī-purāṇa² of Śivajñānamuni and Kachchiyappamuni, the Śrīraṅga-māhātmya of Appi Āchārya, the Tirukkalukkunra-p-purāṇa by Virarāghava Mudaliyār, the Tiruvānaikkā (Jambukeśvara) and Tiruttanikai Purāṇas of Kachchiyappamuni³ mentioned above, the Veda (Ādi) purī (Tiruvorriyūr-purāṇa by Karaṇākara (1803 A. D.) etc. Many others of this class of Purāṇic works celebrating particular shrines, and referred to as Sthala-purāṇas, could be mentioned. Some of these, being the production of well-known scholars and writers, enjoy a reputation for their literary value also. Further, some of these were written by the same authors, who as we shall see presently, produced Tamil versions of the main Purāṇas.

During this age, the 18 main Purāṇas, as well as some of Japapurāṇas, attracted the attention of Tamil scholars and writers. One of the remarkable things that would strike us

1. He is considered to have been preceptor of Ativirarāma Pāṇḍyan and Varaguṇa Pāṇḍyan who themselves wrote Purāṇa-translations. See below.

2. Manuscripts of this and the following five Sthala-purāṇas are to be found in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

3. For his Vināyaka Purāṇa translation and some other Sthala-purāṇas in Tamil, see below.

in this connection is that the initiative for this line of work appeared among the followers of Śaivism and it is the Śaivite Purāṇas that figure largely among these earlier Tamil translations. In the sequel we shall make a survey of those main Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas or their major sections, which were thus rendered into Tamil. It is but proper to start with the versions connected with the names of the later Pāṇḍya Chiefs of Tenkāśī, who took a special interest in this line of work.

THE KŪRMA-PURĀṆA

The Tamil version of the Kūrma-purāṇa is by Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍyan. The author was one of the rulers at Tenkāśī; he was the son of Tirunelveli-p-perumāl and the time of his rule is 1564-1596 A.D. There is hardly a student of Tamil who does not know or has not read his Tamil Naishadha Kāvya. The other Purāṇas rendered by him into Tamil and noticed elsewhere in this paper are the Liṅga and the Kāśīkhaṇḍa.

The Tamil Kūrma-purāṇa was edited by T. K. Subbaraya Chettiar (Adikalanidhi Press, Madras 1898). A detailed notice of the work can be had in the Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Manuscripts in the Madras Government Oriental Library (See Tamil D. nos. 548, 549; R. nos. 2660, 5283, 5494). A comparison of the contents of the Tamil version with the Venkateśwara Press edition of the Sanskrit text shows that the translator has closely followed the Sanskrit original, but one important difference should be noted. Like the Sanskrit original, the Tamil work also is in two parts, pūrva and uttara kāṇḍas, but while the subjects of the first part agree fully in the two texts, in the second part, the Tamil text shows additional material. Between the topic of the Prāyaśchittas of the Mahāpātakas and that of the Tirthas, the Tamil text adds seven topics which bring out the glory of Śiva through different stories etc. Tripura-dahana, the fruit of Śivapūjā, the fruit of uttering Śiva's name, the story of Upamanyu and what he attained through Śiva-bhakti, Jñāna-māyā, the story of Vishṇu obtaining the disc through Śiva's grace and the story of Sudeva's devotion.

The Pārva Kaṇḍa, in the Tamil text, comprises 51 chapters, the Uttara, 94 and the total number of the verses in the whole text is 3717.

THE LĪṄGA-PURĀṆA

The Tamil version of the Līṅga is the work of Kulaśekhara Paṇḍya, who according to the editor of the Tamil Kāśīkhaṇḍa in the Tiruvavāḍuturai Mith Series, is the same as the well-known translator of Purāṇas, Ativīrarāma Paṇḍya mentioned above. The work is available in print (Lakshmi Vilas Press, Madras). The translation, which is in verses, closely follows the Sanskrit original as can be verified by comparing the text with that found in the Venkateswara Press edition, though the Tamil version effects a good deal of condensation. Like the Sanskrit text, the Tamil version too is in two parts, called here Khaṇḍas; the first has exactly the 108 chapters into which the Sanskrit text is divided in its earlier part. In the latter part, the Sanskrit text has 53 chapters, but the Tamil version has only 46 chapters. The Vaishṇava-lakṣhaṇa and Vaishṇava-māhātmya of ch. 4 of the Uttarabhāga is completely dropped by the Tamil text; so also the contents of ch. 7 of the Sanskrit text dealing with the eight-syllabled and twelve-syllabled mantra of Viṣṇu and the story of Aitareya-dvija. The elaborate treatment of Śiva's greatness in Sanskrit in three chapters, 14, 15, 16, is condensed in Tamil. Even in respect of the Śaiva-material, the description of Tryambaka-mantra in ch. 54 of the Sanskrit work is missing from the Tamil version. For mss. of this translation, see D. 536-7 of the Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.

THE ŚIVĀ-PURĀṆA

A Tamil version of this Purāṇa goes to a fairly early period (beginning of the 16th cent.), having been composed by Purāṇa Tīrumanlainatha who, as stated already, wrote also a Sthala-purāṇa on the Chidambaram shrine. A full ms. of this has not yet come to my notice, but two fragments of it are described by Śrī Ulakanatha Pillai in his Catalogue of Tamil

Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore (I. 460, 461, under the titles Dadhīchi and Vināvidai; see especially the reference at the end of the ms. on p. 369 of the Catalogue).

In the same Catalogue, ms. no. 279 is described as Śarabha-purāṇa and the editor remarks that all these three, Śarabha, Dadhīchi and Vināvidai, appear to be of same authorship. That is, all these three are parts of a translation of the Śiva-purāṇa probably by Tirumalainātha. In the printed Śiva-purāṇa (Venkateswara Press), the corresponding section dealing with Śarabha is chs. 10, 11, 12 of the third book, the Śatara-driya-saṁhitā. The Dadhīchi-story is to be found in the same Purāṇa, book two, Rudra-saṁhitā, second subsection called Satikhanda, chs. 38-9, and also to some extent in book three, Śatara-driya-saṁhitā, ch. 24.

A recent prose rendering (*vachanam*) of the whole Śiva-purāṇa by Ratnavelu Mudaliar is available in print (1900).

THE VĀYU-SAMHITĀ

There is in Tamil a metrical version of a Sanskrit Purāṇic text called Vāyu-saṁhitā. The author of this translation is Kulaśekhara Varaguṇarāma Pāṇḍya who can be identified as a cousin of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya, and son of Parakrama Kulaśekhara, of Tenkāśi (1543-1550). This is in print (Adikalanidhi Press, Madras) and according to the Preface, this edition was based on six manuscripts. There is a manuscript of it in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (R. 593). This has nothing to do with the text of the Vāyu-purāṇa published by the Venkateswara Press or the Ānandaśrama. It is a rendering of the seventh book called Vāyaviya-saṁhitā of the Śiva-mahā-purāṇa, as found in the Venkateswara Press edition. The Tamil text closely follows the Sanskrit original though there is condensation as well as slight differences in the order of the topics and chapters. The whole text of the Tamil version extends to 1334 verses. For a manuscript of this, see Triennial Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, R. no. 593 (a)

THE ŚIVADHARMA AND THE ŚIVADHARMOTTARA :

As early as A. D. 1054, we have an inscription (214 of 1911) in the Tirunāgēśvaram Temple mentioning the exposition of the *Śivadharmā*; and as early as 1553, Maraijñānasambandhar of a Math in Chidambaram rendered into Tamil the *Śivadharmottara*, the composition comprising twelve sections and about 1200 verses. Manuscripts of this latter translation are described in the Catalogues of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (D. 1287, R. 1258. 1422) and in the Sarasvati Mahal Library (I 440, 523); the editor of the latter Catalogue says that this has also been printed. In the same Catalogue we have also an anonymous Tamil metrical version of the *Śivadharmā* (I. 536, 538).

THE SKANDA-PURĀṆA

This is by far the most popular among the Purāṇas, so far as the Tamil region is concerned. As noted elsewhere, separate sections purporting to be parts of the Skānda have also been rendered into Tamil. As regards one of the major books of the Skānda, the most reputed Tamil version, which is also deemed as a work of high literary merit, is the Kanda-purāṇa of Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya of the first quarter of the 17th cent. The text has been printed more than once and several prose resumes of it have also appeared. There are several manuscripts of the whole text, as well as of sections of this text. Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya was an *arohaka* in the Kumara-Koṭṭa temple at Kānchi and the son of Kalattiyappa Śivāchārya. The work is in 7 Kāṇḍas, with a total of 14696 verses. Kāṇḍas 1-6 (Utpatti, Asura, Mahendra, Yuddha, Deva and Daksha) are by Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya and the 7th, the Upadeśa-Kāṇḍa, was written by his pupil Koneriyappa Mudaliar. The Sanskrit original of the work is the *Saṅkara-saṁhitā*, one of the six Saṁhitās into which the Southern Skānda is divided.

Among other verse and prose accounts and epitomes of this text may be mentioned :

Kandapurāṇa-saṅgraha (prose) ; D. no. 545, Tamil Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Oriental Library.

Kandapurāṇa-ch-churukkam (epitome) by Sambandhaśaraṇālaya Svāmi, attached to the Dharmapuram Math, a scholar in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, who wrote this epitome in Tamil at the instance of the Mysore Ruler. (Ptd. Alliance Press, Madras-4, 1945). This epitome is in 1049 verses.

Kanda-purāṇa-vachana in prose by Ārumuga Nāvalar (Ptd.).

Kanda-purāṇa-vachana in prose, shorter than the previous one, by Muttukrishṇa Reddiar (Ptd. Madras).

Kanda-purāṇa-navanīta, a short metrical exposition of the teachings, by Sentinathier of Jaffna (Ptd.).

A prose version of Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya's work by T. Pattusvami Ōduvār published by Tiruppanandāl Kāshī Math in 1953.

A close prose rendering of Kachchiyappa's composition by Ramasvami Naidu of Kāñchī (Ptd. 1908).

A prose version *Kandapurāṇa-vachanam* by Ramasvami Mudaliar (Pub. Saiva Siddhanta Works Publication Society, 1950).

A recent exposition from Jaffna, Kandapurāṇa-vilakkam, is by Śrī Śivapādasundaram.

THE ŚIVARAHASYA KHAṆḌA

This forms part of the above mentioned Sankara-saṁhitā of the Skānda. A Tamil translation of it in 4087 verses, in two Kāṇḍas, was composed by Oppilāmaṇi Deśīkar of Tiruvārūr. This was released ceremoniously before King Serfoji of Tanjore (1800-32). Under the supervision of Aruṇāchala Kavirāyar of Setrur Estate, this was printed and published at Tiruchengode. Another Tamil version of it available in print (pp. 996; Gīrvāṇa Vani Vilas Press, Tiruvayyaru), was written towards the end of the last century by Ananta Vaidyanātha Śivan, and it carries an

appreciation by Mm. Rāju (Tyāgarāja) Śāstri of Mannārguḍi. This translation now and then quotes the original Sanskrit verses too.

THE BRAHMOTTARA KĀṆḌA

The Tamil version of this was composed by Varatuṅga Pāṇḍya and the text was published in 1907, having been printed at the Padmanabhavilas Press, Madras.¹ The work is in 22 chapters and 1310 verses. The author was the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, elder paternal uncle of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya, described elsewhere in this paper and came to authority in A. D. 1588.² He was the pupil of Nimbai Iśānaśivamuni. From the following table of contents, it may be seen that it is wholly devoted to Śiva, narrating stories relating to his glory and worship :

Pañchākshara-mahimā
Śivadhāna-mahimā
Kalmāshapāda-mukti
Vimarśa-mukti
Śanipradosha-pūjā
Satyadhana-pūjā
Pradoshapūjā-mahimā
Somavāre Śimantiniḥhāvanā
Śivayogi-mahimā
Bhadrāyushaḥ Rājyapṛāptih
Śivakavacha
Bhadrāyushaḥ Kathā
Bhadrāyushaḥ Mukti
Vibhoti-mahimā
Tripuṇḍra-mahimā
Vyādhasya Śivapūjāvrata
Umāmaheśvarapūjā-mahimā
Umāmaheśvarapūjā-phala

1. For a ms. of this, see the Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore, Vol. I, no. 465, and Sethagiri Śāstri's Report, Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, I, pp. 252-3.

2. See M. Raghava Iyengar, *Śaṅkara-t-Tamil-Kavi Charitam*, 1937, p. 172.

Rudrāksha-mahimā

Vaṇḍulā-mukti

On comparing these chapters and subject-titles, we find that this work is a translation of the text of the same name Brahmottara, but with Kāṇḍa given as Khaṇḍa, which is described in its colophons as part of the Brahma-saṁhitā of the Skanda-purāṇa. Mss. of this Sanskrit original can be seen described in the Sanskrit Mss. Catalogues of the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (D. 2303.9; R. 1226. 2672), of the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore (nos. 10233-10251), and of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Aufrecht's Catalogue, nos. 126-8). The Tamil and Sanskrit texts agree in Chapter-division also.

For a Tamil prose version of it, see D. no. 2193 of the Tamil Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Govt. Oriental Mas. Library,

There is also available in print a Tamil prose version (*raṣhana*) of this poetical translation.

THE SŪTA-SAMHITĀ

The importance of this text, described as part of the Skānda, has already been touched upon.¹ Among Saivites, as well as Advaitins, this has always enjoyed great vogue and a separate commentary on it was also written by Mādhavamantrin at the beginning of the Vijayanagar period. The Sūta-saṁhitā describes many of the leading holy places of the Tamil country and makes express mention of the Tamil Śaivite psalms (*Devāram*). A translation of this text that has appeared more than once in print is the one by Vallūr Devarāja Pillai. In 1913, N. S. Rajaramier brought out from Chidambaram a prose version based on the rendering by R. Anantakrishna Sastri. A recent succinct prose version of it is the Sūta-saṁhitā-sārāṁṛita-vachana by the lady Devakuṅjarī Ammal (Ptd. Madras).

1. On this text, its history and importance see my article 'The Sūta Saṁhitā' in ABORI. XXII, pp. 235-53,

THE KĀŚĪKHAṆḌA

This text, described as a section of the Skanda-purāṇa, is well-known and has enjoyed independent status. Its Tamil version too is a well-known work, having been composed by the celebrated Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍyan and published more than once.¹ It is in 100 chapters and 2526 verses. On a detailed comparison of the chapters of the Tamil text with the Sanskrit text of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa printed by the Venkateswara Press, the Tamil version is found to tally fully with the Sanskrit text, the only difference being that the division of Part I (pūrvārdha) falls in the Sanskrit text at the end of ch. 50, whereas the Tamil text ends its pūrvakāṇḍa at the close of ch. 41,

THE VINĀYAKA-PURĀṆA

This Tamil Purāṇa, which bears the additional title of *Bhārgava-purāṇa* is the work of Kachchiyappa Muni attached to the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Math. It has been in print, having been issued from Ganesa Press, Madras, in 1910. The author was born, 230 years ago, in Tiruttani on the present northern border of the Madras State. He wrote also the Sthala-purāṇas of shrines like his own Taṇikai, Kāñchī, Pūvalūr, Ānaikkā (Jambukeśvara) and Pērūr. The Vināyaka-purāṇa was done by him from its Sanskrit original during his sojourn in Madras city, and it was dedicated to one of the Vināyaka temples, Prasanna Vināyaka, in Madras. He stayed at the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Math at Kāñchī and passed away in Śaka 1712.

The work purports to be translated from Sanskrit and the printed edition referred to above is in two Kāṇḍas entitled respectively Upāsana and Līlā. There are in all 85 Paṭalas.

1. The latest and best edition is the one issued as no. 72 of the Tiruvāvaḍuturai Math Series in 1953. The edition has an informative introduction. There are several mss. of this text. For description of manuscripts of it see the Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Mss., Madras Govt. Mss. Library, D. nos. 565-6 and the Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, I, 470. For a separate ms. of the Gaṅgāsahasranāma forming Ch. 29 of the Tamil version, see the same Tanjore Tamil Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 173.

It is interesting to trace the source of Kachchiyappa Muni's work.

Neither a Vināyaka-purāṇa as such nor a Bhārgava-purāṇa dealing with Gaṇeśa is known in Sanskrit. On examining all the Purāṇic materials in manuscript and print bearing on Vināyaka, I was able to find out the original or originals of this Tamil version. In India Office, London, and in the Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore, there is a Sanskrit work called *Gaṇeśa-māhātmya* or *Vināyaka-māhātmya*, in 24 chapters (IO. 3652. TD. 10347-8). The same ms. is noticed also by Rajendralal Mitra (L. 1751), but under the title Gaṇeśa Khaṇḍa. The second part of the Tamil purāṇa, called Lilākāṇḍa, comprises only 16 chapters, but the stories of Gaṇeśa told here are the same as those in the 24 chapters of the Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka-māhātmya in Sanskrit mentioned above. This Sanskrit text purports, according to its colophon, to be part of the Skanda-purāṇa. Now, how about the former part of the Tamil text which is entitled Upāsana Kāṇḍa and comprises 69 chapters? This section is found to be a rendering of the first section of the printed text called Gaṇeśa-purāṇa, brought out by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay. The first book of this Gaṇeśa-purāṇa is called Upāsana Kāṇḍa and a comparison of the contents of the two texts discloses their identity. There is of course some transposition of the matter, e. g. the Gaṇeśa-sahasranāma with which the Tamil text closes its Upāsana Kāṇḍa, but which is found in an earlier chapter in the Sanskrit text. The comparison of these two texts shows also how the author of the Tamil version came to give it the alternate title Bhārgava-purāṇa. This name is evidently to be traced to the fact that Bhṛigu is one of the chief interlocutors of the Purāṇa in this section. I have otherwise not been able to find out any manuscript of a Sanskrit text which could correspond exactly to all these details in the Tamil version. Did Kachchiyappa Muni have a Sanskrit ms. in which the first part of the Gaṇeśa-purāṇa as printed, and the text called Vināyaka-māhātmya and called by the Tamil text Lilākāṇḍa were found

together? The question cannot be easily answered. Firstly, the printed Gaṇeśa-purāṇa also describes its second part as dealing with the Lilās of Gaṇeśa, though it does not give itself the actual name Lilākāṇḍa. This second part of the printed Gaṇeśa-purāṇa is very much longer than the second part of the Tamil text, but there is some story-material which is common to the two. From the contents, it is clear that the source of the second part of the Tamil text is the Sanskrit text called Gaṇeśa-māhātmya, but not the second part of the Gaṇeśa-purāṇa, as available in print. In the preface to the above-mentioned Madras edition of the Vināyaka-purāṇa in Tamil, it is said that at first only the Upāsana-kāṇḍa part was printed and it was later that the Lilākāṇḍa was also found and the two were then printed together. This, along with what has been said above, may lead one to surmise that Kachchiyappa Muni wrote the two parts separately, using two different Sanskrit texts.

Mss. of this Vināyaka-purāṇa are available in the Madras Library and it has also a long prose version written more recently by Muttuswami Mudaliar (Printed, Madras 1928). For a prose version of it in ms., see Descriptive Catalogue of Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, D. no. 450.

THE MĀRKANDEYA-PURĀṆA

This was partially translated into Tamil by Toluvār Velāyudha Mudaliar, who was Tamil Pandit in Colleges in the City of Madras. The author was born in 1832 and he died in 1889. His translation, which is in prose, follows the Sanskrit original closely and is available in print (Ayurveda Press, Madras 1909) and goes up to the end of ch. 24, Maṇḍalasa's discourse on Rājadharmā. The author evidently did not write beyond the 24th chapter.

The *Devī-māhātmya* (Saptaśatī or Chandi), forming part of this Purāṇa, being a very popular text, has given rise to many Tamil renderings, in modern times especially, including one, in prose, by the present writer (1946). There is a metrical version of this text by P. Nallatambi Pillai in 395 verses

(Tamilian Press, Erode), which is accompanied by a gloss by Daiyasikhamani Gaundar.

THE VISHṆU-PURĀṆA

Of this Purāṇa, there is an unpublished anonymous translation described in the Madras Tamil Catalogues, D. No. 465. In the style of Maṇipravāla (Tamil freely mixed with Sanskrit) common to Śrīvaiṣṇava writings, we have a version of the Vishṇu by Karichchaṅgal Śrīnivāsāchārya, a manuscript of which is to be found in the Madras Government Oriental Library (Tamil, R. 953). We have also a recent translation made in the last quarter of the last century by Īchchambāḍi Śrīnivāsaraḡhavāchāri who retired as Tamil Pandit from the Presidency College, Madras in 1879. The version was touched up by Purasai M. Yatirāja Bhāḡavata and published in 1954. The last mentioned produced also a prose version of the Bhāḡavata, calling it the Mahābhāḡavata.

THE BHĀḡAVATA-PURĀṆA

In manuscripts we have three Tamil versions of the Bhāḡavata preserved in the Government Oriental Library, Madras (D. 430; 431; 432-4; R. 1056-62). The oldest of the Tamil translations of the Bhāḡavata seems to be a metrical rendering called Bhāḡavatasāra by one Taṇḡava Śāstrin of Ērakaram Village, about 350 years ago. This is not available, but a prose resume of it is found in manuscript D. 430 of the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library D. 431; here is a fairly close prose version and D. 432-4 represent, another prose version by one Chinnayyan of Araśūr which seems to be based on a Telugu version of one Timmayya. R. 1056, 1062 are portions of a Maṇipravāla (mixed Tamil-Sanskrit) rendering of the Bhāḡavata by Karichchaṅgal Śrīnivāsāchārya, whose version of the Vishṇu in the same style has been mentioned above. There are some more manuscripts of Tamil versions of the Bhāḡavata in the same Library and these have yet to be examined. In the Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Sarasvati Mahal,

Tanjore, parts of another prose version of the Bhāgavata are described under nos. 462, 463 (Vol. I).

Other translations of this Purāṇa available in print are of recent date. The oldest of these seems to be that of Āriyappulavan of Kumbhakonam, in 4970 verses ; it was printed in 1908, with meanings for difficult words by Kāñchīpuram Ramaswami Naidu. The next one seems to be a version called Śrī Mahā-bhāgavatam in 78 paṭalas and 4694 verses, whose author is not mentioned. Its publication was sponsored by C. V. Kesavalu Naidu (Vidya Vinoda Press, Madras). The Tamil preface here, dealing with the nature of the Bhāgavata, mentions 7 Bhāgavatas in all : Purāṇa Bhāgavata, Saṁhitā Bhāgavata, Upasaṁhitā Bhāgavata, Viṣṇurahasya Bhāgavata, Viṣṇuyāmala Bhāgavata, and Gautamasāṁhitā Bhāgavata and what is more, gives details of the extent, interlocutors etc. for each. A third version of the Bhāgavata is that of Śevvaichchūḍuvār in 382 verses. (Published by the T. T. Devasthanam, Tirupati, 1949, 1953).

THE PADMA-PURĀṆA

This Purāṇa also appears to have been translated into Tamil. In the Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, a ms. (No. 438) of a part of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of this Purāṇa in a Tamil prose version is described. There are 31 chapters in this Tamil version and the subjects covered in these chapters are the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, His Sudarśana Chakra, Ūrdhva puṇḍra, Mantra, Ekādaśī, Viṣṇu pūjā, 108 names of Śrī Rāma and Śrīṣṭīkrama. The attempt to trace these subjects to their Sanskrit source shows that this Tamil version is based on the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Pādma as available in the 4th volume of the Ānandāśrama edition of that Purāṇa. The Tamil version effects some condensation. The following table shows the corresponding chapters of the ĀSS. text where these subjects are dealt with :

<i>Tamil</i>	<i>ĀSS.-edn. pt. IV. Sanskrit Text</i>
The ten incarnations	264-79
Sudarśana	10 (vv. 30-37) and 252 (vv 1-78)

Ūrdhvaṇḍra	253 (vv. 1-58)
Mantra	251 (vv. 1-79) here called Vidyopadeśa
Ekādaśī	38-65; 261-2 (This is very elaborately dealt with)
Vishṇupūjā	280. (vv. 1-180) called here Vaishṇavāchāra)
Rāmāshṭottaraśatanāma	281 (vv 1-70)

The section relating to Śṛiṣṭi in the Tamil version is not traceable in the Sanskrit text.¹

THE DEVĪBHĀGAVATA :

The translation of this Purāṇa available in Tamil is a close modern prose version, recently prepared and sponsored by Sri T. S. Krishnier of Trivandrum and published by T. K. Subramania Iyer of Āykudi. (Kabir Printing Works, Madras 1953),

THE GARUḌA-PURĀṆA

There is a Tamil version of the Gāruḍa in print, prepared at the instance of Kapisthalaṃ Duraisvāmi Mūppanār (Ptd. S. P. V. Press, Madras 19.1). This is in prose and 32 chapters. On comparison with the Sanskrit Purāṇa, it is found that this is a very concise but connected account of select portions from the Sanskrit original.

THE ĀDITYA-PURĀṆA

A ms. of a Tamil translation with this title is found in the Tanjore Library (I. 539), but it cannot be said whether the whole Sanskrit Purāṇa of this name was rendered into Tamil; for the ms. in question contains only the Sthala-purāṇa called Pāṭalivana-māhātmya, on a shrine on the north bank of Kaveri in Tanjore Dt., which might have been assigned to Āditya-purāṇa.

1. The Śabdakalpadrūma has extracts from the Pādma-uttarakhaṇḍa answering to the topic-heads in the Tamil version, except the one relating to Śṛiṣṭi, but the chapter-numbers given therein do not agree with those in the ABE. edn.

THE KALKI-PURĀṆA

Of this there is recent Tamil Prose translation by Vidvān K. Deśikāchārya, which has been printed at Madras (1904) and published by A. Anantacharya. The comparison with the Sanskrit original shows that the Tamil version is a close translation. The only difference noticed is that in the Sanskrit original which the translator had before him, the whole text was given in three sections called *Amśas*.

OTHER PURANIC TEXTS

In later times, when particular communities were faced with the problem of their status and it was the accepted practice to appeal to texts like the Purāṇas for authority as to their origin and position, a good number of Purāṇic works appeared in Sanskrit setting forth the traditional accounts of the origin of these communities. It is interesting to note that some of these Purāṇic works relating to particular communities are to be found in Tamil also.

One such is the *Valai-viśupurāṇa*, a manuscript of which is available in the Tanjore Library (I. 515). This sets forth the legendary origin from Goḍ Kumāra of the community of fisher-folk called Paratavar.

The *Devāṅga-purāṇa* available in a metrical Tamil version, and in print, concerns the legendary divine origin of the community of weavers. The Tamil version, as stated in the preface to its edition, was written on the representation made by the Devāṅga community to the Zamindar of Bōdināyakanūr. The Zamindar commissioned three Tamil scholars of Coimbatore, Kalappadi and Palani—Sadāśivasvāmi, Doddaya Deśikar and Māmbala-k-Kavichchīṅga Nāvalar to produce the Tamil rendering of the Devāṅga-purāṇa available in Sanskrit. The translation was made in verses and a prose gloss was then added. The whole version was revised by Sadāśiva Iyer, guru of the Devāṅgas, in the light of the Sanskrit original and was finally printed and published by the merchants of the Devāṅga community. It was dedicated before the patron deity of the Devāṅgas, Goddess Chaudesvari.

The original Sanskrit Devāṅga-purāṇa is available in two manuscripts, one in the Mackenzie Collection in the India Office, London (See Wilson's catalogue of the Mackenzie collection, 1928, pp. 145-9; and IO. Catalogue 6688) and another in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (MD 2443). In the descriptions and extracts in these Catalogues, it is stated that this forms part of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa.

To the same Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa is assigned another Purāṇa called *Śrīkaruṇar Charitram*, dealing with legendary origin from Brahmā and Sarasvatī of the community of Śrīkaruṇar. Manuscripts of it are available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Tamil—D. no. 392 ff. See especially no. 402). One of these manuscripts (no. 392) gives a list of the 64 villages where families of this community live, and their Gotras and Sūtras related to the Ṛishis of old are also given. In the end, two persons subscribing themselves as Narayaṇa Pillai and Veṅku Pillai appeal to the Ruler for protection and help to the Community.

The *Viśva-purāṇa*, of which there are manuscripts in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library (E. g. see D. no. 463), similarly deals with Viśvakarmā and the artisan-community. It is in prose.

A METRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA*

By

C. R. SWAMINATHAN,

[मत्स्यपुराणस्य छन्दसां विषये अत्रालोचनात्मकः विचारः क्रियते । अनुष्टुप्तिरिक्तं पञ्चविंशतिसंख्याक्रमेदभिन्नानि वृत्तान्तराणि अस्मिन् पुराणे प्रयुज्यन्ते । तान्यपि पाठभ्रंशदोषायत्ततया न लक्ष्यानुसारीणि । अतस्तेषां निर्णयोऽत्र विधातुं प्रयत्यते ।]

In the first number of this Bulletin (pp. 72-79), readers would have noticed the article by Sri Thakura Prasad Dvivedi, which shows that a sequence of so-called prose passages in chapter 154 of the Matsya Purāṇa really consists of verses in the Sragviṇī metre. It would be of interest to scholars to have a complete metrical analysis of the Matsya Purāṇa.

The major part of the Matsya Purāṇa, as it is in the case of other Purāṇas, is in verses of the Śloka Anushtubh metre. Outside of the Anushtubh, the Matsya displays indeed a wide variety, no less than 25 other metres being employed. Next to the Anushtubh, the most frequently employed metre is the Upajāti within which are included the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā in all their variations. These number about 450 couplets or nearly 900 lines. In the following table, the non-Anushtubh and the non-Upajāti metres are arranged in the order of their syllabic extent and the reference to chapters and verses where they occur and the total number of half-verses (ardhas) in each metre is given.

Syllables in Quarter	Name of the Metre	Chapter & verse number (Āss. Edition)	Total No. of Ardhas
11	Dodhaka	116-23; 154-470 to 478	20
11	Bhramaravilasita	180.43	2
11	Rathoddhata	97-17 to 20	8
11	Śalinī	154-8 to 15 ; 165-24	19
12	Bhujaṅgaprāyata	153-183 to 189; 154-576, 577	18

* prepared under the direction of Dr. V. Raghavan.

12 Drutavilambita	158-11 to 19; 287-14, 15.	23
12 Sragviṇī	154-554 to 575.	
12 Totāka	154-30, 31, 33 to 37; 188-67 to 70.	22
12 Vamśastha	126-41; 130-27, 28; 133-67, 70, 72; 136-66 to 68; 138-57; 140- 43; 148-100, 101, 102; 153-151 to 154; 154-397 to 403; 162-36; 180-24 to 27, 29, 30, 32; 251-26.	71
13 Praharshiṇī	92-35; 164-28; 180-37, 38	
13 Ruchirā	118-77; 153-28; 154-452 to 458, 460 to 463, 465 to 468; 250-54; 251-27, 29, 31, 33, 34	50
14 Vasantatilakā	64-28; 83-21 to 27; 96-14, 25; 100-8, 9; 116-25; 138-46, 47; 180- 33, 34, 39 to 41, 78, 79; 255-24; 257-22, 23; 270-35, 36; 274-77, 78; 276-17, 18; 277-22; 279-11, 12, 13; 280-15; 281-15; 282-13 to 15; 283-17 to 19; 287-12, 13; 288-15, 16	84
15 Mālinī	63-29; 82-31; 93-161; 180-31, 44; 275-28, 29; 278-29; 280-14; 282-16; 284-21; 288-17; 289-17.	24
16 Pañchachāmara	153-137 to 139, 141 to 145	15
17 Pṛithvī	95-37	2
21 Sragdharā	1-2; 180-35, 36	6
11/12 Aparavaktra	133-70; 137-30, 36	6
12/13 Pushpitāgrā	54-31; 55-33; 60-49; 61-57; 62-39; 98-15; 100-37; 115-19; 134-33; 136-64; 137-31, 33; 161-89; 276-19; 281-14; 285-21, 23; 286-16	38
11/12 Mālābhriṇī	69-62; 81-1, 2; 95-36	2
Āryā	193-35 to 37; 40 to 44	

Verses included in the above table are those which do not present any metrical problem and whose metrical identity is clear. There is, however, a large number of lines which show metrical irregularities and whose readings as well as metres can be decided only on the basis of a detailed examination of the evidences available in the various manuscripts collated for the Matsya-edition, as also in the other Purāṇas where these lines may occur. This examination will of course involve a scrutiny of the internal evidence of the story and other elements of the narrative. Such a detailed discussion of all the irregular lines is taken up now, following the order of the chapters and the metres discussed. First the non-Upajāti metres are taken up.

It will be seen from the above table that outside of the Anuṣṭubh and the Upajāti, twenty metres are used in the Matsya. Among these 20, there are both common and comparatively rarer metres. A glance at the frequency shows that Vasantatilakā is employed largest after Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti. Vamśastha and Pushpitāgrā come next. The next places are taken by mālinī and Ruchirā. Two of these metres are, it may be noted, mentioned by their name, the Bhramaravilasita which occurs only in one clear case and the Totāka.

पुत्रागेषु द्विजगणविरुतं रक्ताशोकस्तवकभरनमितम् ।

रम्योपान्तश्रमहरपवनं फुल्लब्जेषु अमरविलसितम् ॥ [180-43]

यः पठेत्तोटकं दिव्यं प्रयतः शुचिमानसः ।

बाणस्येव यथा रुद्रस्तस्यापि वरदो भवेत् ॥ [188-72]

(At the end of a sequence of Totāka verses)

Paḍa 2 of the above Bhramavilasita has one laghu in excess in most mss., but three mss. have readings which are metrically correct, viz., स्तवकविनमितम् or स्तवकभरनत्म् ।

Of Sragviṇī alone it should be noted that the entry in the above table is based not on the ASS. text but on the reconstructed text for which please see the article in the first number of this Bulletin, already referred to.

Another point to be noted is that, as in the case of Anuṣṭubhs, which are found in epics in three Ardhas sometimes, we find in Matsya, some of those non-Anuṣṭubh and non-Upajāti verses also in three Ardhas; thus we find Bhujāṅgaprayāta, Drutavilambita, Vamśastha and Ruchirā, having occasionally three Ardhas.

The references and numbers given in the above table refer only to cases in which the respective metres are correct in all the four pādas. There are indeed a few cases of verses in the metres in the above table in which there is admixture in one pāda. or more rarely in one Ardha, of a different metre and there are also other cases, more numerous, in which the metre, one among these in the above table, is clear but owing to defective readings there are metrical flaws. Such numbers are not included in the above table, as they will all be discussed now.

77.17-a

This verse is in Pushpitāgrā except for the first quarter in which the ĀSS. gives the fifth syllable as a *guru* while it should be *laghu* :

इदमनघं शृणोति यः स्मरेद्वा

Nine of the Manuscripts collated read this letter as a *guru*, Eight others which retain the word अनघ here read it as a vocative, which would be alright for the metre.

100.10

Three feet of this verse (a, b and d) are incorrect Vasantatilakā but the third foot alone reads भगवन्मयाथ तनयैरथवानयापि which is hypermetric by one syllable and also opens with two shorts, while two longs are required at the beginning of a Vasantatilakā line. That this is incorrect Vasantatilakā is shown by a large number of manuscripts which read here सम्यह्मयाथ or सद्धर्मजात। Whatever the variants here, according to a majority of manuscripts, the third foot opens correctly as a Vasantatilakā. All the nine manuscripts which read with ĀSS. भगवन्मयाथ are Devanāgarī manuscripts. The Ujjain Śārada

also reads similarly. The North Indian scribes probably read according to their vocal habit भगवन् as भग्वन् without intermediate 'a' being sounded and consequently felt no metrical defect; or a more likely explanation is that the scribe was attracted to the succeeding lines which are in Pramitāksharā, for the line under discussion upto भगवन् मयायतनयैरथवा will answer to Pramitāksharā.

That 10-c is incorrect Vasantatilakā and its reading at the opening may be सम्यङ्मयाय is confirmed also by the Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa. Uttara Parvan 85, where this episode occurs, as also the sequence of verses upto verse 10 of the ĀSS.

100-11, 12

The lines numbered 11 to 12 in ĀSS. really contain five lines. Of these, the first three lines are printed like Vasantatilakā, the second of these being in correct Vasantatilakā and the first and the third agreeing with Vasantatilakā except for the opening two syllables, which are short, thus being similar to the third foot of verse 10 discussed above. But the solution indicated by the readings for these lines lies in a totally different direction. It would appear that instead of being mislections for Vasantatilakā they are really Pramitāksharās which have been re-written with some fillers to give Vasantatilakā. Nine of the manuscripts open 11-a with मुनिस्वाच, suggesting that this portion stands for the interlocutor i.e. sage Prāchetasa, and does not form part of the verse proper. One of our sources has instead of मुनिस्वाच, 'प्रचेताः', thus supporting the assumption that this portion of the line stands for the speaker and does not form part of the verse. But 18 other manuscripts, including the Oriyā, the Śāradā and the Grantha, support the opening with two *laghus*—मुनि, thus authenticating a metre different from Vasantatilakā.

12-a and c also begin with two *laghus* in the same manner and the last two pādas in this series do not have any touch of Vasantatilakā and are wholly in Pramitāksharā.

अभिसङ्गता परमभीष्टतमा

विमुखी महीश तव योषिदियम् ।

This last line of the series in correct Pramitāksharā gives the clue to the re-construction of the whole series of five lines and justify our assumption that the additional words making up the required syllables for Vasantatilakā are fillers. Our assumption is supported by the readings of our manuscripts as we shall see presently.

We shall take line by line. In 10-a, b, only nine manuscripts read a word समीक्ष्य as the concluding part of a partial Vasantatilakā-pāda. All the other manuscripts stop the pāda with भवान्तरितं । Then पृथ्वीपतेः, with two *gurus* to give a correct opening to Vasantatilakā, second pāda, is read in all the other manuscripts, 18 in number, as पृथिवीपतेः (or पृथिवीमिमां in two of them) to accord with the Pramitāksharā. The further part of 10-b is also read in all these 18 manuscripts differently giving a correct Pramitāksharā; thus this line would read according to these manuscripts as

मुनिरभ्यधादथ (मुनिरप्यवाद्यथ) (मुनिरभ्यभाषत) भवान्तरितं

पृथिवीपतेरवगम्य कथां (समधिगम्य कथां) (समवगम्य कथाम्) ।

11—c, d read in ĀSS. and three other manuscripts as a correct Vasantatilakā with an identical text. Three other manuscripts read the line as Vasantatilakā, though with slight difference of reading. But the bulk of the manuscript evidence is against Vasantatilakā. 21 manuscripts which include the Śāradā, the Oriyā, the Grantha and the Malayālam manuscripts, read c and d with *laghu*-openings and as Pramitāksharā lines. Thus according to these manuscripts, 11-c and d would read

तव जन्म लुब्धककुले परुषा

मतिरप्यनेकजनघातकरी ।

12—a, b represent a mixture of the two metres like 10-a, b. Here again the manuscript evidence gives us help to restore the correct Pramitāksharā readings. As even the ĀSS. edition

opens 12-a as a Pramitāksharā, we have to examine only the evidence for the ending of 12-a and the opening of 12-b. All the manuscripts close 12-a correctly as Pramitāksharā though with slight differences in the readings as पुरुषं, पुरुषं or वपुषाम्. The words अङ्गसन्धिः added to give the Vasantatilakā-finish are really part of the opening of the second pāda i. e. 12-b. Here the manuscripts are divided in the actual readings but not on the metrical character. The majority open 12-b as वृजिनाङ्गसन्धि with a lesser number reading प्रथिताङ्गसन्धि, पतिताङ्गसन्धि, पुरुषाङ्गसन्धि, अतिपूतिगन्धि, and विचितं विगन्धि. The latter part of 12-b read as Vasantatilakā in ĀSS. सत्त्व भुजगावरणं समन्तात् is very scarcely supported. Only two manuscripts read at the end समन्तात् or प्रजानां to give a Vasantatilakā-finish. In all the other manuscripts these three extra syllables are totally absent. On the basis of the manuscript evidence, 12-b may be restored in correct Pramitāksharā as वृजिनाङ्गसन्धिकुनखाभरणम् । वृजिन in वृजिनाङ्गसन्धि is to be taken in the sense of कुटिल or crooked. दुर्गन्धि and सत्त्व of ĀSS. are fillers to give Vasantatilakā finish.

12—c, न च ते सुहृदसुतवन्धुजनः is correct Pramitāksharā. न तातः added to this to give a Vasantatilakā-end is to be dropped, as manuscripts do not support it. On the other hand the manuscripts read here न पिता in the same sense but as opening the second half of the verse in Pramitāksharā. 12-d may therefore be restored as न पिता सखा नू जननी च तदा with some slight variations regarding च for न or तथा in one manuscript for तदा.

12-e, f offer no difficulties regarding their correct metre which is Pramitāksharā.

The manuscripts evidently gave trouble as all this metrical confusion shows and the Bhavishyottara solved the difficulty by putting the ideas relating to the former hunter-birth in a few Anuṣṭubh lines after which the Bhavishyottara agrees textually with Matsya (the Upajāti beginning with 13).

69-63.

Pādas 1,2, 3 of this verse are in correct Pushpitāgrā. The fourth pāda forms a mixed line whose metrical identity is not

clear. Not only does any of the manuscripts offer any reading to reconstruct them into correct Pushpitāgrā, but in Padma (Ch. 23; Sl. 72) where the whole section occurs, gives the identical reading अलमुदुर्मुहैव यः करोति । The Anvaya of the verse itself is somewhat intriguing and metrically this last foot is hyper-metric by one syllable for Viyoginī and for an even pāda of Pushpitāgrā, it falls short of one syllable ; also its fourth and fifth syllables, both long, do not accord with Pushpitāgrā.

69-64.

It is metrically to be accepted as Pushpitāgrā. Its only discrepancy is in the first pāda. where as it is, it is hyper-metric, by two syllables. In the Padma, the line is read as follows in a slightly defective Pushpitāgrā—इदमनघं शृणोति चातिभक्त्या Our manuscripts disclose readings which though they differ among themselves, give the correct Pushpitāgrā in all cases, Thus according to the Ms. readings, the line could read य इदमघविदारणं शृणोति, without भक्त्या though, in this case, we have to acquiesce in the Pādānta-laghu, or we could read the line as य इदमनु शृणोति चाति भक्त्या (Ms. Tg), or it could also be read as इदमनघ शृणोति चाति भक्त्या (Ms. - N) with 'यः' as understood. The Padma reading could really be the last one, the अनघं there being a mistake for अनघ

133-68

This is cast in Aparavaktra. But the first and the last pādas alone are correct. The manuscripts no doubt have many variants but none of a definitely directive nature which would enable us to re-construct the second and third pādas into correct Aparavaktras. Apart from the metre, the sense has to be taken into account in restoring the lines here. In the third and the fourth pādas, the readings which have both काञ्चनाचलः and अद्रिः are guilty of redundance. For the last foot, there are clues supported by atleast four manuscripts which do not have अद्रिः but read अपरः in some form, thus giving us the line व्रजति सपक्ष इवापरोऽम्बरे. The subject of the verse is 'Śiva's *Ratha*. We may take that it is compared to the

golden mountain Meru moving in the air. As mountains are fabled to have had wings, the epithet in the fourth pāda is alright. To justify this element of comparison with the winged Meru, the Ratha has to possess brilliant appearance as well as flying banners. On the basis of such a meaning, we might re-construct pāda 3 which now reads वचनविशेषैर्विचित्र-भूषणैः and which the bulk of the variants read in one compound वचनविशेषविचित्रभूषणैः. Here वचन might be re-constructed into वसन to give the sense of banners which are described in verse 38 above. It might be that without construing वसनविशेषविचित्रभूषणैः with chariot in the next line, the scribes might have made the change वचनविशेषैः against the metre, to give an easier construction with the preceding verb प्रतुष्टुः. Line 3 is really difficult of restoration. The 'ग' reading noted in the Āss. seems to be an effort at reconstruction to accord with the sense and metre—त्रिपुरमथरथश्च काञ्चनो, 'matha' here meaning मथन and referring to Śiva. Another possible re-construction on the basis of the variants in the manuscripts is त्रिपुरमपि रथस्त काञ्चनो. In either of these cases, the word अचल having been removed from the third foot, the reading अद्रिः has to be retained in the last quarter. But it must be said that editorial conscience is not easy and the line has to be discussed further.

(To be continued)

THE OLD-JAVANESE BRAHMĀṆḌA PURĀṆA

By

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[अस्मिल्लेखे हालेंडदेशीयविद्वान् श्रीखोण्डामहोदयः बलिद्वीपे प्राप्तस्य प्राचीनकविभाषायां गद्यरूपेण संक्षिप्यान्वितस्य ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य विवरणं ददत् तस्यांशानां मूलसंस्कृतब्रह्माण्डपुराणेन सह तथा तत्सदृशीं पाठपरम्परामुपनिवधता वायुपुराणेनापि तुलनां कुर्वन् पाठविषयिकां समीक्षामतिशयकीशलपुरस्सरं विदधाति । यवदेशाद् उपलब्धानुवादे अन्तरान्तरा बहवः संस्कृतपद्यांशा अपि प्राप्यन्ते । तेषामत्र विचारः कृतः । श्रीखोण्डामहोदयः यवदेशीयब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य मूलपाठं तस्य डचभाषायामनुवादं च भागद्वये १९३२-१९३३ ईसवीये प्रकाशितवान् ।

The first scholar to draw attention to the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* was R. Friederich, who in his well-known 'Provisional Report of the Isle of Bali', brought, in the year 1847, the important fact to the notice of the learned world that a great number of valuable Old-Javanese adaptations of original Sanskrit texts were preserved and transmitted in that last refuge of Hindu civilization in the Indian Archipelago. During his sojourn on Bali the meritorious Dutch scholar Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk collected many manuscripts of this *Purāṇa*, which were, after his death in 1894, sent to the Netherlands. They were utilized by Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud in his book '*Tantu Panggelaran*'. The *Purāṇa* was edited and translated into Dutch by the present author⁴.

1. This article is an abridged adaptation of a publication written in German (*Einige Mitteilungen über das altjavanische Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*) and published in the periodical *Acta Orientalia*, volume 11, p. 218-269; Leiden 1932.

2. Published in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. 22 and 23.

3. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, Thesis Leiden 1924; see p. 310-319 (the contents of the *purāṇa*, written in Dutch).

4. J. Gonda, *Het oud-javaansche Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (I, edited and annotated, Bandung 1932; II, translation, Bandung 1933).

Like other Old-Javanese texts.—e.g. many parvans of the Mahābhārata—the Brahmanḍapurāṇa is an abridged prose translation of an original Sanskrit work— or a translation of an abridged form of the original Sanskrit—written in the usual śloka style. The Javanese versions follow those Sanskrit passages which were borrowed and translated very closely, although the numbers of variants and other minor deviations from the Sanskrit texts which were handed down in India are considerable⁵. Although these Javanese texts are much shorter than the corresponding Sanskrit works, they do not, generally speaking, omit, from the chapters which they contain, what is essential. Superfluities such as epithets, adjectives, repetitions etc., are as a rule left out. What is specially interesting is that many ślokas, double or single pādas were literally borrowed and at irregular intervals interspersed in the Javanese text. Most of them are followed by a literal translation or by an interpretation of the words and phrases which they contain. It may be supposed that these literal quotations owe their existence to the threefold desire to establish and guarantee the authenticity of the translation, to enable the reader to consult the original text in those parts of the narrative which were considered the most important—perhaps also to make him dwell on their tenor and purport—, and in the third place to facilitate references to the original text, to assist the reader in finding the corresponding places in the same. Moreover, the number of quotations not infrequently increases in difficult places even so as to follow each other without any other interruption than the Javanese translation: this procedure may be considered a remnant of a more ancient translational technique rather than an argument in favour of the supposed antiquity of the relative portions of the text.

The importance of these Sanskrit quotations is self-evident :

5. The reader may be referred to the notes added to my edition. On the relation between the Old-Javanese version of the IVth book of the Mahābhārata and the Indian Virāṭaparvan the Danish scholar K. Wulff wrote a very meritorious book (in Danish): *Den Oldjaviske Virāṭaparwa og dens Sanskrit-original*, Copenhagen 1916.

they constitute fragments of an independent tradition of these texts which may go back to about the tenth century A.D. They have however, very unfortunately, been handed down in a much corrupted form. It would be a wrong method—which was however adopted by H. H. Juynboll, the editor of most of the Old-Javanese parvans of the Great epic— to attempt to emend these ślokaś and pādaś by substituting the corresponding words or groups of words found in the Indian Sanskrit texts. The present writer endeavoured to reconstruct these quotations as accurately as possible without mingling them with foreign elements, that is to say; he attempted to restore that form of the Sanskrit text which was used by the Old-Javanese translator or author.

It is however not only worth while to compare all these quotations with the corresponding passages of the Indian texts in order to establish the character of the Javanese work and its relations to the Indian purāṇaś as accurately as possible, it is also necessary to analyse the Javanese work in its entirety, to ascertain which parts of the Indian Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa are contained in it and in which order they are given and to draw up a list of all deviations, correspondences with other purāṇaś and so on, and to study its composition.

It is an interesting coincidence that this Javanese text is closely related to that pair of Indian purāṇaś which have large portions of their contents in common, the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu. According to the German scholar W. Kirfel both works originally formed a unity⁶ and by means of a concordance of their chapters the same scholar was indeed able to distinguish between the common nucleus of the Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu and the individual accretions and particular chapters of either text. A close comparison of the Javanese book leads us to the conclusion that it is on the one hand unmistakably related to this Indian Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu recension, and on the other hand in many respects different from it. It may therefore be considered a

6. See W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn 1927, p. X ff.

valuable source of knowledge for those studying the history of the text, i. e., the textual tradition, of the purāṇas.

It will be our task here to examine the structure of the Javanese work and to draw attention to those particulars which may shed light on its relations to the Sanskrit text as well as on the interrelations of the Sanskrit purāṇas themselves.

I. The introduction deals, mainly in agreement with the Sanskrit Vāyupurāṇa—there are some minor deviations and some places which may be regarded as interpolations—with the sacrifice of the great king Adhisimakṛiṣṇa, the great-grandson of Janamejaya⁷. Among the many brahmans and scholars who attended that ceremony was bhagavān Romaharṣaṇa who at the request of the brahmans proceeds to narrate the Manuvamśa-krama, including the purāṇic stories and traditions which are to follow. OJav. Bmḍpur. p. 48, 5—p. 53, 30 corresponds, generally speaking, to Vāpur, 1, 80-28; some stanzas are quoted in full or partly; the order of the stanzas is not always the same; some verses are not represented in the Javanese text. Vāpur. 1, 1-9 are completely missing⁸.

II. Romaharṣaṇa commences his discourse by describing the creation of the universe, the first question corresponding to Vāpur. 4, 17 and Bmḍpur. 1, 3, 8. The Sanskrit account followed by the Javanese author must have been rather detailed. After having described the Pradhāna the text proceeds to inform the reader about the Creator: Rudra, Kāla, Antaka, adding some notices about the emanation of mahān, ahaṁkāra, ekādaś-endriya, tanmātra, mahābhūta and the origin of the cosmic egg. The next topics are the creation of the nine devarṣhis, the birth of Rudra, the well-known story connected with this name (cf. Vā. ch. 27; Bmḍ. ch. 10), the origin of Saṁkalpa and Dharma (Vā. 9, 71 ff), the creation of the gods, asuras, pitaras,

7. See F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London 1922, p. 52: 182.

8. For a complete concordance see the above article in the *Acta Orientalia* where references are given to W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*.

men etc. The first quotation contained in this section corresponds to Vā. 4, 17 and Bmḍ. 1, 3, 8, the last to Vā. 9, 52-53 and Bmḍ. 1, 8, 54-55.

III. After some details about the chronology of creation, the origin of the four varṇas etc. the text dwells on the birth of Svāyambhuva Manu and Śatarūpā, who after having arisen from Brahmā's body, married and generated Rati etc.: the narrative runs paralld to Bmḍ. 1, 9, 32 ff.; Vā. 10, 8 ff. On closer examination the Javanese version appears to be shorter and to present, in place, the topics in a different order. Part of the sentences of the Javanese work are literal translations of Sanskrit ślokas contained in Bmḍ. and Vā, very often however the translation creates the impression of being an abridgment: instead of the śloka *labdhvā tu puruṣaḥ patnīm Śatarūpam ayonijām / tayā sa ramate sārḍhaṁ tasmāt sā ratir uchyate*, it limits itself, for instance, to: "they united and had a child, Rati". Elsewhere some details are omitted. Curiously enough, the passage dealing with Dakṣa's wife Prasūti and her twenty-four children (Old Jav. text p. 58, l. 21 ff) agrees more closely with the short redaction of this episode found in the Kūrmapur. (8, 15) *prasūtyāṁ cha tathā dakṣaś chatasro viṁśatiṁ tathā / saṣarja kanyā nāmāni tāsāṁ samyag nibhodhata* (cf. also Garuḍpur. 5, 24, a etc.) than with the more detailed Bmḍ. (1, 9, 47-49) and Vā. (10, 23-24). This is not to say that the Javanese author utilized the Kārmapurāṇa or an allied text; he may have possessed another shorter Sanskrit redaction or, what is more probable, reduced a more verbose original to the form which is now that of the Javanese work. The account of Dakṣa's thirteen daughters who become the wives of Dharma is, though not perfectly plain, in any case more succinct than the paralld narrative in the Indian texts; superfluous adjectives are for instance omitted. In the Sanskrit Bmḍ. the ninth chapter ends after the episode of the Sahasrarudra, the Vā. inserts, after 10, 67, the *Pāśupatiyoganihāpānam* and many other episodes to return to the genealogical account in chapter 27. The passage devoted to Rudra's eight names and bodies

which now follows, had already been inserted in the Javanese text at an earlier place (see above, II). In Bmd. ch. 11 and Vā. ch. 28 the Javanese text runs parallel: the genealogy of the nine rishis. When the narrative has reached the figure of Agni (Bmd. 1, 11, 44; Vā. 28, 38) the Javanese author observes: "No mention will be made of Agni". Was it he who omitted this passage? Or do these words as well as the omission itself originate with the author or redactor of the Sanskrit text which he consulted? It is in this connection worth noticing that this episode is, in the Mārkaṇḍeyapur., dispatched in only three stanzas (52, 27-29). Anyhow the Agniṣaṅkavarṇanam (Bmd. 12; Vā. 29) is not in the Old-Javanese work. The short note on the pitaras (Bmd. 1, 13, 1 ff.; Vā. 30, 1 ff.) is, in contradistinction to the story of Velā and Dharaṇī (Bmd. 1, 13, 34 ff.; Vā. 30, 28 ff.), likewise missing.

IV. The next episode, the Dakṣaśāpavarṇanam (Bmd. 1, 13, 44 ff., Vā. 30, 62 ff.), exhibits some minor deviations from the two Indian texts. The stanzas 30, 79 ff. of Vā. which do not occur in the Indian Bmd. fail also to turn up in the Javanese text, which is likewise silent on the next subject, the Deva-vaṇśavarṇanam (Bmd. 1, 13, 87-151; Vā. 31). Vā. 32, the Yugadharmāḥ, does however not recur in either Bmd. text.

V. Page 68, 1. 2 ff. of the Javanese book, containing the Kṣatriyasarga, i. e. the genealogy of Manu Svāyambhuva, corresponds to Bmd. 1, 14, Vā. 33. Manu's seven grandsons are appointed kings of the seven dvipas. The description of Jambūdvīpa (Bmd. 1, 15; Vā 34, 1-57; 43, 1-9; 45, 1-20 a) and the organisation of the world are therefore, naturally enough, in the Indian texts the next topics to be discussed. This arrangement of the text is rational and in harmony with the chronological principle which, according to Kirfel*, guided the redactor of the Indian Bmd.-Vā. text. The Javanese version, however, goes its own way. P. 71, 22 ff. it reads: "In the way the kṣatriyas were created in the beginning of the Tretā period at the time of Manu Svāyambhuva. The 11 Rudras, the

9. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, p. XVII.

12 Ādityas, the 8 Vasus, the 12 Sādhyas, the 10 Viśvadevas, the 10 Aṅgiras, the 12 Bhārgavas, the 49 Maruddevas make their appearance, alternately". These names occur in several Indian purāṇas, e.g. Mārṅpur. 79, 1¹⁰. The Javanese author continues: "now the lifetime of the gods, asuras, gandharvas, piśāchas, yakshas, rākshasas, will be narrated", adding a quotation which resembles Bmḍ. 1, 32, 1 a; Vā. 59, 1a. The chapters Bmḍ. 15, 31 and Vā. 34-58 are therefore not in the Javanese purāṇa. As there exists a certain similarity between the last stanzas of Vā. 33; Bmḍ. 14 and the beginning of Vā. 59 and Bmḍ. 32, one may imagine that there once existed a Sanskrit text in which these two passages were not separated by so many other chapters. The description of Jambūdvīpa etc., which in Bmḍ. and Vā. follow the Svāyambhuvavarṇasavarṇanam, constitutes, on the other hand, together with the latter, one undivided whole also in Vipur. 2, 1; Agnipur. 107; 108; Mārṅpur. 53; 54 and other works¹¹. In the Javanese text, however, the geography of Jambūdvīpa is, as will be stated further on, to appear at a later place.

VI. P. 72, 1 ff. of the Javanese purāṇa correspond to Bmḍ. 1, 32, 1 ff., Vā. 59, 1 ff. containing the yugaprajālakṣaṇam ṛishipravaravarṇanam. The duration of the life of gods, demōns, men, the mahāpralaya, the śisṭas, dharma, āśramas, saptarṣhis, Vedas, stotras, the four faces of Brahmā etc. are discussed at some length.

VII. Bmḍ. 33 containing brāhmaṇapravaktrīṇām ṛisṇaṇaṁ nāmāni, mantralakṣaṇaṁ mantrāṇāṁ navavidhatvam, punas teshāṁ caturvīṁśatibhedāḥ, vidhiśabdanirvachanam, is missing. It is interesting to notice that the Vāyu Purāṇa as edited in the Ānandāśram series is considerably (25 stanzas) longer than the same text according to the edition in the Bibliotheca Indica. Although the end of Vā. (B. Ind.) 59 (this ch. 59 corresponds to Bmḍ. ch. 32 and 33) deviates from Bmḍ., the curious fact remains that Vā. B. I. also passes on immediately to the subjects

10. See also H. H. Wilson-F. E. Hall, The Vishṇu Purāṇa, II, p. 144.

11. See also Kirfel, Bhāratavarṇa, Stuttgart 1931, p. 3; 10 etc.

dealt with in Bmḍ. ch. 34. However, the contents of Bmḍ 33 are, in the Javanese work, to follow further on (p. 14 ff.). Although the subject-matter of Bmḍ. 34 is, generally speaking, adequately represented in the translation, it is worth observing that there is in this section not only between the latter and Bmḍ., but also between Bmḍ. and Vā. much diversity in details.

VIII. The episode of the pupils of Devamitra Śākalya and Śākapūrṇi (Jav. p. 88, 22-89, 5 ; Bmḍ. 35, 1-4 ; Vā. 60, 63-66 a) is in Vā. followed by another short section (st. 66 b-75) which is missing in both Bmḍ. redactions. The next subjects are the division of the Yajurveda, Vaiśampāyana's brahmahatyā and the behaviour of Yājñavalkya, who after having vomited forth the Yajur text which he had acquired obtains a new Veda from Āditya ; next come the 86 other pupils of Vaiśampāyana etc. Many names occur in a different form. A curious place is p. 90, 1 (cf. Bmḍ. 1, 35, 20 ; Vā. 61, 17) : whereas according to both Indian works Yājñavalkya after Vaiśampāyana's request brahmahatyām charadhvaṃ vai matkṛite, is willing to obey (aham ekaś charishyāmi tiṣṭhantu munayas tv ime....) the Javanese text puts a refusal into his mouth : cf. Vipur. 3, 6, 7 athāha yājñavalkyas taṃ kim ebhir bhagavan dvijaiḥ / ... charishye 'ham idam vratam.

IX. The next section deals with the ṛiṣis of the four Vedas, the Brāhmaṇis who knew the Vedas, the maharṣis, the mantras and their use and the "tenfold use of the brāhmaṇa". These subjects had, with considerable differences as to details, found a place in Bmḍ. ch. 33. The very fact that Vā., as already noticed, strikes out a line for itself, may probably point to the Indian, not an Indonesian origin of this deviation.

X. The preceding section constitutes an interruption of the narrative contained in Bmḍ. ch. 35 and Vā. ch. 61 : the last stanzas represented in the Javanese purāṇas before the interruption are 35, 66 ; 61, 58. Now the threads of the story are gathered up with 35, 70 ; 61, 61 to inform the reader of the

number of richas and sāmāni, the Śākhābhedas of the Veda, the families of devārshis and rājarshis, the lokas attained by them, their qualities and peculiarities. The names of the 28 brahmarshis who in the times of Manu Vaivasvata are engaged in dividing and transmitting the Veda are enumerated. The study of the sacred texts in Tretāyuga etc., the succession of the Manus, their asceticism; the saṃhāra and the alternation of Brahmā's nights and Brahmā's days, the duration of the Manvantaras, the events at the end of Kaliyuga and allied subjects join the above subjects. P. 104, 20-28 deserves special attention, because it contains a quotation (l. 26) bhavaty a bhūtasamplavāt which I was not able to trace in the related texts. Here also Vāpur. deviates from the Indian Bmḍ. (before 61, 104 a : 1' 35, 125 b). When the Javanese author has (p. 112, 30) reached Bmḍ. 1, 35, 201 and Vā. 61, 172 he observes: "like that the narrative goes in the prakriyāpāda of the Brahmāṇḍasāṃhitā, as told by the reverend Vyāsa". Now, the expression prakriyāpāda does not, in this connection, appear to occur outside the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa texts, where it refers to one of their four divisions called prakriyā, anushaṅga, upoḷghāta and upasāṃhāra¹². What is however strange is that the prakriyāpāda does not, in Bmḍ. and Vā., end here but much earlier, viz. at the end of ch. Bmḍ. 5, Vā. 6. Besides, the stanza Bmḍ. 1, 35, 67; Vā. 61. 59 which inform us of the fourfold arrangement of the mūlasāṃhitās (sarvās tā hi chatuṣpādāḥ; cf. also Vā. 32, 64 catuṣpādāṃ purāṇāṃ tu brahmaṇā vihitāṃ purā) does not recur in the Javanese purāṇa, to which the fourfold character is therefore unknown. Is this fact due to a mere coincidence, occasioned by the loss of some stanzas in connection with the different order of the sections? Or was the fourfold arrangement really unknown in the Sanskrit text utilized by the Javanese author? How then to explain the occurrence of the term prakriyāpāda in this place? These questions are not devoid of importance, because two meritorious specialists in purāṇic research, Pargiter and Kirfel¹³ regarded the fourfold

12. See Pargiter, o. c., p. 23 f.

13. See Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, p. XIX.

division of the Vā.-Bmḍ. text as a matter of great moment. Whereas the former was of the opinion that it was an old division of the subject-matter that was preserved in these two purāṇas, Kirfel would prefer to regard it as having originated with the redactor who applied this principle of arrangement to the pre-existing subject-matter. Does then the Old-Javanese text not go back to the redactor who arranged the common nucleus of our Indian Bmḍ.-Vā. text, and who must, according to Kirfel, have 'edited' his text between ± 335 and ± 620 A.D.? Or must we conclude the existence of recensions or traditions which were independent of that redactor? The Javanese text may have been written in the 10th century. We may now ask: when was the text written or composed on which it is founded?

XI. The next section which is rather long deals with the other Manus and the descendants of Svāyambhuva. Among the latter was Dhruva, who married Bhūmi. One of the scions of this ancient race was Vena. His history is, like that of his son Prithu, narrated at considerable length (up to p. 128, l. 21). The Javanese tradition is now in agreement with Bmḍ., then with Vā.; then again it exhibits variants of its own. Although the narrative itself, in this chapter, speaking generally runs parallel to Bmḍ.-Vā., the number of minor deviations is considerable. This fact is of special interest, because, if Kirfel¹⁴ is right in contending that the Bmḍ.-Vā. redaction of the Vena-Prithu episode, as opposed to the recension of the same subject-matter occurring in Brahmapur., Harivaṁśa and Śiva-Dharmasamhitā, gives unmistakable evidence of the activity of a redactor, the question again arises whether the text utilized by the Javanese scholar who translated the work was not founded on the text of that redactor? As however the stories of Vena and Prithu do not, as is the case in Brahmapur., Hariv., Śivadh., occur separately in two different parts of the work but form one uninterrupted narrative which moreover occurs there where it is placed in Bmḍ. Vā., the conclusion seems to be inevitable that there the Javanese

14. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, p. XXXIV.

text betrays the activity of the same redactor who according to Kirfel, arranged the Indian Bmḍ.-Vā. text. Whereas, however, in Bmḍ.-Vā. this narrative is continued after the description of the milking-trees (Jav. p. 128, 16 ff.: Bmḍ. 1, 36, 224; Vā. 62, 191), to end not before Bmḍ. 37, 22 and Vā. 63, 21, the author of the Javanese book suddenly passes on to the geographic section which constitutes, in Bmḍ. ch. 1, 15 and in Vā. ch. 34, viz. to the Jambūdvīpavarṇanam, the Bhuvanavinyāsaḥ and part of the Jyotiḥprachārāḥ. How should we explain this different disposition of the subject-matter? How should we harmonize this remarkable transposition or, at least, this difference in order, with the above supposition that there has been a redactor who arranged the common Bmḍ.-Vā. text?

XII. Bmḍ. 1, 15-24; Vā. 34-54 and Matsyapur. 112-128 constitute a large, coherent treatise on geography and cosmography, Vā. and Bmḍ. containing passages which are not found in Matsya and Vā. exhibiting groups of verses which are missing in both Bmḍ. and Matsya. The introduction to this treatise contained in the Jav. text (p. 128, 22 ff.) refers to "bhaṭṭāra Bāyu", i. e. "the Lord Vāyu" as an authority : cf. the beginning of Bmḍ. 1, 15; Vā. 34; Mt. 112. The subjects dealt with are Jambūdvīpa, its mountains, especially the Meru, the region called Ilāvṛita, the saptavarsha of Jambūdvīpa etc.; with a description of Kuruvarsha this section reaches its close.

XIII. Next comes in all four texts the description of Bhāratavarsha or India (Jav. p. 136, 30-143, 4); Vā. is alone in presenting to readers the passage 45, 20 b-66. The order of the stanzas occurring in Bmḍ.-Vā. is also that of the Javanese account. What is of special interest is that the line Bmḍ. 1, 16, 8; Vā. 45, 78 samudrāntarītā jñeyās te (sc. the nine regions of Bhāratavarsha) tv agamyāḥ paraspāram cannot be traced in the Jav. text : according to Kirfel¹⁵, this line does not fit in with the purāṇic theory of the circular shape of Jambūdvīpa, its division in parallel zones and the segmentary shape of

15. Kirfel, Bhāratavarṣa, p. 12.

Bhāratavarṣa. It is improbable that this line ever belonged to the Javanese redaction, because all other stanzas of this portion of the text are represented in it. There is moreover another text without this line, the Indian Matsyapurāṇa. Another remarkable coincidence concerns the stanzas Bmḍ. 1, 16, 20 b-23 a; Vā. 45, 90-92 b: they recur neither in the Jav. version nor in the account presented by the Mbh. 6, 9 and the Padmapur. 3, 6. On p. 141, l. 11 we come across the place quoted by Rājaśekhara Kāvyaṁīm. 17 (± 900 A. D.), which may furnish us with a 'terminus ante quem' with regard to this geographic treatise. Unfortunately the Javanese text is corrupt here.

XIV. The next section deals with the other varṣas of Jambūdvīpa (Kimpurushavarṣa etc.), the asceticism of Bhagīratha and the descent of Gaṅgā, a number of rivers and lakes, the Vāḍabāmukha or Aurvāgni. At the end of the description of the mountains Nishadha and Nīla (p. 146, 13), which is the end of the chapters Bmḍ. 1, 17, Vā. 46, Matsya 113; the Javanese author says that he will pass on to another subject. This is not the only trace of an ancient division in his work. From this point the Matsyapur. takes its own course, to recur to the same subjects in ch. 120 (121). Curiously enough the quotation Jav. p. 152, 12 yasyāṁ jāmbūnadāḥ smṛitāḥ has more in common with Matsya 120, 67 b rather than with Bmḍ. 1, 18, 69 a; Vā. 47, 66 b.

XV. Next come the descriptions of the other dvīpas: Śākadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa etc., of the oceans between them, the circular Lokāloka-mountain range which surrounds the outermost of these seven seas and divides the visible world from the region of darkness, the concentric 'regions' outside etc. (up to p. 17, 14). The same subject is dealt with in many other purāṇas, which, however, with regard to the arrangement of dvīpas and oceans divide into three groups: a) Bmḍ., Vā. and other texts (among these Vā. has some peculiarities of its own);

16. See Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, P. 56 ff.; 112 ff.

b) Bhṛgviśvāyā, Matsya-, Varāṇhapur.; c) Padmapur. and Mahābhārata 16). Now, the Javanese purāṇa does not join its Indian namesake, but the second group. In Bmḍ. 1, 19 and Vā. 49 the order of the continents is Plaksha, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Śāka, Pushkara, according to the Javanese tradition the Matsyapur. etc. it is: Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Śālmali, Gomeda, Pushkara. Moreover, the names as well as the order of the oceans between these continents are the same in Matsya etc. and in the Javanese work, which have, in addition to this, also some other peculiarities in common. It is worth while to dwell on this point, because it is of special interest in connection with the problem of the interrelation of the purāṇas. Whereas the names belonging to the first dvīpa of the above group b are to a considerable extent in harmony with those of the first dvīpa as mentioned in group a ¹⁷, and whereas also the names belonging to the second dvīpas as given in both groups of texts are similar or even identical, the names of the third dvīpa as given in group b resemble those of the fourth dvīpa in group a. Moreover, all mountains, regions and rivers of the first and the second continent have, in Matsya and to a great extent also in Varāṇha, two names. The names of the fifth continent of group a (Śākadvīpa) are largely similar to the second series of Śākadvīpa in group b (where Śākadvīpa is the first continent): the names belonging to the third dvīpa are generally speaking identical with those of the second series of the second continent in group b (Kuśadvīpa). One can hardly escape the impression that in the second group of texts the dvīpa names have been transposed, and that a redactor has, afterwards, added the 'correct' names—i. e. the names which in the first group of texts were given to the mountains etc. of the continent of the same name—to the first series of names. If so, the redaction of the Matsyapur. must, in this section, be the later one. From a close examination of the texts it moreover appears that the redactor of Matsya did not only know the Bmḍ. text or at least this cosmographic treatise in the form presented by the Bmḍ., but also that he

17. For particulars see Acta Orientalia, 11, p. 248 ff.

utilized it in revising the Matsya text. The Javanese work however joins the Matsya recension of this cosmography. Again the question arises: if there has been a redactor of the Vā. Bmḍ. text to whom all Bmḍ. and Vā. texts trace back their descent, how then should we explain this deviation of the Javanese work and the text of the redactor related to each other? The similarity of Matsya and the Javanese Bmḍ. does not involve complete identity. Notwithstanding its undeniable affiliation with the Matsyapur. the Javanese work exhibits, in places, variants and even a more lucid and elaborate description which cannot be due to the phantasy or ingenuity of its Indonesian author ¹⁸. An interesting place is, inter alia, p. 158, 1. 27, where in connection with the mountains of Krauñchadvīpa the remark is made that they have, all of them, two names but that only one is mentioned because the author becomes tired of recording. These words do not occur in the Matsyapurāṇa, where, in contradistinction to Varāha, these mountains are given only one name each. An interesting detail is, in addition to this, the occurrence of a second mountain name on p. 159. 1 – Pāvaraka; Bāmanakāra – which is also – and likewise by way of exception – given in Matsya 122, 14 ¹⁹. There appears, further, nothing in both Matsya and the Javanese work to show that they included the gold-country at the end of the world – which is mentioned in the texts of the above group a: Bmḍ. 1, 19, 149 ff, Vā. 49, 143 ff. etc. – in their survey.

XVI. The last section deals with astronomy. That is to say that the 20th chapter of Bmḍ., which is called prithvīm upakramya vitalasutalādinām rasātālānām sādhipānām varṇanam or adholokavarṇanam and which corresponds to Vā. 50, 1-57 a, is not represented in the Javanese book. In this it again goes with Matsya. The beginning of this section is a translation of Matsya 123, 1 a; Bmḍ. 1, 20, 58 b; Vā. 50, 57 bata ūrdhvaṃ

18. For particulars see *Acta Orientalia*, 11, P. 252 ff.

19. For a discussion of this point see my edition of the Javanese *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, p. 339.

pravakshyāmi sūryāchandramasor gatim : p. 167, 15. The next śloka has a stronger resemblance to Vāyu, and among the other quotations there are some which do not, in the first place, tally with the readings of the Matsyapurāṇa. Sometimes, for instance, a corresponding śloka is missing in Matsya, whereas the Indian Bmḍ, and Vā. have it. The order of the ślokas represented in the Javanese text is not always the same as in these Indian purāṇas. Generally speaking that part of this section which runs parallel to Bmḍ. 1, 21 and Vā. 1, 57 ff. has a closer resemblance to Bmḍ.-Vā., although it now and then deviates also from their traditions. Where however, after 123, 84 Matsya varies from the other Indian texts the Javanese author joined it (cf. Bmḍ. 1, 21, 108 ; Vā. 50, 161 ; Jav. p. 177, 1, 22). At p. 179, 1. 21 the author of the Javanese work declares that he now has informed his readers of the chapter which deals with Manuvaṃśa. These words do not occur in the related purāṇas, the preceding words of the Javanese text corresponding to the final stanza of Bmḍ. 1, 21 ; Vā. 50 ; Matsya 123. The contents of Bmḍ. 1, 22 are : dhruvam abhivartya sarvagrahanakṣhatrāṇāṃ paribhramāṇaṃ meghānāṃ cha vinyāsaḥ tathā sūryarathasyāpi vinyāso varṇitaḥ, the description of Dhruva which now follows in the Javanese work is however more closely related to Matsya. After the line p. 180, 12 (Matsya 124, 7 b ; Bmḍ. 1, 22, 9 ; Vā. 51, 9 a) vātāṇikamayaiḥ pāśair dhruve baddhaḥ prasarpati all four texts go their various ways. The last quotation corresponds to Matsya st. 35 ; Bmḍ. st. 29, Vā. st. 27 ; the last words to Bmḍ. st 35 ; Vā. st. 32. In Matsya as well as Vā. Bmḍ. the narrative is continued. In the Javanese work it is however abruptly brought to a close at a point where the parallel texts do not even finish a chapter.

There are no indicia in the Indian texts which may explain this abrupt ending of the Javanese purāṇa so that the most plausible inference is that this text is incomplete. How much has been lost to us is difficult to say ; when the latter part has disappeared and through whatever cause, is completely unknown. As not all hand-written palm-leaves on which this work has

been handed down contain the whole text as far as it has been preserved, there may have been manuscripts on which the narrative continued. The manuscripts A, D, E, F, H, K, L - which are "complete" have at the end a colophon, i. e. an inscription informing the reader of the title of the book etc., in which it is stated that the end work is "finished" or "complete": *parisamāptam*. It is on the other hand hardly credible that the author should have voluntarily terminated his work so abruptly in the middle of a meteorological exposition. A description of the *pātālas* and *narakas* might, for instance, have been added to round the translation off, even if the author died in harness. That the *vaṃśānucharita*, the fifth subject traditionally dealt with in *purāṇas*, is completely absent may, however, find its explanation in the fact that it was of little importance to the Javanese readers.

It may finally be observed that part of this Old-Javanese work - the Vena and *Prithu* episode, the geography, and part of the cosmography - has also come down to us in the form of a metrical adaptation²⁰. It is in one of the manuscripts also called *Prithuvijaya*. The poet was called *Aśṭaḡaṇa*.

20. See the edition, p. 183-225.

ŚAKAṬA AND PŪTANĀ

[शकटविवर्तनं पूतनावधश्च]

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[अस्मिन् लेखे कृष्णस्य शकटविवर्तनं पूतनावधश्चेति लीलाद्वयस्य आध्यात्मिकोऽर्थो व्याख्यायते । अयं देहः शकटः, तस्य य आसुरोऽशः तदपाकरणमेव शकटविवर्तनम् । उपनिषत्सु शरीरस्य रथ इति संज्ञा । भागवतेऽपि च तद्रूपकं प्राप्यते । रथः शकटश्च तत्त्वदृष्ट्या पर्यायार्थकौ । पूतना कृष्णस्य विमातृरूपेणोपवर्णिता । मातृतत्त्वस्य एव विशेषा प्रवृत्तिः पूतना यया सा पुत्रमात्मनः पाशे एव बद्ध्वा रक्षितुमिच्छति । तदेव तस्याः पयसो विषरूपत्वम् । मातृ-हृदयस्य पुत्रं प्रति मुक्तिभाव एव विशोधनात्मकममृतत्वम् । मातुः सुलभं पयः-पोषं प्राप्य स्वसंवर्धनमेव पुत्रेण कार्यम् ।]

I. ŚAKAṬA

Main sources : Prem Sāgar VIII

Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. X, 7, 4-17

Vishṇu-Purāṇa, V, 6

Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, II. 6

Brahma-vaivarta-Purāṇa IV. 12

Garga Saṁhitā

THE STORY

Krishṇa turned in His bed for the first time when He was 27 days old. The same conjunctions happened to be in the sky as on the day of His birth. Mā Yaśodā celebrated the events by giving Him the customary ceremonial bath (autthānika-kautika-āplava), with the accompaniment of instrumental (vāditra) and vocal (gīta) music and the assistance of twice-born who chanted the appropriate mantras. Helped by Yaśodā and Rohiṇī, Nanda distributed many presents to everybody; all were full of joy.

As the infant seemed sleepy, His mother put Him into His cradle in the shade under Nanda's cart (śakaṭa), which was full of pails containing milk and curds.

But the child soon woke up and began to cry for mother's milk. In all the noise, nobody heard Him. A demon was then passing by and overheard and recognised Him who had killed Pūtanā. Deciding to take revenge, he sat on the cart, and is therefore called śakaṭāsura. The cart began to groan and shake.

With his little feet tender as young shoots, Śrī Kṛṣṇa kicked the cart in such a way that it fell into pieces: the wheels were wrenched from the axle, the pole (kūbara) was shattered, all the earthen pots were broken and their contents flowed out in a stream. And the asura was killed.

Attracted by the din, all gopas and gopīs hurried to the spot and could not understand what had happened. Children who had witnessed the scene described it, but nobody would believe them.

Yaśodā and Nanda suspected the action of some grasping evil spirit (graha). Vigorous gopas restored the cart to its original condition and made to it proper offerings of curds, unbroken rice, kuśa-grass and water. Nanda and Yaśodā bathed the child with waters and sacred herbs consecrated by mantras of the Ṛig, Yajur and Sāma Vedas.

COMMENTARY

Most commentators seem to think that the only object of the cart episode is to show that from His very infancy Lord Kṛṣṇa was endowed with supernatural physical strength. I believe it has a far more specific meaning.

I suggest the cart represents the physical human body which is taken at the time of birth, the asura the dangers which arise from association with that body, and the overturning of the cart the action, yogic and otherwise, necessary to eliminate such dangers while retaining the body.

One striking point in all accounts of the exploit is their insistence, both explicit and implicit, on astronomical, and therefore also astrological data. It is stressed that the position of

the stars was the same as it was when the Lord actually took birth in a human body. The word *graha*, which designates the type of demon to which *Śakaṭāsura* belongs, also denotes the planets, and as we shall see later, some texts closely relate the two meanings.

That the cart, whether it is called *śakata* or *ratha*, represents the human body, is one of the most frequent symbols explicitly used in Hindu scriptures. To quote only one passage from the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* itself :

“The body is the chariot drawn by the horses which are the senses, and like the year it is moving swiftly although motionless. The two wheels are the two kinds of action (*karma*) ; the three *guṇas* are the flagstaff; in it the five (*prāṇas*) are closely knit together. *Manas* is the rein, *buddhi* the charioteer. and the heart is the seat. The dualities (*dvandva*) form the pole; the five receptacles are those that receive the five objects of sense and the shields are the seven *dhātus*”.²

देहो रथस्त्विन्द्रियाश्वः संवत्सररथोऽगतिः । द्विकर्मचक्रस्त्रिगुणध्वजः पञ्चासुबन्धुरः ।
मनोरश्मिर्बुद्धिः सूतो हृत्पीडो द्वन्द्वकूबरः । पञ्चेन्द्रियार्थप्रक्षेपः सप्तधातुवह्मण्यकः ॥

The asura who takes his name from the very cart and must therefore be closely connected with it indeed is described as a *graha* a sickness-demon, i.e. an entity corresponding to the physical body and its vital and mental prolongations, such as it appeared at the time of birth, and as it is affected by the position of planets at that precise time. This dependence of physical health on conditions imposed by the stars is stressed in particular by the *Matsya-Purāṇa*³, which states that the performance of the three forms of *grahabali* frees the members of the household from all diseases.

People who narrate the episode or allude to it often loosely say that the cart was destroyed. It was not. What the Lord did was to overturn it, thereby disconnecting some of its pieces,

1. Note the reference to the movements of heavenly bodies.

2. BP, IV, 29, 18-19—

3. CCXXXIX, 1 & 45.

breaking one of them, killing the asura, and breaking at least some of the pots, at the same time spilling their contents. As a matter of fact I know of no case in which He is described as "the destroyer of the śakata", but one Purāṇa describes Him as Śakaṭāsura¹, He who broke and killed Śakaṭāsura¹.

Two main things therefore happened to the cart itself when overturned. The first is that the wheels were separated from the axle, and this cannot but remind us of the usual description of the jīvanmukta, who continues to live in this world just as a wheel freed from the axle of a cart in motion continues to roll along². And the very definition of the wheels given in the śloka from the Bhāgavatam quoted above fully tallies with that interpretation.

The second damage suffered by the cart is that its pole (kābara) is shattered. The same śloka state explicitly that the pole stands for dualities.

It would seem therefore that the means of resisting the attacks of disease which are the inevitable consequence of the possession and use of a human body are given by Śrī Kṛṣṇa as twofold : (a) disconnect its activity from the effects of old karma and the creation of new karma ; and (b) destroy what connects the forces which draw the chariot from the incentive supplied by dualities such as pleasure and pain.

Incidentally, or rather consequentially, the asura is killed. It is noteworthy that no mention is made either of his corpse or of the disposal of it, which would mean that he could have no real separate existence apart from the chariot and his name or the absence of any individual name, confirms this view.

Another consequence of the overturning of the cart is that some categories at least of the pots were broken and their contents spilled. One commentator³ explains with great perspicacity that the pots made of gold or silver remained whole. It was

1. Brahmaṇḍa-Purāṇa, II, 36, 24.

2. Jean Herbert, L'Enseignement de Rāmakṛṣṇa, § 978.

3. Virarāghavavāmi.

therefore only those made of such absolutely pure material which did not suffer. The fact that the pots contained food-stuffs ofcourse is a further reason why the cart should be considered as the physical body, but their being destroyed evidently means that man should refuse admittance into his body to everything that would attempt to form part of it and is not received and encased in unsullied purity—which is a further recipe against disease.

It must be noted also that the word *graha* has another meaning in addition to the two we have already indicated ; it refers specifically to *pots or pot-fulls*¹ Rishi Sadhri uses it in the latter sense, as what man can hold in a pot². And the Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa refers to “libations made from three pots (*graha*), by making which man reaches the superiority (of the gods)”³.

All those different meanings of the same word may well be implied in the name *graha-nakshatra-tārāḥ*, with which Sørensen identifies Śrī Kṛishṇa in various passages of the Mahābhārata⁴.

We must note further that the cart is later restored by vigorous gopas to its original condition, although the asura no longer sits on it and the undesirable pots and their respective contents evidently do not share this reinstatement. And that must be so, because whatever dangers a physical body may bring with it, neither an ordinary man nor a Divine Incarnation can afford to dispense with it. That explains also why the gopas even perform a regular pūjā before it, as before any highly valuable tool.

II. PŪTANĀ

Main Sources : Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, X, 6
 Prem Sāgar, 7
 Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa, IV. 10
 Harivaṁśa, II. 6
 Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, V. 5.
 Garga Saṁhitā,

1. Grassmann, sub. voc.

2. Rv, V. 44. 10.

3. Śatapatha.

4. Mahābhārata,

THE STORY

Sent by Kāṁsa, the frightful Pūtanā, the killer of infants, (bāla), was going through towns, villages and cattle-pens (vraja), killing the newly-born (śīṣu?). For where the prince of Sātvata, the killer of rākshasas, is not listened to such demonesses (yātudhānī) have free play.

Using her magical power to go anywhere at and to take any shape, Pūtanā came down one day into Nanda's Gokula in the guise of a beautiful woman, her hair tied (keśa-bandha) in a garland of jasmine, wearing quivering (kampita) ear-rings (karṇa-bhushaṇa) in her black hair, and a lotus in her hand. She looked so attractive that the gopas took her to be the Goddess Śrī going to meet her Lord.

She was looking for new-born children and her eyes fell on Him who is death to the wicked. He lay in his cot with His immeasurable glory hidden like fire under ashes. He who is the self of mobile and immobile beings (charācharātmā) had recognised in her one of those devils who try to kill children, and he closed his eyes.¹

When the rākshasī entered the room, Yaśodā and Rohiṇī were spell-bound by this graceful but hard-hearted woman, like unto a sword (asi) hidden in its sheath (kosha). They did not stop her when she took in her lap the Lord Ananta, the God who avenges (?), just as a foolish person may take up a serpent (uruga), thinking it to be a rope.

She suckled Him at her enormous breasts (stana) which she had smeared with intoxicant (mādana). Bhagavān, infuriated (roshasamanvita), squeezed (prapīḍ) the breasts with his hands (kara) and sucked the milk along with her vital forces (prāṇa).

In agonising pain, she shrieked: "Let me off!", tossing her hands and feet, bathed in perspiration. Her screams

1. According to Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 26/4, His eyes were only half-closed.

shook the whole universe. She ran outside the village¹ but Kṛishṇa did not release His hold.

The rākshasī, her mouth wide open, dishevelled, stretching her arms and legs, then fell dead on the plain of Vraja, like Vṛitra struck by Indra's thunderbolt (vajra). In its fall, her body reduced the trees to powder over a distance of three gavyūti; it was a most astounding sight.

Gopas and gopīs, whose hearts, ears and heads had already been badly shaken by her shrieks, were terrified at the sight of the horrible carcass. On her bosom (uras) however, the child was playing fearlessly. Gopīs quickly took him up and duly performed all appropriate rites to protect him against all evil, putting each part of his body under the protection of the corresponding deity, and warding off all spirits which are hostile to young children. Then his mother suckled Him and put Him to bed.

When Nanda and the other gopas returned from Mathurā they were extremely surprised to see the body and they realised that Ānakadundhubi had foretold right.

The people of Vraja hacked the body, buried the bones and feet, and burnt the flesh and the skin.² The smoke which rose out of the fire was fragrant like the fumes of the aguru, because by sucking her breasts, Śrī Kṛishṇa had divested her of all sin.

This yātudhānī shared the fate of the Lord's step-mother, because she had looked on Him with the eyes of a mother.

COMMENTARY.

The etymology of the name Pūtānā is often given as *Pūt* (virtue) *na* (none). An equally unsatisfactory explanation derives it from *pūta*, purifying,³ in which case it would mean "she who purifies."

1. This detail is omitted in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.

2. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa does not mention this burying of the bones and feet before cremation.

3. Rāja Rādhā Kānta Deva, Śabdakalpadrūm.

It would seem more likely that the name of Lord Kṛiṣṇa's dangerous foster-mother should come from Put, a hell which is closely connected with the relations between parents and offspring. Rishi R̥itavāk says to Mārkaṇḍeya that children begotten not under the influence of lust, but for the sake of having a son, are threatened by dangers coming from Put¹. The gods tell rishi Mandapāla that only children can rescue their fathers from it², and when Śakuntalā says the same thing to king Duṣhyanta, she adds that therefore children were called putra by Brahmā himself³. Another instance is that of prince Vena, who was delivered from the same hell when his son Pr̥ithu was born.⁴

Both at the beginning and at the end of the episode in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, we are reminded that rākshasī Pūtanā is a yātudhānī. The word yātudhānī occurs seldom in the Scriptures⁵, but the masculine form yātudhāna appears fairly frequently, most often in connection with other groups of evil spirits. In the R̥ig-Veda⁶, rishi Pāyu (whose name is probably connected etymologically with payas, milk) devotes most of a long hymn to a request to Agni that he should protect him against them. And in that hymn, yātudhānas are connected with the milk of the sacrificial cow, aghnyā, which they steal and which becomes for them poison⁷. It is remarkable that in the same hymn⁸, the rishi should ask Agni to treat yātudhānas precisely as Pūtanā was treated, i.e. after having killed them he should sever their joints, break their limbs and eat their flesh. This is one more instance of the absolute consistency of all Hindu Scriptures.

According to the Garga Samhitā, the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa and various other texts, in a previous birth, Pūtanā was

1. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, LXXV, 15.

2. MB, Adi P., 231.

3. MB, Adi P., 74.

4. VP, I, 13, 42.

5. Rishi Agastya uses it in RV. I, 191, 8 & Urukshaya in RV. X, 118, 8.

6. X, 87.

7. Ślokas 16 to 18.

8. Śloka 5.

Ratnamālā, the daughter of King Bali. When she saw Vāmana, the dwarf-avatāra, she was fascinated by him and yearned to have him as her child, to suckle and fondle him to her heart's content. But when she saw him make his three steps and thereby deprive her father of all his possessions, she changed her mind and fulfilled a desire to try to kill him. The Lord knew her mind, and fulfilled both desires in His avatara as Kṛishṇa, when she became Pūtānā.

Various commentators have suggested that Pūtānā was some kind of infantile disease¹ or a bird², and both interpretations may well be accepted if they are taken in a figurative sense, as a danger to infants and an aspiration, respectively.

My suggestion is that Pūtānā, the first enemy encountered by Śrī Kṛishṇa in His life, represents the possessive maternal instinct which is the first obstacle to be surmounted by aspirants to yoga. There are many famous instances in history, and we need only mention Śaṅkarācārya and Chaitanya, but the fact is of extremely frequent occurrence and most people who engage in spiritual life have experienced it.

That she is closely associated with parenthood in general and motherhood in particular is evident from her role as a foster-mother and is stressed further by the etymology which we have of her name, as well as by the hymn we have referred to her being mentioned along with Mātrikā.

It must be noted further that her milk was neither poison, nor even mixed with poison, as is often carelessly alleged. She had only besmeared the outside of her paps with a harmful substance, which as a matter of fact is not described as "poison" but as an "intoxicant", something therefore which can do considerable, substantial and lasting harm, but which is at least in general pleasant to drink. She therefore tried to intoxicate the child to death by offering him something which was attractive to him.

1. Sen, I, 54.

2. do, I. 82.

And the Lord, blissfully ignoring the danger which resided in the superficial coating over the breasts, avidly drank all the milk which he could get, to the very last drop; when she begged him to stop and when she tried to run away, he did not let go. He even drank all his foster-mother's life-forces along with her blood, and was apparently so pleased with the whole thing that when she was dead he stayed happily on her breast and had to be taken away by the gopī.

After her death he did not give her moksha, which would have put an end to the principle for which she stands, but he sent her to the same paradise as Mā Yośodā, which means that her action continues and remains necessary if the world itself is to continue. This is stressed in at least two places in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa: in one the gopīs, when they recite all the bījanyāsa to protect the child against hostile spirits, still mention Pūtanā, although she is dead¹; in another it is stated that Pūtanā, with all her tribe, has access to Kṛṣṇa². And the whole chapter is not called the killing of Pūtanā, but the deliverance of Pūtanā.

So in this episode the Lord shows us how to handle the danger arising out of maternal instinct: ignore the danger itself but take advantage of all that maternal love gives, all the life-force that comes along with the milk. When we do so, the motherly love must needs be sublimated in such a way that all that is harmful in it is eliminated. What is hard and earthly in it and therefore cannot be sublimated (feet and bones) returns to the earth, but the rest is entitled to the joys of the highest paradise.

Short mention must be made of three details which are not unimportant:

It is stated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa that in order to carry out her work of destruction efficiently, Pūtanā must do it by

1. X, 6, 28. This is the place where her name is coupled with that of the Mātrikā.

2. X, 14, 35

night,¹ which means in the absence of light, of understanding. If the ill-intentioned mother who wants to keep her child to herself sees the light, she must evidently change her mind.

The importance of not letting any illumination come in if the intended task is to be fulfilled is further stressed in the fact that she is described as having her hair tied (keśabandha), and not ornamented, as is commonly stated, in a garland of jasmine. The word for hair, keśa, which is used here, is the same which we find in the name Keśava, which refers to rays of spiritual illumination.

Also we see it mentioned that she wears ear-rings (karṇa-bhūṣaṇa) which are not "radiant", as many translations state, but "quivering" (kampita).² Now ear-rings have a very special meaning in Hindn symbolism. *They denote the faculty to discern the precise extent of the field which belongs to Mind.* Which explains why Indra, the Lord of the mental realm, takes such keen interest in them, as is apparent from his quarrel with Karṇa³, his tricking Takshaka⁴ and many other incidents. If those ear-rings of Pūtanā quiver, it evidently means that this faculty in her is very unstable, or leads her to quickly-changing conclusions.⁵

Another point is that in her fall, the body of Pūtanā reduces to dust all the trees over a distance expressed in a word, *gavyūti*, which is evidently closely connected with *go*, the latter word designating rays of spiritual illumination. If the trees represent aspiration to grow, it would mean that in three realms of activity, the three lower worlds, aspirants to growth may be crushed by the material earthly aspect of what Pūtanā represents. Nanda realises it perfectly well and says so himself in the Prem-sāgar.

1. V, 5, 7-11

2. Grassmann translates "sittern"

3. MB, Ādi P... LXIII & Passim

4. MB, Ādi P., XLIV

5. Naraka steals the ear-rings of Aditi when the latter is seated on the throne of Indra. Similarly in the Bible the story of the golden calf which is made out of the ear-rings of the wives, daughters and sons of the Jews (Exodus, 32). Further, we shall see that Rukmiṇi Devī does not need to wear an ear-ring on the ear by which she listens to Śrī Kṛishṇa.

A NOTE ON PUTANĀ AND YAŚODĀ

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

Pūtanā and Yaśodā are the two foster-mothers of Kṛishṇa. Their attitude towards the Babe is sharply distinguished. Yaśoda nourishes him to become perfect in body and mind; Pūtanā aims to cause his death. In Vedic symbolism Pūtanā is the agent of Varuṇa, and Yaśodā of Indra, the latter identified with Sūrya whose main achievement is the perfection of its radiant orb, i. e. its *Yaśo-maṇḍala* or accomplished glory and beauty of form.

The etymology of the two names gives scent to their original meaning. Pūtanā is related to *pūtana* or putrefaction. Becoming putrid, rotting and festering are the outcome of the absence of motion or flow. When water becomes stationary and is deprived of contact with the sun's rays it begins to rot and go bad. It is confined in its hold by Vṛitra, who is the enemy of Indra. Vṛitra obstructs the free flow of waters;

वृत्रो ह वा इदं सर्वं बृत्वा शिश्ये यददिमन्तरेण द्यावापृथिवी, स यदिदं
सर्वं बृत्वा शिश्ये तस्माद् वृत्रो नाम (शतपथ ब्रा० १।१।३।४) ।

The waters or clouds symbolise the functioning or active faculties of the mind. Indra as the conscious mind with his thunderbolt must cleave this demon to pieces and releasing the pent up flow of waters evolve an orderly planning of the conscious mental powers. This is the *Yaśomaṇḍala* of Indra, symbolised by the Sun, which is the archetype of orderly and planned creation in the Universe. Varuṇa on the other hand is the lord of those waters enveloped in darkness and chaos (कृष्णं नियानं, also called ऋत सदन, RV. I. 164. 47). This aspect of the waters in the strangling grip of Varuṇa and Vṛitra is symbolised as Pūtanā, who feigns to offer milk to the growing Babe, but the milk is polluted with poison, i. e. the life-

giving sap is negatived by the death-dealing potion hidden behind it.

This is just what happens in the cosmic creative process. In the beginning exist the waters (भापः, समुद्रः, सलिलम्) under the control and lordship of Varuṇa, the Asura god. Then ensues a titanic struggle between Indra and Vṛitra for the release of those confined draughts. The Waters or Clouds are mental faculties, the Psyche, whose freedom is essential for the complete development of the Babe into full-fledged manhood. Life is an increasing unfoldment of Indra's jurisdiction or an expansion of his dominion over dark areas formerly under the control of Vṛitra and Varuṇa.

Pūtanā is *nīśācharī* (निशाचरी), female āsuric genius of the dark regions of Varuṇa. Yaśodā is her opposite. The former symbolises death and the latter immortality. Kṛiṣṇa is the Soma in the Parameshthī or the collective universal infinity. Parameshthī is the region of the cows, the Vraja (व्रजं गच्छ गोष्ठानम्), or the place where all the conscious faculties are concentrated in their source in the unconscious. Their emergence or expression is the release of those cows by Indra as a result of his conquest over the demons. Indra as god is the son of Aditi, who is herself the cosmic cow, the immortal and imperishable goddess of infinity. Her counterpart is Diti, the mother of demons and all the forces of darkness and death. Pūtanā is one such aspect.

Etymologically पुत्र is derived from पुत्, the name of a hell; he who protects from पुत् by overcoming the stranglehold of that hell earns the title of पुत्र. But as a matter of fact, in the Purāṇic lists of Narakas there is no such name as पुत्. It was presumably an independent name signifying that which rots or putrefies owing to absence of motion or flow (गति). All purāṇic motion belongs to Indra or Sūrya, which is the dynamic centre of cosmic rythm and pulsation, expressing by day and night the ceaseless process of contraction and expansion (प्राणो वै समञ्जन-प्रसारणम्, शतपथ ८।१।४।१०; cf Yaṇurveda 27.45, प्रेत्याऽएतै सं चाश्च प्र च सारय).

The region of Varuṇa is the sphere of पुत्र and पूतना, which confines all these collective waters, to which Indra confers light (ज्योतिः), immortality (अमृतं) and freedom (अक्षितिः). Pūtanā is said to be ornamented with two quivering ear-rings. What is the significance of these two ear-rings? In Vedic symbolism they are equivalent to the two Maṇḍalas, viz. the Maṇḍala of Agni and the Maṇḍala of Soma. These are also called अंगिरो-मंडल and सृग्मंडल, both of which co-exist in the आपो-मंडल of वरुण—

आपो भृग्वंगिरोरूपमापो भृग्वंगिरोमयम् ।

अन्तरेते त्रयो वेदा भृगूनंगिरसः श्रिताः ॥

Varuṇa is basically the sphere of ऋत, the watery substratum against which सत्य, or इन्द्र or सूर्य emerges in concrete manifestation. The latter are called यशोमंडल, or there gion of glory and light, typified as यशोदा to whose motherly care the divine Babe is consigned for growth and perfection.

In some texts पूतना is called a बक्री, a female crane. The latter is the symbol of crookedness and hypocrisy that belong to the dark world of the Asuras and are a feature of the wriggling serpent that appears and vanishes. The बक is the characteristic bird of a stagnant pool and therefore the बक्री is the arch-symbol of the dark region of the mind, that exists prior to the perfection of the conscious powers of illumination and the functioning mind.

पद्मयोनिः ब्रह्मा

विद्यावाचस्पति पं० मधुसूदन ओझा

[The late Pt. Madhusūdan Ojha of Jaipur explains here the conception of Brahmā and his lotus seat. In terms of cosmic यज्ञविया, Brahmā is the immortal principle of Fire or Energy, and the पद्म or lotus is the symbol of the gross material elements manifesting as the Earth, or the concrete and externalised form of energy. Energy can manifest itself only through matter. Brahmā must invariably be associated with his lotus. These are called चित्तेनिधेय अग्नि and चित्याग्नि respectively in the यज्ञीय terminology. The principle of Vāyu pressing on the material elements and helping them to retain their shape is termed as एतस्य वराहः. The Lotus (पृथिवीपद्म) is further explained as supported on the navel of Vishṇu, which esoterically represents the centre of all the gravitational pulls operative between the Earth and the Sun.]

पुराणलक्षणायां सृष्टिविद्यायामयं सृष्टिस्तावद् द्विविधा व्याख्यायते मानसी मैथुनी च । यत्रैकस्मादेव कस्माच्चिदर्थत्प्रकृतिविकासानुरोधेनोत्तरं कतिपये अर्थाः सृज्यन्ते सा मानसी सृष्टिः । अथ यत्र तु पदार्थद्वयसंयोगे तदुभय-विमर्दनद्वारा कश्चिदपूर्वोऽर्थः प्रादुर्भवति यथा पीतवर्णनोऽलवर्णयोः संयोगात् तदुभयभिन्नो हरिद्वर्णः प्रादुर्भवति, तत्र योपावृषाभ्यां नानापदार्थयोगवशान् सृष्टेरनित्यतत्वात्सा मैथुनी सृष्टिराख्यायते । तत्र वेदविद्यायां मानसी सृष्टिरेव प्राधान्येन प्रदर्शिता । अथेह पुराणविद्यायां मैथुनी सृष्टिर्विशेषतोऽनुरुध्यते । तत्रापि मैथुनीनां सृष्टीः नानागन्तव्यं पृथिव्यां यावत्त्यः सृष्टयो दृश्यन्ते ता एवोपक्रम्येयं पुराणसंहिता प्रवर्तते ।

यामिमां पृथिवीं पश्यामस्तावदाधारभूतस्तदन्तरतः कश्चनग्निः श्रुत्या
प्रतिपाद्यते । सोऽग्निर्द्विविधः, चित्यश्चितेनिधेयश्च । तत्रायं चित्यो मर्त्योऽग्नि-
भूतयोनिः पृथिवीणिण्डारम्भकपञ्चमहाभूतस्वरूपेणोपपद्यते । न च तत्रायमग्नि-

धर्मस्तापोऽनुवर्तते । सोऽयं चित्तो मर्त्योऽग्निः पद्मः । यस्तु स चितेनिधेयोऽमृताग्निः स ब्रह्मा । स स्वयंभूः पृथिवीं सृष्ट्वा तामेवानुप्रविश्य तत्रैव च पृथिवीगर्भे शश्वदभिवर्तते । नैऋत्याग्निः सः सोऽनुवर्तते । न चायं ब्रह्माग्निस्तापलक्षणः पिण्डाधारमन्तरेण क्वचिदनुग्रहते, तस्मात् पद्मभूः पद्मयोनिः पद्मासन इत्युच्यते । देवेषु सर्वतः प्रागभूत् तस्मात् पूर्वः सुरज्येष्ठः स्वयंभूः । स एव चैषः सर्वां सृष्टिं कुरुते तस्मात् सृष्टा वेधा विधाता विधिर्विरञ्चिर्विश्व-सृङ् नाम ।

अथ “तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्राविशदिति” श्रुतिनिगमेन योऽग्निविशेषो मर्त्यस्य भूमंडलस्यन्तरेऽनुप्रविष्टः प्रतिपद्यते, सोऽमृताग्निः । स च दक्षिणध्रुवमारभ्योत्तरध्रुवान्तः पृथिवीगर्भसम्प्रविष्टः पृथिव्या रूपेण प्रत्यक्षमुपपद्यते तमेतमेवाग्निं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते “अग्निर्ब्रह्मे”ति शतपथश्रुतेः । तस्मादुच्येतस्माद् ब्रह्मण एवैताः सर्वाः सृष्टयो भवन्ति या एतस्यां पृथिव्यां परितः प्रथिताः, असंज्ञा अन्तः-संज्ञा ससंज्ञाश्चेति त्रेधा विभक्ताः केचन भौतिकार्था दृश्यन्ते । सैषा ब्रह्मणः सृष्टिरेव प्रथमात्र ब्रह्मपुराणस्य निरूपणीयोऽर्थः ।

अथ चायममृताग्निर्नाम ब्रह्मा यस्मिंश्चित्येऽग्नौ प्रतितिष्ठति सोऽयं पृथिवी-पिण्डः पद्म इत्युच्यते पद्मपुराणे पृथिव्या एव पद्मत्वेन व्याख्यातत्वात् । तथा हि—

“एतदेव महापद्ममभूद्वैरण्मयं जगत्” इति ।

तत्रैवोपपन्नोऽयं ब्रह्मा पद्मयोनिस्तस्य च पद्मरूपस्य पृथिवीपिण्डस्य भूतभौतिकसङ्घरूपतया सर्वविधसृष्टिप्रकारस्यैमूषवराहाधारत्वेन व्यवस्थितस्य निरूपणं पद्मपुराणार्थः ।

अथायं पृथिवीरूपः पद्मः किमाधारेणोपतिष्ठत इति जिज्ञासायां तृतीयो विष्णुः प्रतिष्ठात्वेनाख्यायते । अस्या हि पृथिव्याश्चतुर्दिक्षु व्यासास्त्रयास्त्रिंशदहर्गणा भवन्ति । तेषु चाहर्गणेषु सप्तदशमारभ्य पञ्चविंशं यावन्नवाहः कश्चन यज्ञः प्रतितिष्ठति । तस्यैकविंशः प्रतिष्ठा स यज्ञो विष्णुरित्याख्यायते । सोऽयं त्रिवृत्-पञ्चदश-सप्तदशैकविंशभेदाच्चतुष्टोम आख्यायते । चतुष्टोमत्वाच्चायं चतुर्भुजो

निरूप्यते । तस्य च विष्णोरयं सूर्यो निदर्शनम् । एतस्माच्च सूर्यात्पृथ्वीपिण्डं
यावदेका सुषुम्णा नाडी प्रवर्तते, स ब्रह्मनाल इत्युच्यते । स च सप्तविंशदारभ्य
पञ्चविंशान्तं यज्ञपुरुषस्य नाभेरेकविंशदहः सूर्यादारभ्य प्रवर्तमानः पृथिव्यन्तं
प्रपद्यते । पृथिवी च पद्मम्, तस्यैतस्य पद्मस्य स एकविंशस्थो विष्णोर्नाभिः
प्रतिष्ठा तदित्यं पृथिव्यादिसूर्यान्तलोकत्रयनिरूपणं विष्णुगुणार्थः ।

अथैष विष्णुः परितः प्रथिते समुद्रेऽवतिष्ठते । स च समुद्रः सूर्यप्रकाश-
मण्डलत्परितः प्रथितः परमेष्ठ्याऽऽनुद्भूत इष्यत इति तादृशसमुद्रनिरूपणं
भागवतपदार्थः

अथायं समुद्रोऽपि ततः परितोऽभिव्याप्तेन वेदमण्डलेनाभिवेष्टितो भवति ।
तद् वेदमण्डलं १ स्वयम्भूः, २ परमेष्ठी, ३ सूर्यः, ४ पृथिवी, ५ चन्द्रमा
इति पञ्चवल्शक्रमेण व्यवस्थितं वेदे व्याख्यातम्, तदेव पुनरिह पुराणसंहितायां
वैष्णव्यक्रमेण पञ्चभिः पुराणैर्व्याख्यातम् इति प्रथमः कल्पः ॥ १ ॥

अथवा पृथिव्यग्निर्ब्रह्मा । हिरण्यं सौरमण्डलं ब्रह्माण्डं महापद्मम् ।
परमेष्ठी भगवानापोमयो विष्णुः । वायुसमुद्रोऽनन्तः शेषः । अपां समुद्रः
सरस्वानाम् । अपामुत्पादकस्त्रयी ब्रह्मा वाक्प्राणो नारद ऋषिः । नारदाद्वाङ्-
मयप्राणात् अपां समुद्रस्य सृष्टिः । अपां समुद्राद् वायुसमुद्रसृष्टिः । वायुसमुद्रे
परमेष्ठ्यापोमयं विष्णुधाम । विष्णोर्नाभौ समुद्रगर्भे हिरण्यमाण्डं महापद्म-
सृज्यत । तत्र प्रादुर्भवन्नयमग्निर्ब्रह्मा पृथ्वीशरीरः प्रतिष्ठा । सोऽयं ब्रह्मा
पञ्चभौतकोमिमां वेदलोकप्रजाधर्मरूपां चतुर्विधां सृजन्निर्माणं पश्यामः ।

[पुराणोत्पत्तिप्रसंगाख्याद्ग्रन्थादुद्भूतः, पृ० २२-२४]

[हिरण्यगर्भ]

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[वेदेषु पुराणेषु च हिरण्यगर्भस्य वर्णनमुपलभ्यते । 'अप एव ससर्वादौ' इत्यादिना सृष्टेरारम्भकं तत्त्वं 'आपः' 'सलिलं' 'समुद्र' इति कथ्यते । युगान्ते एकार्णवविधौ सर्वाणि लोकान्यात्मन्युपसंहृत्य कश्चिदचिन्त्यः सदसदात्मकः पुरुषविशेषः योगनिद्रामाश्रित्य शयानस्तिष्ठति । स एव विष्णुः ब्रह्मापरनामकः नारायणश्च । तस्मादेव देवाधिदेवात् सर्वकारणकारणात् 'बाहुदेवाख्य' तत्त्वत् प्रलयान्ते मार्कण्डेयनामा सहस्रायुः ऋषिः बहिरायाति । स एव सक्रियः कालरूपः यः पूर्वं विष्णोः कुक्षौ जीर्णतां गतः । स कालाख्यः ऋषिर्मार्कण्डेयः बालरूपस्य नारायणस्य संकोचविकासात्मिकां चेष्टां परिपश्यति । तदेवास्य भगवतो नारायणस्य अक्षरात्मकं रूपम् । तस्यैव हिरण्यं, प्राणः, अग्निः, सूर्य इत्यादीनि नामानि । तमेव हिरण्यगर्भं, हिरण्यमाण्डं च व्यपदिशन्ति । हिरण्यं प्राण्मात्मकं ज्योतिः, यस्य गर्भे समञ्चनप्रसारणरूपेण स्पन्दते स एव हिरण्यगर्भः विराट् च कथ्यते । तस्मादाण्डादेव इदं सर्वं विश्वमुपजायते । अमुमेव भावमचिकृत्व केनचित्प्राचीनचित्रकारेण भागवतादर्शपुस्तके चित्रमेकं लिखितं, यत्र मेहत्यस्यैव परिप्लवमानमेकं हैमाण्डं चित्रितम् । तस्यैव व्याख्यात्रं समुदाहृत्य । चित्रमिदमनुना हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीयभारतकलाभवनसंग्रहालये सुरक्षितं, तस्याभ्युदयस्य श्रीरायकृष्णदासमहोदयस्य सौजन्येनात्र मुद्रितम् ।]

1. सलिलम्

The wide conception of Vedic cosmogony is epitomised in the word हिरण्यगर्भ—the Golden Germ. The Purāṇas elaborate the theme and explain its meaning as part of the एकार्णवविधि, i.e. the existence of One Ocean in the beginning of the cosmos. The Rīgveda refers to the Primeval Waters as सलिलं—

तम आसीत्तमसा गूहमग्रेऽप्रकृतं सलिलं सर्वमा इदम् ।

(ऋग्वेदीय सूक्त १-११२-११३)

'The Unmanifest (तमः) concealed within it the Formless Manifestation (तमः).

The Universe (इदं सर्वम्) then was indiscriminated (अप्रकृतं) in the Primeval Waters (सलिलम्).'

The same Ocean is referred to as the Waters of unfathomed depth :

अम्भः किमासीद् गहनं गभीरम् ।

(नासदीय, X, 129.1)

Verily the cosmos is the outcome of the fashioning of forms from out of the Waters of the primeval Ocean of Energy :

गौरीर्मिमाय सलिलानि तक्षती ।

(ऋ० १।१६४।४१)

'The Dark She-Bison has by her rumblings fashioned the Waters into manifold forms.'

What is the significance of Gaurī ? In Vedic symbolism गौरी, and अदिति are distinguished; गौरी, the she-buffalo, represents the वाक् of the dark regions of वरुण, and अदिति, as the cow, of the effulgent regions of इन्द्र. Thus गौरी and अदिति both are forms of Agni, or Vāk, for all Speech or Sound is pulsating energy.

The creative process is the descending of the water-floods from those Primeval Oceans :

तस्याः समुद्रा अधि विक्षरन्ति ।

(ऋ० १।१६४।४२)

The Oceans remain under the lordship of Varuṇa, they are encompassed by his sovereign might. Vṛitra is Varuṇa's arch-agent, the enveloping Asura who is lying asleep at every point of the Ocean. Indra emerges as the great God to challenge him, to overcome him and release the flow of Waters. Indra is the principle of हिरण्यगर्भ, the same as अग्नि, the child of Waters (अपां गर्भः), or the gold-pinioned Bird (हिरण्यपक्ष शकुनि), i.e. the Sun :

यदेवा यतयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत ।
अत्रा समुद्र आ गूहं सूर्यमजभर्तन ॥

(ऋ० १०।७२।७)

'The Sun which was lying hidden in the Ocean, Ye brought forward, O Ye Gods, when, like Yatis, with your regulated dance movements, you caused the worlds to grow.'

These most appropriate words—समुद्र आगूहं सूर्यम्—are the Vedic nucleus of the हिरण्यगर्भ विद्या—

हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे भूतस्य जातः पतिरेक आसीत् ।
स दाधार पृथिवीमुत द्यां कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ।

(ऋ० १०।१२१।१)

First of all to come into being is Hiranyagarbha, the supreme principle of creation ;—He supports द्यावापृथिवी as the manifest form of the Unmanifest प्रजापति who is symbolised as क, and whose unknowable form is the ultimate object of our oblations. In a clearly worded stanza of the Prajāpati Sūkta, we find a fourfold statement :

आपो ह यद्बृहतीर्विश्वमायन् गर्भं दधाना जनयन्तीरग्निम् ।
ततो देवानां समवर्ततासुरेकः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

(ऋ० १०।१२१।७)

(1) बृहतीः आपः— The Great Waters, same as the समुद्र, आपः, or Purāṇic अप एव सप्तर्जदौ, or आपो नाराः.

(2) विश्वं गर्भं दधानाः— The Universe was its germ, womb or child :

अग्निर्हि नः प्रथमजा ऋतस्य ।

(ऋ० १०।५।७)

अपां सखा प्रथमजा ऋतावा कस्विज्जातः कुत आबभूव ॥

(ऋ० १०।१६८।३)

(3) जनयन्तीरग्निम्— That Germ was Agni, the Child of Waters; and Sūrya or Indra is but a form of that Agni. अग्नि is the first-born of ऋत or बृहतीः आपः.

(4) देवानाम् असुः— The अग्नि thus produced as the womb of waters is the unique Spirit (असुः=प्राणः) of all the 'Gods' (अग्नि=प्राण=समञ्जन-प्रसारण, Cosmic Pulsation). He is the Hiranyagarbha, same as the सत्यनारायण सूर्य of the Purāṇas, and the सत्यधर्मा of the R̥gveda (X. 121. 9).

The हिरण्यगर्भ is the emergence of सत्य against the substratum of ऋत, or the Infinite Universal, called Parameshthi (ऋतमेव परमेष्ठि). The Vedic-cum-Purāṇic formula is :—

सत्य=हिरण्य=प्राण=अग्नि=सूर्य=नारायण

2. एकार्णवविधि

In Purāṇic terminology, the expanded Ocean at the time of dissoution is called सलिल (हरिवंश ३।१०।१), महार्णव, एकार्णव, अगाध स्तब्ध सलिल (हरिवंश ३।१०।३४), or युगान्त तोय (भागवत ३।८।२३). The Harivamśa goes a step further and describes the primeval watery floods as enveloped by a nebulous frost :

यथा चैकार्णवजले नीहारेण वृत्तान्तरे ।

अव्यक्तभीषणे लोके सर्वभूतविवर्जिते ॥

(हरि० ३।१०।३१)

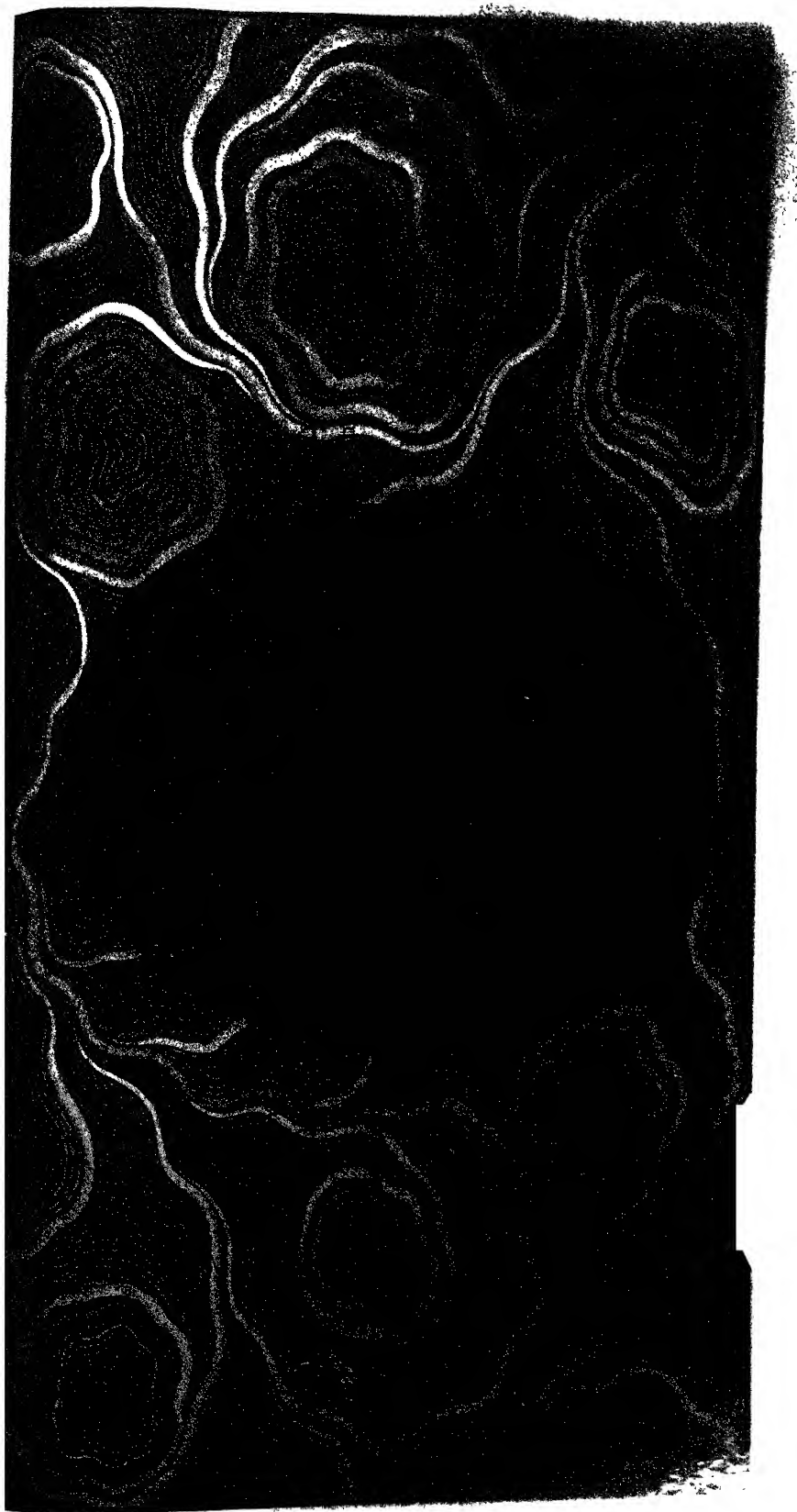
In its unmanifest form, when all sentient beings are non-existent, and everything is covered by darkness, the single Ocean looks formidable. All the divided units of creation are disrupted and drawn together into a single watery mass :

भूत्वा नारायणो योगी नमःशक्तिर्विष्णुः ।

गभस्तिभिः प्रदीप्ताभिः संशोषयति सागरान् ॥ १

पीत्वाऽर्णवांश्च सर्वान् सनदीः कूपांश्च सर्वशः ।

पर्वतानां च सलिलं सर्वं पीत्वा च रश्मिभिः ॥ २



भित्वा सहस्रशश्चैव महीं नीत्वा रसातलम् ।
 रसातलजलं कृत्स्नं पिबते रसमुत्तमम् ॥ ३
 अप्सु सृजन् क्लेदमन्यद्दाति प्राणिनां ध्रुवम् ॥ ४

(हरि० ३।९)

Nilakanṭha translates अप्सु as कारण ब्रह्मणि, the Transcendent Brahman as the ultimate cause of the created worlds.

As a matter of fact आपः is equivalent to all the possibilities of Existence, which are withdrawn into their primal source when dissolution takes place.

In terms of Jungian psychology this state may be compared to the *humidum radicle*, the root-moisture, the spirit of life, not only indwelling in all living beings, but immanent in everything that exists.

This Flood of Life breaks up its individuation and is withdrawn into its universal source, the Ocean :

समुद्रं वः प्रहिणोमि स्वां योनिमपीतना ।

(अथर्व १०।५।२३)

The watery floods of this Ocean enshrine within their womb what is variously known as अपां वत्स, अपां वृषभ, अपां हिरण्यगर्भं, दिव्य अश्मा पृथिवी, अग्नि and the याजुष पुरुष, symbolising the conjoint principle of movement and stasis (गति-स्थिति) (Atharvaveda, X. 5. 15-21).

3. निद्रागतनारायण

The most characteristic divine feature associated with the oceanic equilibrium of Energy is the conception of नारायण—

एकार्णवे तु त्रैलोक्ये ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः ।

भोगिशय्यागतः शेते त्रैलोक्यग्रासवृंहितः ॥

(विष्णु० १।३।२४)

Brahmā and Nārāyaṇa are identical divinities, who, having withdrawn the three worlds into their person, sleep on the cosmic

serpent called Ananta Śeṣha. [See also, Viṣṇu, 1. 3, 3, 1. 4. 1, 1. 4. 4-5 for ब्रह्मा = नारायण].

The principle of sleep (निद्रा) is the same as the principle of Rest or Stasis (स्थिति). नारायण is the same as स्थाणु, the fixed eternal, changeless Divinity, called एकम् (the One without a second), अज (Unborn), अव्यक्त, पुरुष, अनादि काल, कारण, केवल, नित्य, सदसदात्मक, etc. These epithets are often repeated in the Purāṇas with many additional ones.¹ Some of these correspond to those used in the नासदीयसूक्त—

नाहो न रात्रिर्न नभो न भूमिर्नासीत् तमो ज्योतिरभून्न चान्यत् ।

श्रोत्रनिवृत्त्यानुपलभ्यन्नेकं प्राधानिकं ब्रह्म पुमांस्तदासीत् ॥

(विष्णु० १।२।२३)

The author of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa explicitly mentions this doctrine to have been developed by the Brahmovādins of the Vedas (वेदवादविदो विद्वन्मियता ब्रह्मवादिनः । पठन्ति चैतमेवार्थम्...१।२।२२).

1. परः पराणां परमः परमात्मा पितामहः ।
 रूपवर्णादिरहितो विशेषणविवर्जितः ॥ १ ॥
 अपक्षयविनाशाभ्यां परिणामार्थिजन्मभिः ।
 गुणैर्विवर्जितः सर्वैः स भार्ताति हि केवलम् ॥ २ ॥
 सर्वत्रासौ समश्चापि वसन्ननुपमो मतः ।
 भावयन् ब्रह्मरूपेण विद्वद्भिः परिपठ्यते ॥ ३ ॥
 तद्ब्रह्म परमं नित्यमजमक्षयमव्ययम् ।
 एकस्वरूपं च सदा हेयाभावाच्च निर्मलम् ॥ ३^१ ॥
 तदेतत् सर्वमेवैतद् व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपवत् ।
 तथा पुरुषरूपेण कालरूपेण च स्थितम् ॥ ४ ॥
 परस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपं पुरुषः प्रथमो द्विज ।
 व्यक्ताव्यक्ते तथैवान्ये रूपे कालस्तथापरम् ॥ ४^१ ॥
 प्रधानपुरुषव्यक्तकालानां परमं हि यत् ।
 पश्यन्ति सूरयः शुद्धं तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥ ४^२ ॥
 प्रधानं एस्पव्यक्तकालास्तु प्रविभागशः ।
 रूपाणि स्थितिसर्गान्तव्यक्तिसद्भावहेतवः ॥ ४^३ ॥
 व्यक्तं विष्णुस्तथाव्यक्तं पुरुषः काल एव च ।
 क्रीडतो बालकस्येव चेष्टां तस्य निशामय ॥ ४^४ ॥

नारायण denotes the Transcendental Divine Power as the substratum of Infinite Nature (प्रधान). The Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad explains Nārāyaṇa in a grand equation as follows :

एष हि खल्वत्मेशानः शंभुर्भवो रुद्रः प्रजापतिर्विश्वनृग्विरण्यगर्भः ।
सत्यं प्राणो हंसः शास्ता विष्णुर्नारायणेऽर्कः सविता वाता विधाता सम्राडिन्द्र इन्दुरिति ।
(मैत्रा० ६।८)

शेष and विष्णु are correlative terms. वेवेष्टि व्याप्नोति इति विष्णुः,— Vishṇu is that aspect of the Divine Power which is comprehended in the created cosmos and thus made finite. That which remains beyond is truly called शेष—The Remainder. Vishṇu is relative and Śeṣha is absolute ; Vishṇu is finite and Śeṣha is infinite. The relationship between the relative and the absolute aspects of Divinity is expressed as 'Vishṇu resting or sleeping on Śeṣh, the Ananta or Infinite One.' It is a cogent and complete iconographic formula, viz. that of शेषशायी विष्णु.

4. स्वयम्भू प्रजापति

We may briefly explain here the cosmogonic doctrine given in the beginning of the Manu Smṛiti.

आसीदिदं तमोभूतमप्रज्ञानरुक्षगम् ।
अप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयं प्रसुप्तमिव सर्वतः ॥
ततः स्वयंभूर्भगवानव्यक्तो व्यञ्जयन्निदम् ।
महाभूतादि वृत्तौजाः प्रादुरासीत्तमोनुदः ॥
योऽसावतीन्द्रियग्राह्यः सूक्ष्मोऽव्यक्तः सनातनः ।
सर्वभूतमयोऽचिन्त्यः स एव स्वयमुद्भवौ ॥

The unmanifest (अव्यक्त) is described as तमोभूत, (enveloped in darkness ; cf. तम आसीत्तमसागूढमग्रे, Rīgveda 10. 129. 3), अप्रज्ञात-अरुक्षण-अप्रतर्क्य, unknown and unknowable (cf. अप्रज्ञेतं of the Rīgveda, 10. 129. 3), प्रसुप्तमिव सर्वतः, which has reference to the Purāṇic imagery of Viṣṇu sleeping on शेष. He is also spoken of as the subtle, eternal, unmanifest principle, the cause of the gross

material elements, and itself beyond the ken of the senses. Such a divinity is called Svayambhū, the self-existent. He is essentially self-centred, वृत्तौजाः, i. e. whose ओजस् or power is originally introverted on himself, but which he releases for the sake of manifestation (व्यञ्जयन्निदम्). Then primeval darkness is dispelled (तमोनुदः) and the imprisoned forces become operative or extrovertly directed (प्रादुरासीत्).

He who is स्वयम्भू creates out of his own body by the power of meditation or तपस्, the succeeding principle called परमेष्ठी, or आपः, the universal mother in whose womb the seed of creation is deposited.

Of this pair स्वयम्भू is the Fiery principle, the Father, that deposits the seed ; and परमेष्ठी is the Watery principle, the Mother, that receives the seed of the cosmos in its womb :

सोऽभिध्याय शरीरात्स्वात्सिसृक्षुर्विविधाः प्रजाः ।

अप एव ससर्जादौ तासु बीजमवासृजत् ॥

(मनु० १।८)

बीज is the same as भुवनस्य रेतः of the R̥igveda आपः is the same as विराज्, or महत्, or अण्ड, the egg.

When the creative seed has been received within it, the cosmic egg becomes the Golden Germ (हिरण्यगर्भ), the same as हैम अण्ड or Golden Egg. The creative seed of स्वयम्भू प्रजापति is called हिरण्य, 'Gold', which is the symbol of Fire (अग्नि), or सूर्य, or प्राण, or the eternally energised force of cosmic pulsation (समञ्चन-प्रसारणम्), an unending rhythm of expansion and contraction that is called काल (Time) or संवत्सर.

Manu uses the three terms नर, नार and नारायण, which should be clearly distinguished. स्वयम्भू प्रजापति is नर, परमेष्ठी प्रजापति is नार and हिरण्यगर्भ प्रजापति is नारायण. When he speaks of सर्वलोक-पितामह, he refers to स्वयम्भू and there is a reason behind it.

In the शतपथब्राह्मण, creation is described as the कामप्र यज्ञ of प्रजापति—

ता वा एताः पंचदेवता एतेन कामप्रेण यज्ञेनायजन्त

(शतपथ ११।१।६।१।२०)

The Five Deities mentioned here are named as :

१. स्वयम्भू प्रजापति
२. परमेष्ठी
३. सूर्य (=इन्द्र)
४. अग्नि
५. सोम

Amongst them परमेष्ठी (the universal principle which is fecundated) is called प्राजापत्य, son of स्वयम्भू प्रजापति. स्वयम्भू is the father of परमेष्ठी--

स परमेष्ठी प्रजापतिं पितरमब्रवीत् कामप्रंवाऽअहं

यज्ञमदर्शम्, तेन त्वायाजयानोति

(शतपथ ११।१।६।१७)

परमेष्ठी discovered the कामप्र यज्ञ (the creative process by which the universe is brought into existence as fulfilling the काम of the Creator). On the one hand he associated the self-existent स्वयम्भू, his Father, and on the other इन्द्र his son. This इन्द्र is सूर्य, हिरण्यगर्भ, and हिरण्यगर्भ, typifying the Twin Pair of अग्नीषोम. The latter are called the Two Brothers (स इन्द्रोऽग्नीषोमौ भ्रातरावब्रवीत् । अनेन वा कामप्रेण यज्ञेन याजयानि, येन मामिदं पिता प्रजापतिरयायजदिति, श्रु० ११।१।६।१९). The Twin Brothers अग्नि and सोम fulfil this creative process by अग्नि playing the role of अन्नाद and by सोम that of जल. The eater of food and food refer to the process of assimilation and elimination, or the function of the वैश्वानर Fire in each individual centre of Life or Prāṇa. The grand कामप्र sacrifice of the Creator is his manifestation as प्राण in each and every centre :

स इष्ट्वा कामयताहमेवेदं सर्वं स्यामिति ।

स प्राणोऽभवत् प्राणो वाऽइदं सर्वम् अयं वै प्राणो योऽयं पवते ।

(श्रुत० ११।१।६।१७)

‘Having performed the क्लमप्र sacrifice, he desired—‘may I become This All (i.e. the universe).’ He then became प्राण, for प्राण is this All. This Vāyu (as the symbol of movement) is प्राण.’

प्राण or Life is the principle of cosmic pulsation, the rhythm that is the soul and essence of हिरण्यगर्भ, manifesting within its centre as अग्नि and सोम, as the positive and negative, or the male and female aspects of energy. The Atharva refers to these as the two Fires, one cold (हिम) and the other hot (व्रंस, अथर्व १३।१।४६, तत्रैतावनी आद्यत हिमं व्रंसं च रोहितः). यज्ञ is a creative process being the outcome of the mingling of hot and cold :

स्वर्विदो रोहितस्य ब्रह्मणाग्निः समिध्यते ।

तस्माद् व्रंसस्तस्माद्विमस्तस्माद्यज्ञोऽजायत ॥

The रोहित or the Ruddy is अक्षर, i.e. अग्नि or हिरण्यगर्भ, the Golden Egg quickened with Life, invested with the Twin Fires of heat and cold. ,

5. क्षोभ

The Purāṇas refer to the principle of क्षोभ, ‘agitation,’ ‘movement’, as an essential step to creation. It signifies the awaking of Viṣṇu from sleep. It is variously described as गुणवैषम्य, परिसफुरण, विस्पन्दन.

The Liṅga Purāṇa explains it as follows :--

साधर्म्येणावतिष्ठेते प्रधानगुणानुभौ ।

तमः सत्त्वरजोपेतौ समत्वेन व्यवस्थितौ ॥ ७२

अनुपृक्तावभूतां तावोतप्तौ परस्परम् ।

गुणसाम्यो ल्यो ज्ञेयो वैषम्ये सृष्टिरुच्यते ॥ ७३

उपास्य रजनीं कृत्स्नां परां माहेश्वरीं तथा ।

अहमुत्वे प्रवृत्तश्च परः प्रकृतिसम्भवः ॥ ७५

क्षोभयामास योगेन परेण परमेश्वरः । ७६

(लिङ्ग १।७०)

The Supreme Lord by his Yogic power agitated both प्रकृति and पुरुष to emerge from the state of गुणसाम्य to गुणवैषम्य and thereby start the creative process. Maheshvara created the trinitarian principle of the three Gods, the three Gunas, the three Fires and the three Worlds :

महेश्वरात् त्रयो देवा जज्ञिरे जगदोश्वरात् ।

शाश्वताः परमा गुह्याः सर्वात्मानः शरीरिणः ॥ ७७

एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ।

एत एव त्रयो लोका एत एव त्रयोऽग्नयः ॥ ७८

(लिंग० १।७०)

According to the देवीभागवत when योगनिद्रा entered the body of विश्व, he was rendered अचेतन and स्पन्दवर्जित (देवी० १।१।७।१८). By the miraculous power of वाक् which is fiery energy, तामसी निद्रा was ejected out of Vishnu's body and He was roused to activity :

एवं स्तुता तदा देवी तामसी तत्र वेधसा ।

निःसृत्य हरिदेहात् संस्थिता पार्श्वतस्तदा ।

विस्पन्दितशरीरोऽसौ यदा जातो जनार्दनः ।

धाता परमिकां प्राप्नो मुदं दृष्ट्वा हरिं ततः ॥

(देवी० १।७।४८, ५०)

एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो देवा ब्रह्माविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।

रवःसत्त्वतमोभिश्च संयुताः कार्यकारकाः ॥

In the cosmic egg (ब्रह्माण्ड) there is nothing higher than the principle of the Triple Gunas or the Three Gods, which is the effective cause of all activity—

The agitated त्रैगुण्य belongs to प्रकृति—

प्रकृतिः क्षोभमापन्ना पुरुषाख्ये जगद्गुरौ ।

महान् प्रादुरमूढ् बुद्धिस्ततोऽहं समवर्तत ॥

अहंकाराच्च सूक्ष्माणि तन्मात्राणीन्द्रियाणि च ।

(बृहन्नारदीय० ३।३।१-३२)

The great पुरुष, either as स्थाणु महेश्वर, or as निद्रागत विष्णु represents the principle of स्थिति, immovable being, symbolising resistance to all motion, whereas प्रकृति is the excited condition of movement—

स एव क्षोभकः पूर्व स क्षोभ्यः प्रकृतेः पतिः ।

स संकोचविकाशाभ्यां प्रधानत्वेऽपि च स्थितः ॥ १२

उत्पन्नः स जगन्नोनिर्गुणोऽपि रजोगुणम् ।

भुंजन् प्रवर्तते सर्गे ब्रह्मत्वं सन्नुपाश्रितः ॥ १३

रजो ब्रह्मा तमो रुद्रो विष्णुः सत्त्वं जगत्पतिः ।

एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ॥ १८॥

(मार्कण्डेय० अ० ४६)

शिवेच्छया परा शक्तिः शिवतत्त्वैकतां गता ।

ततः परिस्फुरत्यादौ सर्गे तैलं तिलादिव ॥ १८

तस्यां विशोभ्यन्नाथाः शिवो नादः समुद्भवौ ॥ १९

(शिव०, वायवीयसंहिता, २।४)

The principle of क्षोभ is the same as रजस्, अक्षर, अद्वैत, शक्ति, क्रिया, काल, etc. All these variant terms are used in the Purāṇas.¹

1. सैका परा च चिद्रूपा शक्तिः प्रजवधर्मिणी ।

विभज्य बहुधा विश्वं विदधाति शिवेच्छया ॥ १५ ॥

एकधा च द्विधा चैव तथा शतसहस्रधा ।

शक्तयः खलु भिद्यन्ते बहुधा व्यवहारतः ॥ १७ ॥

(शिव पु०, वायवीय सं०, २।४)

स्त्रीपुंसप्रभवं विश्वं स्त्रीपुंसात्मकमेव च ।

(शिव०, वाय० सं०, २।४।३७)

ईशो वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो य एको दिवि तिष्ठति ।

येनेदमखिलं पूर्णं पुरुषेण महात्मना ॥ ६ ॥

एको बहूनां जन्तूनां निष्क्रियाणां च सक्रियः ।

य एको बहुधा बीजं करोति स महेश्वरः ॥ ७ ॥

यदिदं क्षरमव्यक्तं यदप्यमृतमक्षरम् ।

तावुभाक्षरात्मानावेको देवः स्वयं हरः ॥ १२ ॥

अयं मुक्तो मोचकश्च ह्यकालः कालचोदकः ॥ १७ ॥

(शिव०, वाय० २।४)

We may go back to the Asyavāmiya Sūkta of the R̥gveda where the releasing of the waters of the Ocean is called अश्विक्विरण (R̥ V. 1.164.42), kindred to the Purāṇic परिस्फुरण, विसन्दन etc.

The account in the Harivaṁśa brings in Vasishṭha as the R̥ishi 'born from the jar' (कुम्भसंभवः) who performed तपस् and created the worlds. From his abode in the midst of the Ocean he slightly agitated its waters, and this initial trembling gradually increased so that by its mounting momentum it threw the whole sea into churning convulsions and dimensional waves and from whose friction the fire called Vaiśvānara was produced.¹

According to the Brāhmaṇas, वसिष्ठ is the designation of प्रजापति, अग्नि and प्राण.² The Vasus are प्राणः and वसिष्ठ is therefore the foremost प्राण, viz. the मध्यप्राण, which begins the process of life and is called इन्ध, and esoterically इन्द्र. He is the enkindled

1. आपवः स विभुर्भूत्वा कारयामास वै तपः ।
छादयिस्वाऽऽत्मनो देहमात्मना कुम्भसंभवः ॥ १ ॥
ततो महात्माऽतिबलो मतिं लोकस्य सज्जेने ।
महतां पञ्चभूतानां विश्वभूतो व्यचिन्तयत् ॥ २ ॥
तस्य चिन्तयतस्तत्र तपसा भावितात्मनः ।
निराकाशे तोयमये सूक्ष्मे जगति गह्वरे ॥ ३ ॥
ईषत्संक्षोभयामास सोऽर्णवं सलिले स्थितः ।
सोऽनन्तरोर्मिणा सूक्ष्ममथच्छिद्रमभून्तदा ॥ ४ ॥
तत्र शब्दगतिर्भूत्वा मास्तद्रवसंभवः ।
स लब्ध्वाऽऽन्तरमक्षोभ्यो व्यवर्धत समीरयः ॥ ५ ॥
विवर्धता बलवता तेन संक्षोभितोऽर्णवः ।
अन्योन्यवेगाभिहता ममन्थुश्चर्मयो भृशम् ॥ ६ ॥
महार्णवरय क्षुब्धस्य तस्मिन्ममसि मथ्यति ।
कृष्णवर्त्मा समभवत्प्रमुदैश्वानरोऽर्चिमात् ॥ ७ ॥
(हरिवंश-३/११)
2. प्रजापतिवै वसिष्ठः, कौषीतकी ब्रा० २५१२
अग्निवै देवानां वसिष्ठः, शत० १४११/२/१४
प्राणो वै वसिष्ठः ऋषिः, शत० ४११/११६

flame of life in each Jar, i. e. in the conjoint form of each द्यावापृथिवी unit. In the शान्तिपर्वन् (३२९।२०) वसिष्ठ is called हिरण्यगर्भ, the son of हिरण्यगर्भ प्रजापति.

6. आपो नाराः

With reference to the एकार्णव विधि, the Purāṇas frequently cite the following verse of the Manu Smṛiti, either as it is or with variants :

आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः ।

ता यदस्यायनं पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥

(मनु० १।१०; ब्रह्म पु० ५६।१२, ६०।२५; वायु ५।३८)

The शान्तिपर्वन् has it as follows :

नराणामयनं ख्यातमहमेकः सनातनः ।

आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः ।

अयनं मम तत्पूर्वमतो नारायणो ब्रह्म ॥

Also उद्योगपर्व ६८।१०—

नराणामयनाच्चापि तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ।

This was an ancient गथा of which the मानव version is the oldest form preserved. Later it became the creed of the भागवतस in variant forms. The doctrine formed part of the Vedic cosmogony according to which Waters existed in the beginning (आपो ह वाऽऽदमग्रे सलिलमेवास, श० ११।१।६।१), and they gave birth to Agni which is अपां गर्भः, or अपां वत्सः. Agni is verily हिरण्यगर्भ, सत्य, नारायण, सूर्य, प्राण.

7. अण्ड

अग्नि meditated upon आपः, united with it and produced the principle of हिरण्य, i. e. pulsating life or the impregnated Egg. हिरण्य is the seed of Agni (अग्ने रेतो हिरण्यम्, श० २।२।३।२८).

अण्ड or Egg is an important symbol in the generative process of life. अण्ड is the same as विराज् (यस्मादण्डं विराज् जज्ञे भूतेन्द्रियगुणात्मकः,

भाग० २।६।२ ; also २।५।३४-३५). Virāj is the mother principle, सोम or आपः, or परमेष्ठी--

यस्मिन् विराट् परमेष्ठी प्रजापतिरग्निर्वैश्वानरः सह पंक्त्या श्रितः ।

यः परस्य प्राणं परमस्य तेन आददे ॥

(अथर्व १३।३।५)

As प्राण enkindles the *ādhyātmika* centre and the Sun heats the *adhidairata* or cosmos, so does the indwelling Purusha heat the Virāj both from inside and outside (स्वधिष्ठं प्रतपन् प्राणो वहिश्च प्रतपत्यसौ । एवं विराजं प्रतपंस्तपत्यन्तर्बहिः पुमान् ॥ भाग० २।६।१६). There are two categories, the first is called विराट् or परमेष्ठी, and the second अग्नि वैश्वानर or प्राण. This refers to the two stages of the egg, viz. the ovum in the mother and its quickening by the seed of the father after which it becomes the fertilised egg.

In the दाक्षायणी सूक्त of the ऋग्वेद, the two stages of the Egg are clearly distinguished. Aditi, the Infinite Mother gave birth to eight sons who sprang to life from her body. With seven she went to meet the Gods, and the eighth was Mārtaṇḍa which she cast far away (परा मार्तण्डगरन् ऋ० १०।७२।८). The Seven Gods constitute together the active energising principles of Life, Mind and Matter as the Seven Prāṇas or the Seven Vasus. The eighth मार्तण्ड is dormant, when thrown outside the bounds of Time (काल, संवत्सर). When Aditi unites मार्तण्ड with the cycle of birth and death (प्रजायै नृत्यवे त्वत्), which is the same as the wheel of Time (संवत्सर चक्र), the cast away मार्तण्ड is revived as the yonder Sun or Hiranyagarbha. The fecundating principle of विराज् is काल, the universal propeller (चोदक), that imparts movement or rhythmic pulsation to all centres of manifest life. काल is नारायण पुरुष, विष्णु who enters all beings as the Thread Spirit and quickens them. In the Bhāgavata, the dormant egg is called अजीव and the active one जीव (वर्षपूग सहस्रांते तदण्डमुदकेशयम् । कालकर्मस्वभावस्थो जीवोऽजीवमजीवयत् ॥ २।६।३४). विष्णु when he awakens from sleep accepts three principles of काल, कर्म and स्वभाव with which he quickens the active egg.

As in the Śatapatha : Verily in the beginning this (universe) was water (आपः), nothing but a sea of excited water (सलिल). Th

waters (as the all-pervasive mother) desired, 'How can we be reproduced?' They toiled and performed *tapas*. When they were becoming heated, a golden egg was produced (हिरण्यम् आण्डम् संबभूव). The year (संवत्सर), indeed, was not then in existence : this golden egg floated about for as long as the space of a year. In a year's time पुरुष was produced therefrom : he is प्रजापति.' (Śatapatha, 11. 1. 6. 1-2).

In manifestation प्रजापति becomes twofold, viz. यज्ञ and संवत्सर. The यज्ञ form is विराज् or the egg, and संवत्सर the unit of time for the maturity of that egg. When the Creator has completed the span of one year, or the single revolving unit of time, He becomes सहस्रायु, i. e. destined to live a thousand years or up to the end of creation.

प्रजापति completed the span of a year, he stood up and broke open the golden egg :

संवत्सरे हि प्रजापतिरजायत । स इदं हिरण्यमाण्डं व्यरुजत् ।

(शत० ११।१।६।२)

When the egg broke, the three worlds, द्यौः पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं, which constitute the space of each individuating centre, were produced from it :

तस्मिन्ने स भगवानुप्तिवा परिवत्सरम् ।

स्वयमेवात्मनो ध्यानात्तदण्डमकरोद्विधा ॥

ताभ्यां स शकलाभ्यां च दिवं भूमिं च निर्ममे ।

मध्ये व्योम दिग्गश्चाप्रादगां स्थानं च शाश्वतम् ॥

(मनु १।१२।१३)

The principle of संवत्सर is equivalent to the two integrated units of expansion and contraction (संकोच-विकास, विष्णु० १।२।३१), the two wings of the golden Bird of Time (हिरण्यपक्ष शकुनि) who flaps his pinions for a thousand years :

यः सहस्रसमे सत्रे जज्ञे विश्वसृजामृषिः ।

हिरण्यवर्णः शकुनिस्तस्मै हंसात्मने नमः ॥

(शान्तिपर्व, ४७।२९)

He is the golden goose destined to be on wings in a flight to heaven for *a thousand days' duration*.

सहस्राक्षं वियतावस्य पक्षौ हरेर्हसस्य पततः स्वर्गम् ।

(अथर्व १३।३।१४)

Gold (हिरण्य) is a favourite epithet in Vedic symbolism. Vṛātya Prajāpati, intent on creating life, has a vision of gold within himself and then he engenders :

स प्रजापतिः स्वर्गमात्मन्नपश्यत्तत्प्राजयन् ।

(अथर्व १५।१।२)

सुवर्णं or हिरण्य, is the seed (रेतः) which is the universal cause of generation, and is the same as प्राण,

The significance of 'Golden Egg' floating in the waters for a year was thus well understood in Vedic and Purāṇic cosmogony. Its name as प्रजापति or नारायण विष्णु made no change to the basic idea. It is the active centre of सत्य in the watery ocean of ऋत. आपः or ऋत points to the all-pervasive primordial matter, defined as यदाप्रोत् तस्मादपः (श० ६।१।१९; अद्विर्वाऽइदं सर्वमाप्तम्, श० १।१।१९४, same as एकार्षन्, 'the One Ocean').

हिरण्यगर्भ is the unit of life, the egg, that has the indwelling spirit within it, that is destined, because of the power of life, to be born and to die again (प्रजायै सृत्यवे त्वत्). The अण्ड is defined as the विराज् with ब्रह्मा entering it and being born again as अधिपुरुष (cf. भाग० ३।६।४). The latter is the same as वैराज मनु, i. e. Manu or Mind as the offspring of विराज्, the same as विवस्वान्. The Sun is verily the object of these symbols :

हिरण्यवर्णं यं गर्भमदितिर्देत्यनाशनम् ।

एकं द्वादशधा जज्ञे तस्मै सूर्यात्मने नमः ।

(शान्तिपर्व, ४७।२३)

हिरण्यगर्भ is सूर्य, the womb of the Great Mother Goddess Aditi. He is the रोहित, the Red One (अथर्व० १३।१।१), concealed within the Ocean (यो अप्स्वन्तः) and now thrown up by the

concentrated force of the universal creative laws, as the most perfect visible symbol in the whole of the creation. Homage is paid to him under many names: रुद्र, महादेव, अर्यमा, वरुण, अग्नि, सूर्य, महायम (अथर्व० १३।४।४-५). He represents the ten calves with a single head (तं वत्सा उपतिष्ठन्त्येकशीर्षाणि युता दश, अथर्व० १३।४।६), i.e. the perfect symbol of विराज् which has ten constituent elements. As इन्द्र he shines in the centre of the heavens—

स इन्द्रो भूत्वा तपति मध्यतो दिवम् ।

(अथर्व० १३।३।१३)

He is सविता, also called महेन्द्र, the Mighty Indra (अथर्व० १३।४।१-२).

It may be mentioned that the Purāṇas define the Egg as consisting of seven constituents, viz. Mahat or Buddhi, Ahaṁkāra, and the Five Tanmātrās (महदाद्या विशेषान्ता ह्यण्डमुत्पादयन्ति ते, विष्णु० १।२।५०, लिंग० १।३।१८; Kirfel, ibid., p. 9). The egg is nothing else except an envelope of these seven, viz. Manas, Prāṇa and the Five Elements. Each individual centre is an egg, having its प्रजापति ब्रह्मा, and a whole miniature universe within it:

तस्मिन्नण्डे त्विमे लोका अन्तर्विश्वमिदं जगत् ।

अण्डं दशगुणेनैव वारिणा प्रावृतं बहिः ॥

(लिंग० १।३।२९-३०)

The universe is equal to millions and billions of such eggs:

सप्ताण्डावरणान्याहुस्तस्यात्मा कमलासनः ।

कोटिकोटियुतान्यत्र चाण्डानि कथितानि तु ॥

(लिंग० १।३।३३)

As a side issue of the एकार्ष्वविधि is the description of ऋषि मार्कण्डेय and the वत्पत्रशायी वालनारायण floating on the surface of the billowy ocean (हरिवंश, ३।१०।१२-६९). मार्कण्डेय is the ancient sage, (बहुवर्षसहस्रायु, हरि० ३।१०।३७) endowed with a life of many thousand years. He is the same as मार्तण्ड, whom divine mother Aditi brought to life for the cyclic process of प्रजनन and मृत्यु. मार्कण्डेय is thus the symbol of Time. मार्कण्डेय is the son of अंगिरा, the latter

being but another name of अग्नि, बालनारायण is the newly created life, the Young Boy, कुमार, who is fresh with every new lease of the creative process (नवो नवो भवति जायमानः). As the Babe, he typifies the Unconscious, that is bound to incarnate in creation as the conscious mind. He is described as engaged in his pastime (क्रीडा, लीला) for the purpose of creation, a natural spontaneous expression, involving no conscious effort.

8. PAINTING

The beautiful painting reproduced with this article is from an illustrated Bhāgavata manuscript which has now become dispersed. The painting is preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan museum of the Banaras Hindu University and is reproduced with the kind permission of its Director, Rai Krishnadasa.

The painting belongs to the best phase of the Pahari School of Kangra and may be assigned to circa 1775-1800 A. D. It is the work of a genius, a rare example of symbolic illustration cultivated under the Pahari idiom. The billowy ocean, its mounting waves and turning watery spirals are depicted with grand success and their harmonious effect becomes impressed on the mind. Against a blue blackground is depicted हिरण्यगर्भ, the Golden Egg, radiant with brilliant gold. The miniature is an æsthetic creation of charming quality both for its drawing and colour. In its silent way it imparts a meaning that is deep beyond words. On the reverse is inscribed the following śloka of श्रीमद्भागवत--

हिरण्यगर्भः स पुरुषः सहस्रपरिवत्सरान् ।

आण्डकोश उवासाप्सु सर्वसत्त्वोपवृंहितः ॥

(भाग० ३।६।६)

'With Water all round, lay within the shell of the Egg, the Golden Purusha, with his team of universal beings, for the duration of a thousand years.' The golden radiance of the Egg shining through its seven shells (सनावरण, विष्णु १।२।१०) is the Tapas or Prāṇic Power of नारायण पुरुष lying with it.

9. THE EGG-ITS MODERN VIEW

The quickened Egg is an important biological conception. Each individual animal begins life as an egg and attains maturity or its adult structure in a period (which constitutes his संवत्सर) arbitrarily determined. With perhaps a very few exceptions all multicellular animals reproduce sexually (cf. the Father-Mother, or Sky-Earth conception in the splitting of the egg). The Mother principle is the विराज् and the Father principle is the seed-depositing or quickening स्वयम्भू called नारायण, because he fixes his abode in the watery cell (नाराः, आपः, विराज्). The new individual obtains life by a fusion of the two cells, one, the spermatozoon being produced by the male, and the other, the ovum or egg (अण्ड) by the female parent. These two reproductive cells always differ greatly in size and appearance, but have an equal influence on the characters of the animal arising from their fusion. Fertilisation is the act of fusion of a spermatazoon or the male cell with an egg or the female ovum. This releases a series of most miraculous developments accompanied by the division of cells and successive cleavages which give rise to the central nervous system and the associated systems, like the respiratory, circulatory, digestive, excretory and procreative. This is a field of study of the modern science of embryology.

10. नारायणस्य चेष्टयानुप्रविष्टिमाण्डम्

In the Purāṇic accounts too, the egg is a complex structure in terms of its cosmogonic data. For example, it is stated in the Bhāgavata that the immobile (कूटस्थ) Purusha deposits its seed in the विराज् or अण्ड (egg), and with His divine potency known as काल (Time) the egg is entered simultaneously by twenty-three creative categories (त्रयोविंशतिकं गण) as follows :

१ महत्तत्त्व

२ अहंकार

३ मनस्

४-८ पंच ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि

९-१३ पंच कर्मेन्द्रियाणि

१४-१८ पंच तन्मात्राः

१९-२३ पंच भूतानि

These 23 Tattvas constitute the अविपूरुष within the womb of the egg known together as विश्ववृद्ध. By themselves these categories stand disconnected and therefore are unable to start the work of creation. Having entered all of these at one and the same time Nārāyaṇa as the अन्तर्यामी Purusha, unites them by His active power, and stimulates their dormant energy. When they are thus roused into activity, the twentythree categories, impelled as they are by God, evolve the cosmic as well as the individual Body out of their own parts and undergo transformation as a result of mutual cooperation :

सोऽनुप्रविष्टो भगवांश्चेष्टारूपेण तं गणम् ।

भिन्नं संयोजयामास सुप्तं कर्म प्रबोधयन् ॥ ३

प्रबुद्धकर्मा दैवेन त्रयोविंशतिको गणः ।

प्रेरितोऽजनयत् स्वाभिर्मात्राभिरधिपूरुषम् ॥ ४

परेण विशता स्वस्मिन् मात्रया विश्वसृग्गणः ।

चुक्षोभान्योऽन्यमासाद्य यस्मिंल्लोकाश्चराचराः ॥ ५

(भागवत ३।६)

Brahmā, Rudra and Vishṇu,—the three Gods or the Triple Guṇas—all dwell in the Egg, and a whole universe with its systems of many worlds inhere within the subtle womb of the Egg :

जलबुद्बुदवत्तस्मादवतोर्यः पितामहः ॥ २८

स एव भगवान् रुद्रो विष्णुर्विश्वमतः प्रभुः ।

तस्मिन्नण्डे त्विमे लोका अन्तर्विश्वमिदं जगत् ॥ २९

(लिंग० १।३)

The Egg is the material manifestation (प्राकृत सर्ग) of the Divine Person (पुरुषाधिष्ठित, लिंग० १।३।३९). The Divine Potency and the inherent energy of the Egg impel it to attain its numerical evolutions as One, Threefold and Tenfold.¹ The One is called its Centre (हृदय), the Three are *adhyātma*, *adhidaiva* and *adhibhūta*, and the Ten are the ten Prāṇic constituents of Virāj.²

Virāj is also the name of the Cosmic Cow (विराड् वै गौः, श० ७।५।२।१९ ; यजु १३।४३, गां मा हिंसीरदिति विराजम्). She is Aditi, the Universal Divine Mother, whose child is the fertilised Egg—हिरण्यगर्भ. He is सूर्य and its प्राण, the Life principle symbolised by the Sun (प्राणः प्रजानामुदयत्येष सूर्यः, सु० उ० ६।८). He is the Navel of Immortality (प्राणः प्रजानाममृतस्य नाभिः, अथर्व० १।१।४), the Dispenser of the immortal and the mortal in their respective spheres (निवेशयन्नमृतं मर्त्यं च, ऋ० १।३।५।२). Each centre of manifestation is a Golden Calf, produced from its Golden Egg. Homage to each हिरण्यगर्भ floating in its cosmic moisture and concealing within it all the possibilities of existence.

- १ स वै विश्वसृजां गर्भो देवकर्मात्मशक्तिवान् ।
 विवभाजात्मनात्मानसेकधा दशधा त्रिधा ॥७॥
 साध्यात्मः साधिदैवश्च साधिभूत इति त्रिधा ।
 विराट् प्राणो दशविध एकधा हृदयेन च ॥९॥

(भागवत० ३।६)

2. In Vedic data, the ten elements of विराज् include—1. प्राण, 2. देवता, 3. ऋतु, 4. दिक्, 5. छन्द, 6. स्तोम, 7. पृष्ठ, 8. साम, 9. प्रह, and 10. ऋषि (पं० मधुसूदन ओझा, महर्षिकुल वैभव, p. 227). These are the ten sons of वैराजमनु, the ten primeval Prajāpati Rishis named Bhrigu, Aṅgiras, Atri, Vasishṭha, Prachetas, Nārada, Marichi, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu (Manu 1.35).

IMPORTANT WORDS FROM THE PURĀṆAS

[In this standing column it is proposed to collect important words from the Purāṇas with short explanatory notes. Scholars are requested kindly to send their contributions. Each word-note will appear under the name of its contributor.—Editor].

[अस्यां टिप्पण्यां पुराणवाङ्मयस्य विशेषाः शब्दाः क्रमशो व्याख्याता भविष्यन्ति । तत्राद्ये स्थाने 'अरणिः' [= माता, जननी] 'मंडलिका' [= कूपिका, गंडकुसूलश्च] इति शब्दद्वयं संगृहीतम् ।]

(I) अरणि

The word अरणि denoted the churning fire-sticks to generate fire for the Yajña. In several Purāṇas it has been known in the special sense of 'mother', 'generatrix'. It appears that this special meaning developed in the Sanskrit speech of the Gupta period. The following examples have been noted during the course of my readings :

(१) गुहारणि = mother of गुह or कार्तिकेय—

ततो जगत्यानिप्राणहेतुर्दिमगिरिप्रिया ।

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते सुभगे व्यसूयत गुहारणिम् ॥

(मत्स्य० १५४।९६)

i.e. मेना, wife of Himalaya, gave birth to पार्वती who was to be the mother of गुह.

(२) विश्वारणि—

दाता महीभृतां नाथो होता देवश्चतुर्मुखः ।

वरः पशुपतिः साक्षात् कन्या विश्वारणिस्तथा ॥

(मत्स्य० १५४।४८४।४८५)

i.e., in the wedding ceremony, of Śiva and Pārvatī, Paśupati Śiva was the bridegroom, and Pārvatī, the mother of the universe (विश्वारणि), was the bride.

(३) वातारणि—

तत्राभिमानी भगवन्वायुश्चक्रिक्रियन्ऋक् ।

वातारणिः समाख्यातः शब्दशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥ (वायु० २।४४)

i.e., 'The presiding deity of the five organs of sense, whose special function is motion, is Vāyu who is called the 'mother' of, 'Vāta' by specialists in the science of etymology.

(४) सुरारणि—

महान्निर्गुणः ऊर्जा स्वाहां सुरारणिम् ।

स्वधाञ्चैव महाभागां प्रददौ च यथाक्रमम् ॥ (लिंग० १।५।१२)

i.e., प्रसूति gave birth from दक्ष to 24 daughters, including स्वाहा who became the 'mother of gods'.

(५) भार्गवारणि—

उपयेमे भृगुर्धीमान् ख्यातिं तां भार्गवारणिम् ।

(लिंग० १।५।२४)

i. e., Bhṛigu, the wise one, married ख्याति, who became the mother of भार्गव शु.क्र

(६) जगतोऽरणिः—

प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य च तां देवीं स जगतोऽरणीम् ।

किमर्थं तपसा लोकान् संतापयसि शैलजे ॥

(लिंग० १।१०।२।४)

i. e. शिव having respectfully gone round पार्वती, 'the mother of the world', enquired the cause of her austerities which were causing pain to the worlds.

Here the word-form in the printed text of जीवानन्द (Calcutta, 1885) is अरणी, but the short form अरणि suits the metre as well as in the following example.

(७) जगतोऽरणिः—

अथ सा तस्य वचनं निशम्य जगतोऽरणिः ।

विवेश दैवी देवस्य देवेशी जन्मतत्परा ॥

(लिंग० १।१०६।१०)

i. e. having heard his words, देवी पार्वती, 'mother of the worlds' entered the body of her Lord.'

(८) अमृतस्यारणि :—

अमृतस्यारणिस्त्वं हि देवयोनिरपां पते ।

वृजिनं हर मे सर्वं तीर्थराज नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

(ब्रह्म० ६०।४५)

While performing समुद्र-स्नान, one should recite :

'O lord of the waters, you are the progenitor of अमृत and womb of all the deities.'

(९) सुरारणि—

या च सा सुरभिर्नाम अदितिश्च सुरारणिः ।

तेऽप्युमे तस्य भार्ये वै तेनैव सह यास्यतः ॥

(हरिवंश० १।५५।२४)

'She who is named सुरभि, and she who is called अदिति, 'mother of the gods'—both were the wives of Kaśyapa.'

सुरारणिर्गर्भमघत्त दिव्यं तपःप्रकर्षाददितिः पुराणम् ।

(हरिवंश० १।४०।२५)

नीलकण्ठ—सुरारणिः देवमाता अदितिर्नाम ।

(१०) विषारणि—

दुःखोपसर्प्य तीरेषु ससर्पैर्विपुलैर्बिलैः ।

विषारणिभवस्यामेधूमेन परिवेष्टितम् ॥

(हरिवंश० २।११।४४)

नीलकण्ठ translates विषारण्यः as सर्पाः i. e. serpents which are the 'producers of poison.'

(११) नाभ्यारणि—

नाभ्यारण्यां समुत्पन्नं यस्य पैतामहं गृहम् ।

एकार्णवज्जलस्थस्य नष्टे स्थावरजंगमे ॥

(हरिवंश० १।४०।२१)

He from whose 'navel as the mother' was produced the abode of Brahmā, is Vishṇu sleeping in the waters of the primeval ocean,

नीलकंठ—नाभ्या नाभिदेशेन उपलक्षिता अरणिः मन्थनदण्डतुल्यं
नालं तस्यां नाभ्यारण्यां पैतामहं गृहं पद्मम् ।

It is doubtful if नीलकंठ is on the right track in taking अरणि as मन्थनदण्ड. The correct reading seems to be नाभ्यारण्यां (नाभि + अरणि) 'the navel as the mother of the (lotus that is the) abode of Brahmā.

It appears to me that this special figurative meaning of the word अरणि was a development in the Sanskrit language of the Gupta period. In confirmation of that, the following verse of the चतुर्भाषी may be cited :

एषा कामिकरांगुलिप्रियसखी नाभिहृदांभःस्रुतिः
विद्युत् क्षौमबलाहकस्य रुचिरा कार्कश्ययोग्यारणिः ।
मौर्वी कामशरासनस्य ललिता वाक् श्रोणिर्विवस्य ते
छिन्ना मानिनि मेखला रतिसुखाभ्यासाक्षमाला कथम् ॥

(धूर्तवित्संवाद, श्लोक १९)

The waist-band or girdle of the heroine is here described in several ways by comparing it to diverse objects and one of them is कार्कश्ययोग्यारणिः. The meaning is rather obscure, and I have explained it at length in the light of a reference from classical Sanskrit literature, viz. the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa (IV. 8), in my annotated edition of the Chaturbhāṇī (text and translation), p. 80, footnote १९(अ).^१ कार्कश्ययोग्या is a new word, signifying the मलखंभ exercise which imparts muscular firmness to the body of a wrestler, and is figuratively indicative of पुरुषायित रति by the heroine against the body of the hero. In such a situation the belt which was usually the zone of the heroine was tied by her to be the waist-band of the hero :

स्मरसि स्मर मेखलागुणैस्त गोत्रस्खलितेषु बन्धनम् ।

च्युतकेसरदूषितेक्षणान्यवतंसोत्पलताडनानि वा ॥

(कुमार० ४१८)

१. चतुर्भाषी, Published 1959, (Hindi Granth Ratnakar, Hirabagh, Bombay).

So the मेखला fastened to the hero was the 'mother of some tough erotic exercise' for the heroine.

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II. मण्डलिका

The word is used in the ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण—

चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणाश्च कृत्वा मण्डलिकां शुभाम् ।

तीर्थान्यावाहयेत्तत्र हस्तं दत्त्वा तपोधन ॥

(ब्रह्मखंड २६।६५)

To perform the daily ablution, one should prepare a मण्डलिका of the depth of 6 feet and invoke the celebrated tirthas by immersing one's hand in its water.

मण्डलिका is a new word, not recorded in the lexicons in this special sense, viz. 'a ring-well, a small reservoir of water,' which is made by superimposing a series of rings of baked clay. These have been found during archaeological excavations at many a historical site in north India. They served as temporary wells or storage devices for water and grain, or as soakage pits.

In the recently published Jaina text अंगविज्ञा, मंडलभूमि is mentioned as the place where such rings were fixed,¹ each of which was called a मंडल, and still bears the name मौडल in Bengal, and गौड in the Uttar Pradesh (derived from गंड).

The best example of its use is found in the Divyāvadāna (Cowell's edn., p. 359. 19) :

किं सर्षपेन समतां नयसीह मेरुं ।

स्रद्योतकेन रवि मण्डलिना समुद्रम् ॥

Edgerton explains it as 'a small body of water in contrast with the ocean, as a mustard-seed with Mt. Meru, or a firefly with the sun.' He, however, adds—'I cannot explain the word'

१. वायुध्वेषु वृत्चभूमीयं निधितं ति ब्रूया, मंडलभूमीगतं वा ब्रूया । Aṅgavijñā (Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi—5), p. 222,

(Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, p, 416). Now on the basis of the word मण्डल, 'a ring', it is possible to understand correctly the word मण्डलिन् and its alternative form मण्डलिका as 'a ring-well.' We also find its use in the सुभाषितत्रिशती of भर्तृहरि—

ब्रह्माण्डं मण्डलीमात्रं किं लाभाय मनस्विनः ।

शफरीस्फुरितेनाविधः क्षुब्धो न खलु जायते ॥

(वैराग्यशतक, श्लो० १२, D. D. Kosambi edn. from निर्णयसागर)

Here the whole universe is said to be of the limited capacity of a मण्डली and hence despised by the wise as being of no use to him.

Archaeologists have discovered that these ring-structures were put to a threefold use, viz. as (1) soakage pits, (2) storage jars, and (3) small water-reservoirs or wells. This is confirmed by the use of the words as recorded above.

The अंगविज्ञा reference to मण्डलभूमि as a pair word with वत्चभूमि, indicates its meaning as the place of a soakage-pit made by arranging a number of rings (*maṇḍulas*) one above the other.

The reference in the Vairāgya-Śataka of Bhartrihari to ब्रह्माण्ड being compared to a मण्डली indicates that the latter was a device for storage of grain, etc., having in its hollow a limited capacity. This was exactly what was also known as a गंड-कुपूल, where गण्ड is synonymous with मंडल (For गंडकुपूल, see हर्षचरित, Nirṇaya Śagara edn., VII. p. 230).

The Divyāvadāna mention of मण्डलिन् and the ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण reference to मण्डलिका both denote 'the temporary wells made of circular hoops of kiln-burnt earthenware for sides' (Grierson, *Behar Peasant Life*, 2nd edn., Patna, 1926, p. 205, para 924.)*

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* See also my note on *maṇḍalin* in the JAOS, Vol. 73 (1959), p. 30.

(नारायणमहार्णवः)

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

[मत्स्यपुराणे स्थलद्वये नारायणमहार्णवस्य वर्णनमुपलभ्यते ।
द्वादशार्कमयद्वीपः, रुद्रैकादशपत्तनः, वस्वटाचलसंयुक्तः इति विशेषणत्रयस्य प्राचीन-
भूगोलसंमता व्याख्याऽत्र क्रियते ।]

The Matsya Purāṇa contains a passage of great literary merit describing the Ocean as 'नारायणमहार्णवः'. The passage is repeated twice, in ch. 172 (ślokas 30b-37a) and in ch. 248 (ślokas 22b-26). The passage occurring in ch. 248 (Ān. edn.) is as follows :

द्वादशार्कमयद्वीपो रुद्रैकादशपत्तनः ॥२२
वस्वटाचलसंयुक्तस्त्रैलोक्याम्भोमहोदधिः । सिद्धसाध्योर्मिकलिलः सुपर्णानिलसेवितः ॥२३
दैत्यलोकमहाप्राहो रक्षोरगणषाकुलः । पितामहमहाधैर्यः स्वर्गस्त्रीरत्नभूषितः ॥२४
धौश्रीद्वीकान्तिभिर्निर्स्थं नदीभिरुपशोभितः । कालयोगमहापर्वप्रयागगतिवेगवान् ॥२५
त्वं स्वयोगमहावीर्यो नारायणमहार्णवः । कालो भूत्वा प्रसन्नाभिरद्भिर्हृदयसे पुनः ॥२६

Its correct textual position will be decided by the editor of the projected critical edition. We here give thought only to its interpretation.

The passage seeks to describe Nārāyaṇa as the great Ocean. From its phraseology we are, however, left free to interpret it the other way also, viz. to think of the Ocean as the very embodiment of Nārāyaṇa. To think both ways was in fact the accepted dictum of the poetic imagery during the Gupta age, as reflected in the following description given by Kālidāsa :

तां तामवस्थां प्रतिपद्यमानं स्थितं दश व्याप्य दिशो महिम्ना ।
विष्णोरिवास्यानवधारणीयं ईदृक्तया रूपमियत्तया वा ॥

(रघु० XIII. 5)

The two doctrines of ईदृक्ता and इयत्ता were elaborated in the metaphysics of the new Bhāgavata movement as recorded in the well-known अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता (ch. X). In the above verse the Ocean is made an object of their application.

Now turning to the Matsya passage, the Ocean is described as follows :—

(1) द्वादशार्कमयद्वीपः — Vishṇu as the son of Aditi is one of the twelve Ādityas, or the twelve Ādityas represent his various

forms. These are compared to the twelve Dvīpas of the Mahārṇava or the Indian Ocean, as reckoned at the time when the passage was compiled. We have varied references in Sanskrit literature to चतुर्द्वीप, सप्तद्वीप, त्रयोदशद्वीप¹ and अष्टादशद्वीप², besides the present one to द्वादशद्वीप. Bāṇa mentions several times the अष्टादशद्वीप conception³ of Bhāratavarsha. Two and a half centuries before him Kālidāsa had also referred to the King of Māhishmatī as 'अष्टादशद्वीपनिखातयूयः' (रघु०, VI, 38). The number 'eighteen' seems to have included the following names as may be compiled from references in the मञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प and other Purāṇic and literary sources :—

1. कुमारीद्वीप (which became the name of भारतवर्ष in the Gupta period), 2. इन्द्रद्वीप (Andamans), 3. कशेरुमान्, 4. ताम्रपर्णी (Ceylon), 5. गमस्तिमान्, 6. नागद्वीप (Nicobar), 7. सौम्यकद्वीप, 8. गन्धर्वद्वीप (or पण्युपायन), 9. वारुणद्वीप. (For these well-known nine Dvīpas see Matsya 114, 7-9; Vāyu 45, 78-80 and Mārkaṇḍeya 57, 6-7).

The मञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (Vol. II. p. 322) gives the following additional names :—

कर्मरङ्गद्वीप, नारिकेलद्वीप, वारुषकद्वीप, नमद्वीप, बलिद्वीप and यवद्वीप.

We also get the following names from other sources :—

1. cf. त्रयोदश समुद्रस्य द्वीपानश्नन् पुरुरवाः (आदिपर्व, Poona edn., 134. 19); त्रयोदशद्वीपवती मही च (आरण्यकपर्व, 70. 17); but the Vāyu Purāṇa reads अष्टादश समुद्रस्य द्वीपानश्नन् पुरुरवाः (2, 15).

2. cf. (a) इमान् अष्टादशद्वीपान् समुद्रान् सपर्वतान् (लिङ्ग पु० 20, 22)

(b) महालयविधानेन कृतवीर्यसुतो वली ।

अष्टादशानां द्वीपानामाधिपत्यमवाप्तवान् ॥

(स्कन्द०, ब्रह्मखण्ड, सेतुमाहात्म्य, 36, 189)

(c) ततो नलिकानिरूपमालिख्य फलके मया ।

मही साष्टादशद्वीपा परिक्रान्ता वरार्थिना ॥

(बुधश्रवामि कृत बृहत्कथाश्लोकसंग्रह, 19, 180)

3. (a) मूलतादिष्टादशद्वीपे दिलीपे (हर्षचरित, Nirṇaya Sāgar edn., 1925, VI, p. 179).

(b) अष्टादशद्वीपाष्टमंगलकमालिनी मेदिनी (Ibid., p. 185).

(c) अष्टादशद्वीपजैतव्याधिकारे (Ibid., p. 203).

(d) अष्टादशद्वीपमालिनी मेदिनी (कादम्बरी, P. L. Vaidya edn., p. 201)

मलयद्वीप, बट्टाद्वीप (Kedah in North Malaya; जानकीहरण, 1, 17),
सुमात्राद्वीप (Sumatra; कथासरित्सागर, 56, 62), कर्पूरद्वीप (ibid., 56, 62).

The conception of the द्वादशद्वीप seems to belong to a time earlier than Kālidāsa and may be put to about the third century A.D.

(2) एकादशपत्तनः — Just as the eleven Rudras are a manifestation of the single God Rudra who in terms of the Trideva conception of the Purāṇas is an aspect of the same reality as Nārāyaṇa, similarly the Ocean has its amplified greatness in the form of एकादश पत्तन or the eleven commercial sea-ports situated on its long coast-line. What these eleven sea-ports were is a question deserving some thought. The list seems to have comprised the following :—

1. प्रभास पत्तन, 2. भृगुकच्छ पत्तन (the सभापर्व refers to it as a पत्तन), 3. शूर्पारक पत्तन, 4. मुरची पत्तन (किष्किन्धाकांड ४२।१३), 5. नागपत्तन, 6. कावेरी पत्तन, 7. इमिल पत्तन (most probably the same as Kāverī Pattana or Puhāra elaborately described in the Tamil classic Śilappādhikāram; Daṇḍin's अवन्तिमुन्दरी कथा, p 177); 8. सुसली पत्तन (near the mouth of the Kṛishṇā), 9. विशाखा पत्तन, 10. कलिङ्ग पत्तन, 11. ताम्रलिप्ती पत्तन, 12. प्रियङ्गु पत्तन (वसुदेव हिण्डी, Atmananda Jain Granthamālā edition, p. 145).

The number of Pattanas like that of the Dvīpas increased in later literature; e. g. there is a reference to a सार्थवाह (sea-merchant) whose fame had spread to the eighteen Dvīpas and who had trade connections with nineteen Pattanas ('अष्टादश द्वीप कीर्तिविख्यात, एकोनविंशतिपत्तननामक', सभाशृङ्गारवर्णकसंग्रह, edited by Agarchand Nabata, p 36).

(3) वसवष्टाचलसंयुक्तः — This refers to the eight mountains situated along the above mentioned extensive sea-coast. This list may have included the सोमगिरि near the confluence of the Indus with the sea (सिन्धुसागरयोश्चैव संगमे तत्र पर्वतः । महान् सोमगिरिर्नाम क्षतशृंगो महादुमः ॥ किष्किन्धा, ४२।१५), the रैवतक mountain in Saurāshṭra, the सहाद्रि along the Konkan coast, the दर्दुर and मलय mountains in Tamil land, and the महेन्द्र mountain (रघु०, VI. 54). This list may have included the other mountains along the sea-coast of Greater India of which three important names are given in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. विशिर पर्वत beyond Java (यवद्वीपमतिक्रम्य विशिरो नाम पर्वतः, ४०।३१), ऋषभ पर्वत (कि० ४०।४४) and उदय पर्वत (कि० ४०।५४).

The constituent elements of this important reference to the Indian Ocean point to a period of brisk trans-naval commerce and colonising activities between the mainland of Bhāratavarsha and the Dvīpāntara islands, a phenomenon of national history during the Śaka-Sātavāhana-Gupta epoch (cir. 1st cent.—4th cent. A.D.).

REVIEW

पुराणेतिहाससंग्रहः—An Anthology of the Epics and Purāṇas. Edited by S. K. De and R. C. Hazra. Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi; pp. 1-116 महाभारत; pp. 117-164 रामायण; pp. 167-354 किराणानि .

The present Anthology by two distinguished Savants consists of selections from the Itihāsa and Purāṇa literature. According to traditional computation the two together comprise about 5 lacs of verses, of which this selection contains only about 5 thousand. It is the quality of the selected passages that has a charming appeal and is enough to acquaint us with the human aspect and the literary excellence of this vast literature. Certainly there is much in them that is prosaic, but there is much more that is grand and superbly beautiful by all the tests of rhetoric charm, ethical tone and the intensely human aroma of emotional and objective descriptions. The selections bear out this aspect, e.g. the two passages from the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. अशोकवनिकार्या सीता (रा० ५।१५) and रावणभय-कातरा सीता (रा० ५।१९।२-२१). The description of Sītā in the Aśoka-grove is a superb creation of Vālmīki's genius, a rare flash of poetic art, releasing a flood of similes to create a varied picture of diverse forms familiar under the Indian sky. No one having once read can ever forget it. Similar in aesthetic charm is the description of Sītā as seen by Rāvaṇa, which is gripping and worthy of frequent recitation. Where can one find in literature such comparisons as स्मृतिमिव संदिग्धाम्, ऋद्धिं निपतितामिव, विहतामिव च श्रद्धाम्, आशां प्रतिहतामिव, सोपसर्गा यथा सिद्धिम्, बुद्धिं सकलुषामिव, अभूतेनापवादं कीर्तिं निपतितामिव, आम्नायनामयोगेन विद्यां प्रशिथिलामिव, संस्कारेण यथा होनां वाचमर्थान्तरं गताम्; or नावं सन्नामिवार्णवे, सन्नामिव महाकीर्तिम्, श्रद्धामिव विमानिताम्, प्रज्ञामिव परिक्षीणाम्, आयतीमिव विश्वस्ताम्, दीप्तामिव दिशं काले, पूजामपहतामिव, वेदीमिव परामृष्टाम्, शान्तामग्निशिखामिव etc.? Sītā in extreme distress enters the orbit of our vision again and again with deepening pathos in the string of similes woven by a rare master of poesy.

The Mahābhārata is a veritable thesaurus for poetic passages of emotional and descriptive quality of which eighteen have been chosen, e.g. विश्वरूपदर्शनं (६।३३।९-५०), अमृतमन्थनं (१।१५-१९), राजसभायां शकुन्तला (१।६८-६९), सर्वस्वान्तकरणं द्यूतं (२।५८-६९, the scintillating dialogue about dice between Yudhishtira and Śakuni), दमयन्तीपरित्यागः (३।५५-५९), काम्यकवनप्रवेशः (३।१७९) मत्स्योपाख्यानम् (३।१८५।२-५२), यम-सावित्री संवादः (३।२८१), उत्तर गोप्रहे बृहन्नडा सारथ्यं

(१३८-३९), निर्दयपदानुगमनः (११३१-१३४), मृध-जम्बुक संवादः (१२१४९, a model of ingenious story-making), मृत्युपाख्यानम् (१२१४८-७-२५०१ ४९, a brilliant conception on the eternal theme of death), गौतमी-लक्ष्मी-वार्ता-संवादः (१३११३-८३, which appears to be a Brahmanical counterpart of the Buddhist कृशा गौतमी episode framed in a new setting and inspired by a new conception of काल and कर्म doctrines sometime in the Gupta age), etc.

The selections from the 18 Purāṇas are just like demonstrating the quality of the ocean by a few drops. But the passages chosen are of lyrical flash and informed by a human touch: for example, the भवभीतिक ब्राह्मण वृत्तान्त from the Bhaviṣya (११३९) is a passage of fundamental historical value deserving re-consideration in the light of Indo-Sassanian relationships mentioned therein, even the name of जरयुस्त्र as जरशब्द being adopted. The पंचसप्तविधानज bearded sacrificers (यज्विनः) who wore the अव्यय and who lived in the vicinity of क्षीरोद in शाकशीप were the ancient Iranian priests, who were Sun-worshippers and came to this country for the worship and installation of the images of the Sun-god during the Kushāṇa and Gupta ages. Their first great centre was built in the Sun-temple at Mitra-vana or Multan on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā river (नन्दभागानटे जावि मया मूर्त्यो निर्देशितः).

The other Purāṇic selections better invested with humanism and poetic art, include जनकाश्वमेधे याज्ञवल्क्यप्रतिष्ठा (वायु० ६०), a small piece, yet sufficient to mirror the grandeur of an intellectual giant. The देवीस्तव and देवीस्तुति of the Mārkaṇḍeya are well-known, but not so the अग्नि प्रसादन स्तोत्र by a pupil of Bṛhatī, which is couched in the grand style and synthetic terminology distinctively evolved by the authors of the Purāṇa literature during the period of renaissance (मार्कण्डेय० ९९-१००). The वायव्यजुषाददर्शन of the Matsya is cast in high-flown काव्य style and should be assigned to the Golden Age of Sanskrit literature, giving as it does a model description (वर्णन) of उद्यान motif in the Gupta period. The extreme straits for space to which the compilers of this Anthology were driven can be seen in the Skanda Purāṇa being disposed of in about 50 verses by the small, rather uneven, story of चिरञ्जरि ब्राह्मण. Indeed the Purāṇas demand much more copious compilation to bring out the gems of their kaleidoscopic contents. The present संग्रह, however, is highly welcome as the first of its kind and as providing pleasurable readings for the general lay reader.

पुराणविषयानुक्रमणी, प्रथम भाग (राजनीतिक). Compiled under the editorship of Dr. Rajbali Pandey, Head of the Deptt. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University, 1957; PP. 1—32, 1—482.

The present Volume compiled in Hindi is an alphabetical register of the names of Kings, Queens and other political and historical personages from the eighteen Purāṇas with a summary description of each. This is part of a more comprehensive scheme which will include a similar index of all the social and religious customs, philosophical and literary references as well as references to economic and art subjects, which have been promised in subsequent volumes under the same editor. A parallel part of the same project relates to the compilation of a Geographical Dictionary, including references to cosmography, Indian geography and geography of the Earth, to be completed under the editorship of the present reviewer. The task was approved for financial assistance under the First and the Second Five year Plans, and is naturally a long and tedious one, still to continue for some years more.

The work under review is likely to be of help so far as it goes, but still leaves scope for a single solid and compact Concordance of all the Purāṇic proper-names and subjects on the model of Sørensen's work 'An Index to the Names of the Mahabharata.'

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Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa, chs. 1—118; critically edited by Dr. (Miss) Priyabālā Shah, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 130.

The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa is a stupendous text comprising over 800 chapters divided into three Khaṇḍas or parts. Except the so-called Chitrasūtra portion of the third Part, it has not received the attention it merits as a very comprehensive document of the Bhāgavata culture and the religious and social institutions of the Golden Age of Indian history, *vis.* the Gupta epoch. The complete Purāṇa is a fine meritorious product of classical Sanskrit, and both for its style and cultural documentation deserves a critically edited text. Fortunately some valuable manuscripts are also available both in the Śāradā and Devanāgarī scripts.

Here Dr. Priyabālā Shah has usefully devoted herself to the preparation of a critical text of the well-known Chitrasūtra chapters 1—118 of the third Part. It is prefixed by an Intro-

duction giving details of the critical apparatus, and discussing the date of the work. Her finding about the age of the text is that it is a work of the Gupta period to be placed between 450 A.D. and 650 A.D. This is very nearly correct. Recently Dr.R.C. Hazra has discussed this question in his book on the Upapurāṇas, and he places the original recension of the text between 400 and 500 A. D. on the basis of weighty arguments.

The Introduction is followed by the Sanskrit text extending to 118 chapters, comprising Introductory chapters 1-18, Nṛittasūtra chs. 20-34. Chitrasutra proper chs. 35-43, Pratimā-lakṣaṇa chs. 44-85 and Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa chs. 86-118. In the end are appended critical notes on special words and readings.

Dr. Shah could utilise only four MSS. for the text, and only after the printing of her work became acquainted with a valuable Śāradā MS. recently purchased for the National Museum, New Delhi, of which the collated readings are given in an Appendix (pp. 359-380) as those of Ms. F. Her Ms.A is deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute [No. 91 of 1875-76] and Ms.C also in the same collection [No. 93 of 1875-76] is specially valuable, being written on birch bark. Besides these two old Śāradā codices, her Ms. B. is written in Devanāgarī and deposited at the Royal Asiatic Society Library Bombay [No. 1758-B. D. 249-250 of Bhau Daji's collection], but was copied in V. S. 1925 only in Kashmir from some very old birch bark Ms. (प्रचुरचिरन्तनाद् भूर्जपत्रपुस्तकात्पुस्तकमिदं लिखितम्).

This edition deals with only a portion of the entire Upapurāṇa and is welcome as the first draft of a future edition to be based on the fuller material deposited in other libraries, e. g. the ones at Jammu (Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 21), Dacca Uni. (Ms. No. 4669) and specially the one in Nepal, which was noticed by H. P. Shastri. An intriguing question relates to the original extent of the third Khaṇḍa. Ms. A in Śāradā has 118 chs. only and the Nepal Ms. only 120 chs. according to H. P. Shastri (Notices, II, pp. 164-172, No. 190) and 100 as per list of contents prepared by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar after a visit to Nepal, which is printed by Dr. Shah on pp. 379-80. A comparative study of the contents of these two is desirable and should be possible some day. The evidence of the other two Śāradā MSS., viz. the birch bark Ms. of the BORI (Ms.C of the edn.) and the Ms. of the National Museum (Ms. F of the edn.) approximate the printed Bombay edition in the

1. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 155-212, giving a detailed description of the contents and a comparative study of the up Purāṇas.

number of the chapters of the third Khanda. The longer text of about 350 chs. is clearly divided into three major portions, viz. Chitrasūtra chs. 1-118, Vratākāṇḍa chs. 126-225 and Hamsagītā chs. 226-342 (a discourse between Viṣṇu as Hamsa and the Ṛishis). The last two, specially the Vratākāṇḍa has a characteristic individual character and seems to have floated into the text from the common encyclopædic pool of Purāṇic contents which were availed of freely by the redactors.

The present text offers a problem relating to the interpretation of technical sciences. A tentative English rendering was offered by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, which was much improved upon by Dr. Coomaraswamy so far as the nine chapters on Painting were concerned. We are glad to note that Dr. Priyabālā Shah proposes to follow the text edn. by a second volume containing critical discussion and interpretation of various topics covered by the text. The General Editor, Dr. B. J. Sandesra, promises that it will soon go to the Press. We hope that an alphabetical Index of new and difficult Sanskrit words will be added.

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